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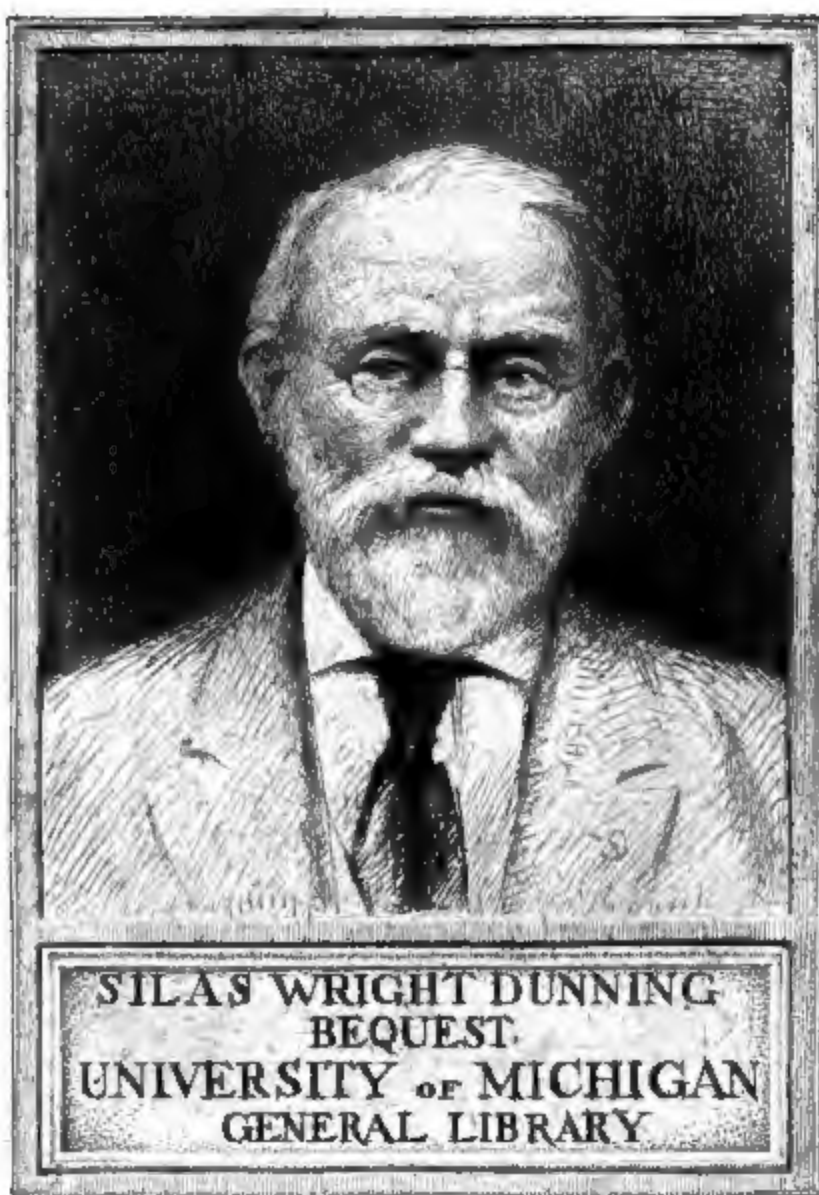
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Many of which have never before been published in ENGLAND.

V O L. II.

London :

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1795.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE any thing is said of the present Volume, it is necessary to notice some observations which have been made on the one published last year. It is not intended to point out its utility as a book of reference, for that is now well understood; nor is there a wish to enlarge on the flattering eagerness with which it has been sought by all those who pay much attention to politics, and particularly by the Members of both Houses of Parliament. To dwell on the acknowledged usefulness of the work would justly be deemed an unnecessary display of vanity; but it is the Editor's duty to answer those who have charged it with errors.

Some gentlemen have asserted the treaty of partition signed at Pavia to be a forgery: and others who have been inclined to doubt this assertion, have nevertheless discovered that the substance of it, inserted in the former volume, is evidently spurious, because it is not in the usual form of such instruments: This informality the Editor perceived on first reading it, and for that reason it was not inserted as *the treaty itself*, but expressly as *the substance* of the treaty; and a number of circumstances, both in the declarations and conduct of the allied powers, strongly concur to establish its credit. In July, 1791, the Emperor was in Italy, and invited all the principal powers in Europe to join in a confederacy, (*see Vol. I. p. 169.*) In the October following his Imperial Majesty "requested the powers to whom he addressed himself, to declare, by their respective ministers at Paris, *that their Coalition existed.*" (*see Vol. I. p. 152.*) And on the 18th of March, 1792, the court of Vienna "refused to agree to the dissolution of the confederacy in which the King of Hungary was engaged with *the most respectable powers in Europe,*" (*p. 177.*)

Such are the proofs of the existence of a confederacy, the conditions of which are thought unfit for the public eye. And if we compare the conduct of the allies with the articles of the treaty of Pavia, we must either be confirmed in the truth of some such transaction, or conclude that those who forged the instrument knew and described the real views of the princes concerned; for, as far as it has been in their power,

they have acted upon the stipulations it contains, and have set the declaration at Pilnitz totally aside. Did not the Emperor take possession of all the towns in the French Netherlands, in his own name, agreeably to the treaty of Pavia, and not in the name of the King of France, as he was bound to do by the declaration at Pilnitz? Did not General Wurmser, when successful on the Rhine, express his wishes that the Alsacians would *re-unite* themselves to their German brethren? (*see Vol. I. p. 134.*) Has not the Empress invaded Poland? And has not the King of Prussia obtained possession of Dantzick and Thorn? Every proceeding of the allies strengthens the opinion that the *substance* of the treaty of Pavia is authentic; and as it not only was supported by such a combination of circumstances, but was in general circulation, and had obtained considerable credit throughout Europe, insomuch that it had been inserted in many of the most respectable works, without a doubt of its being genuine, the Editor thought it his duty to give it a place; convinced that those who contended for its authenticity, would have much more cause of complaint at its omission, than they who asserted it to be a forgery, would have by its insertion.

The other papers which it has been said should not have appeared in the collection, are the two letters from M. Maret to Mr. Miles. These have been objected to for two reasons, first, that Mr. Miles proves in his pamphlet M. Maret had no official commission to the Government of this country, and secondly, that it was improper to dignify the private letters of one friend to another with the title of State Papers. The first of these objections is mistakenly made. M. Maret was not indeed sent as a formal ambassador or minister plenipotentiary, but he was an agent appointed by the French Government to negotiate for the preservation of peace, and as such was received and treated with by Mr. Pitt. The National Convention after it declared war, published "An Exposition of the Conduct of the French Nation towards the English People," in which Maret's papers are inserted with those of Chauvelin. The French considered him, in fact, as an agent of the highest importance, and therefore the two letters to Mr. Miles were judged to be *very material*. It is not alone the official memorials of Minis-

INTRODUCTION.

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ters that always explain their real views. A private communication is frequently much more explicit : and whenever we are so fortunate as to obtain any letters of the confidential agents of a government, which throw light on interesting matters of state, we shall consider them to be, in the best sense of the words, State Papers.

Having now answered the only objections made to the first volume of this work, it is necessary to state, that, in compiling the second, a considerable number of French reports and decrees have been inserted, because they best describe the internal situation of the country, the principles which actuate the people, and the disposition of the government ;—circumstances now declared by the British ministry, to be the principal if not the only reason for continuing hostilities, and therefore it is expedient to give them a place, as the object of this collection is to bring together all papers explanatory of the causes of the present war, and the sentiments of the different powers engaged in it.

Under the title of “Correspondence,” it has been thought expedient to place some papers not exactly of that description. Most of those published in Germany, particularly the important Proceedings of the Diet of Ratisbon, are put under this head, because some have such a reference to others that their relative meaning might not have been so well understood had they been otherwise arranged.

The Editor trusts, the Public will perceive in this volume the same unwearied exertion to deserve a continuance of that distinguished patronage with which the former was honoured. The English and foreign publications have been carefully collated to complete the Collection, several of the articles have never before appeared in English, and others are now first published from the original MSS.—Regretting the inconvenience arising to many noblemen and gentlemen from the unavoidable delay of the Publication, the Editor engages, by slightly altering his plan, to produce it at a much earlier period in future.

9th March, 1795.

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STATE PAPERS.

Treaties.

Convention for the common Defence of the Liberty and Safety of the Danish and Swedish Commerce and Navigation, between his Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, &c. and his Majesty, the King of Sweden, &c. concluded at Copenhagen, March 27, 1794.

HIS Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, having considered how much it imports the subjects of their realms to enjoy, in safety and tranquillity, the advantages attached to a perfect neutrality, and founded on acknowledged treaties, impressed with a deep sense of their duties to their subjects, and unable to dissemble the inevitable embarrassments of their situation in a war which rages in the greater part of Europe, have agreed and do agree to unite their measures and their interests in this respect, and to give to their nations, after the example of their predecessors, all the protection which they have a right to expect from their paternal care; desiring, moreover, to draw closer the bonds of the amity which so happily subsists between them, have nominated to that effect—his Danish Majesty, his minister of state and foreign affairs, the Sieur André Pierre Count de Bernstorff, knight of the order of the Elephant, &c.—and his Majesty the King of Sweden, the Sieur Eric Magnus, Baron Stael de Holstein, chamberlain to her Majesty the Queen Dowager of Sweden, and knight of the order of the Sword, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles :

I. Their Majesties declare solemnly, that they will maintain the most perfect neutrality in the course of the present war; avoid as much as on them depends, whatever may embroil them with the powers their friends and allies; and continue to mark, as they have constantly done, in circumstances sometimes difficult, all the attention, and even all the amicable deference, consistent with their own dignity.

II. They declare moreover, that they claim no advantage which is not clearly and unexceptionably founded on their respective treaties with the powers at war.

III. They

III. They engage also reciprocally, and before all Europe, that they will not claim, in cases not specified in their treaties, any advantage which is not founded on the universal law of nations, hitherto acknowledged and respected by all the powers, and by all the sovereigns of Europe, and from which they can as little suppose that any of them will depart, as they are incapable of departing from it themselves.

IV. Founding on a basis so just the claim and the maintenance of their indisputable rights, they will give to the innocent navigation of their subjects, which is entirely within the rule of, and conformable to the subsisting treaties, without extending it to such as may depart from the rule, all the protection which it deserves against all those who, contrary to their expectation and their hopes, would disturb the legal exercise of sanctioned rights, the enjoyments of which cannot be denied to neutral and independent nations.

V. For attaining the proposed object, their Majesties engage reciprocally to equip, as soon as the season will permit, each a squadron of eight ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, and to provide them with all necessaries.

VI. These squadrons shall unite or separate, as shall be judged best for the common interest, which shall be interpreted on both sides with the amity that so happily subsists between the powers.

VIII. No distinction whatsoever shall be made between the interests and the flags of the two nations, except such as different subsisting treaties with other nations may require. Moreover, in all cases of defence, convoy or others, without any exception, the Danish ships shall defend the Swedish ships and flag, as if they were their own nation, and the same on the other part.

VIII. For the order of command, in all cases it is agreed to adopt the tenor of the Articles VI. and VII. in the Convention of the 12th of July, 1756.

IX. The German States, both of Denmark and Sweden, are reciprocally and entirely excepted from this Convention.

X. The Baltic being always to be considered as a sea shut and inaccessible to the armed ships of distant powers at war, is declared so a-new by the contracting parties, who are resolved to maintain in it the most perfect tranquillity.

XI. Their Majesties engage to make a joint communication of this Convention to all the powers at war, adding the most solemn assurances of their sincere desire to preserve with them the most perfect harmony, and to cement, rather than wound it, by this measure, which tends only to secure rights maintained and asserted by those powers themselves, in all cases where they were neutral and at peace, without Denmark and Sweden having ever dreamt of interrupting them,

XII. But

XII. But if the unfortunate case should occur, that any power, in contempt of treaties and the universal law of nations, will not respect the basis of society and the general happiness, and shall molest the innocent navigation of the subjects of their Danish and Swedish Majesties, then will they, after having exhausted all possible means of conciliation, and made the most pressing joint remonstrances, to obtain the satisfaction and indemnity due to them, make use of reprisals, at the latest, four months after the refusal of their claim, wherever that shall be thought fitting, the Baltic always excepted ; and will answer entirely the one for the other, and support one another equally, if either nation shall be attacked or injured on account of this convention.

XIII. This convention shall subsist in its whole tenor during the present war, unless it should be agreed upon, for the common interest, to make any useful or necessary change or addition to it.

XIV. The ratification shall take place fifteen days after this convention shall have been signed and exchanged. In testimony of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, this 27th of March, 1794.

(Signed)

A. P. V. BERNSTORF,

ERIC MAGNUS STAEL, DE HOLSTEIN.

Treaty between his Britannic Majesty, the King of Prussia, and the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, the 19th of April, 1794.

THEIR Majesties the King of Great Britain, and of Prussia, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, being animated by the same desire of putting a stop to the progress of the system of anarchy and crimes by which civil society has been menaced, and being desirous of concerting together to support, in the most effectual manner, the common cause in which they are engaged, in consequence of the unjust and cruel war, which the persons, who exercise the powers of government in France, have raised up against several of the great powers of Europe, have agreed, in conformity to the bonds of friendship and alliance which so happily unite them, to conclude the present treaty ; and, for this purpose, they have named their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Britannic Majesty, the Lord Baron of Malmesbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, privy counsellor, knight of the order of the Bath ; his Prussian Majesty, the Sieur Chrétien Henry Curce, Count de Haugwitz, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Red

Eagle ; and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, the Sieurs Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegel, counsellor, pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the seals, and deputy of the said province at the Assembly of the States General, and Henry Fagel, greffier of their High Mightinesses : who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Article I. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages to furnish an army, which shall be composed of sixty-two thousand four hundred men, conformably to the establishment which he has caused to be delivered to the ministers of the maritime powers ; which establishment shall be considered as making part of the present treaty. This army shall remain united under a Prussian commander, and shall act, in the most effectual manner, against the common enemy, either separately or jointly, with a body of troops, in the pay of the maritime powers, or of one of them. The said army shall be and shall remain as complete as possible, and shall be employed, according to a concert on military points between his Britannic Majesty, his Prussian Majesty, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, wherever it shall be judged to be most suitable to the interests of the maritime powers : This army shall arrive at the place of its destination on the twenty-fourth of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, or sooner if possible. It shall be provided with field-pieces with their carriages, and also with the tents and all military equipments necessary for acting in the field.

Art. II. It is agreed by the high contracting parties, that the troops which his Prussian Majesty is bound to furnish to his Britannic Majesty and to their High Mightinesses, by virtue of the respective treaties of alliance between his Prussian Majesty and the maritime powers, shall be comprised in this army of sixty-two thousand four hundred men ; and that, by employing the said army in the manner declared in this present treaty, his Prussian Majesty shall be deemed to have furnished to his high allies the succours stipulated in the said treaties.

Art. III. In order to facilitate to his Prussian Majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and concern with which he is animated for the common cause, his Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses agree to furnish to his Prussian Majesty a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds sterling per month, until the end of the present year, and to be reckoned from the beginning of the month in which the present treaty is signed.

Art. IV. His Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses will pay to his Prussian Majesty, immediately, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, to enable him to defray the charge of completing the above-mentioned army, and the first expenses

penſes neceſſary for putting it in a ſtate of action, and for carrying it to the place where it is to act ; and, at the period of the return of the ſaid troops, his Britannic Maſteſty and their High Mightineſſes will moreover pay to his Pruſſian Maſteſty the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling for the expenſes of the return of the army into the territories of his Pruſſian Maſteſty. The ſaid payments, for the expenſes of completing and putting the troops in motion, ſhall be made immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, as well as that of the firſt ſubſidy, to be paid monthly, of fifty thouſand pounds. The following months ſhall be diſcharged in advance, at the beginning of each month. All theſe payments ſhall be made at Berlin by the maritime powers, agreeably to ſuch arrangement as they ſhall agree upon between themſelves ; and the pound ſterling ſhall be reckoned at ſix crowns in Frederics d'Or.

Art. V. The above-mentioned ſubſidy and payments ſhall ſatisfy all demands which his Pruſſian Maſteſty might be entitled to make upon the maritime powers for the expenſes of the army ; all theſe expenſes, of what nature ſoever they may be, being to be defrayed by his Pruſſian Maſteſty, with the exception only of the expenſes of bread and forage, which ſhall be furniſhed by the maritime powers, as well for the thirty-five thouſand four hundred men, whom his Pruſſian Maſteſty engages to employ over and above the ſtipulated ſuccours, as for thoſe ſuccours themſelves in a manner conformable to the terms of the treaties of alliance ſubſiſting between the maritime powers and his ſaid Maſteſty. But, in order to avoid the difficulties which might ariſe relative to the furniſhing of theſe articles in kind, the high contracting parties agree that this expenſe ſhall be ſatisfied in money, reckoning at the rate of one pound twelve ſhillings (ſterling money of England) per month, for each man of the ſixty-two thouſand four hundred to be furniſhed by his Pruſſian Maſteſty, according to the eſtabliſhment herein before mentioned, and the payment of this ſum ſhall be made in advance, at the beginning of each month, in the ſame manner as that of the ſubſidy, and ſhall begin the ſame day. But, if it ſhall happen in future that any variation ſhall be made, by conſent of the high contracting parties, in the reſpective proportions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, ſettled by the ſaid eſtabliſhment ; in ſuch caſe a new valuation of the aforeſaid pecuniary aid ſhall be made, according to the new proportion of rations and portions which may reſult from the ſaid variation, ſo that the ſaid valuation may not be beyond the actual expenſes occaſioned by the furniſhing of the articles in queſtion, according to the proportion of men and horſes which ſhall be employed.

Art. VI. It is agreed, that all conqueſts made by this army ſhall be made in the names of the two maritime powers, and ſhall remain at their diſpoſal during the courſe of the war, and, at the peace, to be made ſuch uſe of as they ſhall then judge moſt proper.

Art. VII. The two maritime powers shall name two persons commissioned to reside in their names at the head quarters of the Prussian army, to keep up the necessary communication and correspondence between the respective armies.

Art. VIII. This treaty shall continue in its full force until the end of the present year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

Art. IX. The present treaty shall be ratified by all parties, and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

In witness of which, we, the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Prussian Majesty, and of the Lords States General of the United Provinces, by virtue of our respective powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the 19th of April, in the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

THE Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses not having thought themselves empowered to contract, at the present moment, any engagements relative to the payment of the subsidies stipulated in the present treaty, beyond the term of the present year, this treaty has been concluded only for that term; but their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, being desirous of continuing the effect of the aforesaid engagements until the end of the war, will enter into further concert, as well between themselves as with their High Mightinesses, for the renewal of the present treaty, for so long as the war shall last, on the same conditions as are therein declared with respect to the troops, to their employment, and to the payment of the aforesaid subsidies, as well as to the furnishing bread and forage, conformable to Art. V. of the treaty; without however adding any thing for the expenses of completing the troops, or for those of putting them in motion.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, in the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, the 19th of April, 1794.

HIS Britannic Majesty and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, desiring to put his Prussian Majesty into a situation to prosecute with vigour the war, in which the greatest part of the powers of Europe find themselves engaged, through the unjust aggression of those who have exercised the powers of government in France, a negotiation has been opened for this purpose at Berlin, which having since been transferred to the Hague, has been there terminated by the treaty of subsidy, concluded this day, by which the maritime powers have engaged themselves to furnish to his Prussian Majesty the sums specified in the above-mentioned treaty, to the ends which are also announced in it. In consequence of this treaty his Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Provinces, desiring to come to a further understanding between themselves upon the repartition of the said sums to be furnished to his Prussian Majesty, have resolved to conclude for that purpose, between themselves, the present convention, and have named in consequence, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty, the Lord Baron Malmesbury, peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, a privy counsellor, and knight of the order of the Bath; and their High Mightinesses the States General, the Sieurs Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegel, counsellor pensionary of the province of Holland and of West Friesland, keeper of the seals, and deputy of the said province at the assembly of the States General, and Henri Fagel, greffier of their High Mightinesses: who, after having mutually communicated their respective full powers, and having found them in good and due form, have settled the following articles.

Article I. Their High Mightinesses the States General shall furnish for their quoto-part of the entire sum to be paid to his Prussian Majesty, in order to enable him to fulfil the engagements which he has contracted by the treaty of subsidy, concluded and signed this day, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, after the same valuation which is stipulated for in the above-mentioned treaty; which sum shall be divided in such a manner that one hundred thousand pounds sterling may be appropriated to answer part of the expenses expressed in the said treaty under the name of charges of completing, of putting in motion, and of establishment, whilst the remaining three hundred thousand pounds shall be divided into nine equal portions, to answer in part the expenses of bread and forage, according to the valuation of the said treaty, and in part of subsidy, which his Britannic Majesty and
 4 their

their High Mightinesses have engaged themselves by Art. III. of the treaty to furnish to his Prussian Majesty.

Art. II. As the existing circumstances do not permit their High Mightinesses to enter into engagements of subsidy for an indefinite term, it is understood, that the present convention will not be extended beyond the term of the present year ; but, if unhappily the war should not then be finished, his Britannic Majesty and the States General would consult together, in order to take, from time to time, all the adequate measures for renewing this convention, and for supporting with vigour the just cause, in which his Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses find themselves engaged.

Art. III. The present convention shall be ratified on both sides, and the exchange of the ratifications shall take place in the space of one month, or sooner if it be possible.

In faith of which we, plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of the Lords States General of the United Provinces, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed the present convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

*Treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the Duke of Brunswick.
Signed at Brunswick the 8th of November, 1794.*

BE it known to those whom it does and may concern : The present situation of affairs in Europe having caused a desire in his Britannic Majesty that a corps of Brunswick troops should be granted to him, the Most Serene Duke of Brunswick has seized, with all possible eagerness, the opportunity of proving his unalterable attachment to his Britannic Majesty, and his zeal for every thing that can tend to the good of the country. To which effect, his Serene Highness has engaged himself to furnish his Britannic Majesty a corps of two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men. In order to conclude a treaty relative to this object, his Britannic Majesty has named, on his part, the honourable William Eliot, and the Most Serene Duke of Brunswick has named, on his side, the Sieur John Batisse de Feronce de Rotencreutz, his minister of state, and knight of the royal order of Dannebrog.

These two ministers plenipotentiary, after the exchange of their full powers, have agreed to the following articles.

Art.

Art. I. The Most Serene Duke of Brunswick furnishes, in virtue of the present treaty, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, a corps of troops, amounting in the whole to two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men, amongst whom is included a company of horse chasseurs of one hundred and five men. This corps shall be furnished with the following artillery ; namely,

Four six-pounders, a battery of six six-pounders, two three-pounders, for the corps of chasseurs.

This artillery shall be provided with every thing necessary for its complete equipment.

The composition of the aforesaid corps is according to the following statement :

	Men.
1st. The staff - - - - -	27
2d. A regiment of infantry - - - - -	724
3d. A second regiment of infantry - - - - -	724
4th. A corps of horse and foot chasseurs - - - - -	454
5th. A detachment of artillery, forming two companies, including artificers, workmen and servants necessary for the train - - - - -	360
Total	2289

Art. II. These troops, at the time of their march, shall be well disciplined, completely armed and equipped ; and his Most Serene Highness engages himself, during the existence of this treaty, to keep the said troops on the most proper footing, in order that they may be employed with success in the military services which shall be required of them by virtue of the present treaty ; the duration of which is fixed to three years, counting from the day of its signature.

These troops shall not be separated, unless the necessity of the war shall require it, but they shall always remain under the orders of their chief, subordinate to the command of the general to whom his Britannic Majesty shall entrust that of the whole army. It will depend on his Britannic Majesty to retain this corps of troops in his service all the time of the duration of this treaty, to make use of them in any part of Europe where he may have occasion for them, provided it be not on board the fleet. The said troops shall take the oath of fidelity to his Britannic Majesty, at their first review, before an English commissary, without any prejudice, however, to that which they have taken to the Most Serene Duke. His said Most Serene Highness shall moreover retain the nomination to all employments and offices that may become vacant, and the administration of justice shall, in like manner, be preserved to him.

Art.

Art. III. This corps of troops shall be ready to pass in review, and to put itself in march, on the first of next January, or sooner if it can be done : nevertheless, as it is to be feared that, considering the difficulty of furnishing, in so short a time, every thing necessary to the equipment of the said corps, it is agreed to cause this corps to march in two divisions, one of which shall begin its march on the first of January, or sooner if it can be done, and the second, the first of February, or sooner if it can be done, without this influencing upon the payments, which are to take place for the whole corps from the first of January.

As to the expenses of the march, the following regulation has been made : this corps of troops being destined to serve in the army of Brabant, it is agreed that his Britannic Majesty, in order to answer the expenses of this long march, shall cause to be paid, immediately after the signature of the treaty, to the agent of his Most Serene Highness at London, the amount of three months pay, on the footing of the Brabantine pay ; and as to the period of the return of the said troops into the country of Brunswick, it is agreed that his Britannic Majesty shall cause this return to be notified three months beforehand ; and with regard to the expenses of the route, two months of Brabantine pay is to be allowed.

Art. IV. His Britannic Majesty will cause to be paid, under the head of levy money, for each foot soldier, foot chasseur, artillery man, &c. &c. thirty Banco crowns, the crown computed at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money ; and for each horseman, duly armed and mounted, eighty Banco crowns of the same value, which makes the sum of seventy-three thousand three hundred and ninety Banco crowns. This sum shall be paid immediately after the signature of the present treaty.

Art. V. As to what relates to the pay and allowances, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the said troops, during the time that they shall be in the pay of Great Britain, it is agreed that this pay, and all the emoluments, shall commence from the first of January next, and shall continue until the day whereon the troops shall return into their respective garrisons. His Britannic Majesty will moreover cause to be paid unto them the pay and emoluments for the remainder of the month in which these troops shall have returned into their garrisons.

It is moreover agreed, that if these troops shall happen to serve in the empire, they shall enjoy the same pay and the same advantages which his Majesty grants to his German troops, according to the effective state in which the said corps shall be delivered, which shall be verified by a statement, signed by the respective ministers of the high contracting parties, which shall have the same force as if it were inserted, word for word, in the present treaty. So long as these troops shall be employed in the Low Countries, they shall be treated

treated, with respect to pay and emoluments, both ordinary and extraordinary, on the footing of the Brabantine pay, it being well understood that in the one and in the other case, that is to say, in that of the German, as well as in that of the Brabantine pay, the allowances shall not be below what has been granted in former wars to the Hessian troops: and if the nature of the war shall require that these troops should serve in other countries on the continent of Europe than in countries abovementioned, they then shall be placed on the same footing in every respect as the most favoured of his Majesty's auxiliary troops. If it should happen that they should be employed in Great Britain or Ireland, they shall be placed on the same footing in every respect as the British national troops. All these allowances for the said troops shall be paid into the military chest of his Most Serene Highness, without any abatement whatever.

Art. VI. Every object relating to the equipment of the officers having considerably increased in price during this war, his Britannic Majesty will cause to be paid three months of Brabantine pay to all the officers of the corps, to answer in part the expenses of their equipment, which must be done with a dispatch which will infinitely increase their expense.

Art. VII. With respect to the subsidy which his Britannic Majesty shall pay to the Most Serene Duke of Brunswick, during the three years that this treaty is to last, it is stipulated, that it shall be an annual subsidy of sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-seven Banco crowns, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four shillings and nine-pence three farthings English money. And if these troops should be sent back into the territories of Brunswick before the expiration of the three years, this subsidy of sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-seven Banco crowns shall be, neither more or less, paid during three years, to be computed from the day of the signature of the treaty.

Art. VIII. If it should happen that one of the regiments, battalions or companies of this corps should suffer an extraordinary loss, whether in battle or at a siege, or by an uncommon contagious distemper, or by other accidents; or if the cannon or other military effects, with which it may be provided, should be taken by the enemy, his Majesty the King of Great Britain will pay the extraordinary expenses of the necessary recruits and remounting, as well as the loss of cannon, &c. &c. in order speedily to restore the whole corps to a serviceable state.

He will reimburse, in the most equitable manner, the loss of both officers and soldiers. With regard to this reimbursement, every thing that has been stipulated in the treaty concluded with the Most Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse, at Cassel, the 10th of April, 1793, shall be adopted.

Art. IX. It is agreed, that at the review which is to be made every spring, at the opening of the campaign, by the commissary of his Britannic Majesty, the corps must be complete, or the pay of those who are wanting shall be with-held. On the other hand, the pay of those who may be wanting from one review to another, shall not be with-held, but shall be paid, without abatement, on the footing of the full complement. Instead of what was formerly paid, in similar cases, for the recruiting of one killed or three wounded, it is agreed, that each recruit furnished shall be paid for, without distinction, at the rate of twelve Banco crowns a head, under express condition, however, that the payment which is here agreed upon shall only regard the recruiting which is referred to in this article.

Art. X. The sick of the said corps shall be attended by their physicians, surgeons, and other persons appointed for that purpose, under the orders of the commander of this corps of troops ; and every thing shall be granted to them which his Majesty grants to his own troops.

Art. XI. All deserters from this corps shall be faithfully given up wherever they may be discovered in the countries dependent upon his Britannic Majesty.

Art. XII. All transports of men and military effects shall be done at the expense of his Britannic Majesty during the whole time of these troops being in the field.

Art. XIII. It is agreed that the corps of Brunswick troops shall enjoy every advantage granted to the Most Serene Landgrave of Hesse, by the treaty of the 10th of April, 1793, and its secret articles. Moreover, every thing, which is not determined by the preceding articles in a precise manner, is to be hereafter regulated upon the principles of equity and good faith, which have conducted the present negotiation.

Art. XIV. This treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

Done at Brunswick, this 8th Day of November, 1794.

(L. S.) WM. ELIOT,

(L. S.) JEAN BATISTE de FERONCE de ROTENCREUTZ.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

IT is determined that this corps of troops shall enjoy Brabantine pay, being destined to serve in the army of the Low Countries ; but the expedition with which it was necessary to complete the present treaty not permitting a state of the Brabantine pay to be added thereto, the undersigned minister of His Britannic Majesty engages himself to cause to be delivered to the minister of the Most Serene

serene Duke, as soon as it can be done, a complete statement of Brabantine pay, on the same footing as it is allowed to the Hessian troops. In this statement of pay shall also be specified the number of rations and portions allowed, as well as all the other emoluments enjoyed by the Hessian troops actually in Brabant. This communication of the statement of pay shall be made with the accustomed good faith, and without any reserve.

Done at Brunswick, this 8th of November, 1794.

(L. S.) WM. ELIOT.

(L. S.) JEAN BATISTE de FERONCE de ROTENCREUTZ.

Treaty between the French Republic and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, concluded by the Committee of Public Safety, and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Tuscany at Paris, on the 9th of February, 1795; and ratified by a Decree of the Convention four Days afterwards.

Art. I. **T**HE grand Duke of Tuscany having revoked all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession to the armed coalition against the French Republic,

There will, in consequence, ensue, peace, friendship, and a good understanding between the French Republic and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Art. II. The neutrality of Tuscany is re-established on the footing on which it was before the 8th of October, 1793.

Art. III. The present treaty cannot take effect till it is ratified by the National Convention.

Done at Paris, in the National Palace, the 21st Pluviose, of the third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible (9th February, 1795.)

PROCLA.

*** * A vacancy of a few pages was left here, in hopes of being enabled to insert the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with America; but as the ratification has not yet arrived, it would be improper to give it a place.**

Proclamations, Manifestos, Decrees, &c.

The following is the substance of another Answer of the French Government, besides that read by Robespierre, published in the 1st vol. of this Work, (p. 141) to the Declaration of the King of England, dated 29th of October, 1793, relative to his motives for continuing the present War, and his general conduct towards France. Of this Paper, the greater part is made up of declamation and invective: the former too coarse, and the latter too violent for insertion. The argumentative parts only are selected, and the name of Minister is substituted for that of a great Personage.

THE answer begins by reciting what is stated in the declaration as the object of the war—namely, “The preservation of that state of Civil Society, happily established in the several nations of Europe.” The greater part of the Governments of Europe being in their nature despotic, this part of the declaration is treated as the direct avowal of a purpose to use the resources of Great Britain for the end of perpetuating “the blessings of despotism.” “If this be the object, (the answer proceeds to say) it is easy to conceive what part is to be acted in a country where despotism has been overthrown. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that famine, fire, and sword, are to be employed to replunge that country into its ancient state of slavery.

The English Minister, always faithful to his principles, rejoices in his manifesto, on the approaching prospect of success in this laudable enterprise. He sees every event through the *telescope* of his wishes. He is so ardent as to take the vision for a reality—and like Macbeth, grasping at the ideal dagger, reasons on the fiction, as if it were an existing object.

It is stated in the declaration, that a desire for the restoration of Monarchy prevailed “almost universally” in France. But where, the answer proceeds to inquire, was the manifestation of their desire to be found? Was it in La Vendee? If it was, the small crusade of banditti in that quarter, though sustained by English gold and furnished with English arms, had been put to the route, and their leaders punished as traitors to their country. Was it in Lyons or in Toulon? The comparatively small party which had been excited in those towns by the perfidious stratagems of the English Minister, had been defeated and punished in the same manner. The latter town was said to have been in-

duced to revolt “ by their confidence in the English Government ! ”—After corrupting the commandants of the place to deliver up the town, the effects of corruption are quoted, with consummate effrontery, as so many proofs of the confidence of the citizens !

After having established the motives which induce him to continue the war, the English Minister, says the answerer, proceeds to state the conditions “ on which he will consent to make a peace.” He states his ardent desire to see himself in a condition to treat for the re-establishment of general tranquillity. But how are these protestations realized, or his “ just and moderate propositions stated ? ” If he wished for peace as much as he pretends to do ; these propositions would at least be clearly laid down, he would not avail himself of any circumlocution—of any subterfuge. But what does the British Minister say on this subject ?—He states, in the first instance, that he does not contest, in any shape, the right of France to reform her laws ; that he does not wish to influence by any external force the form of the government to be established in an independent nation. He adds, that such an intention was never within the limits of his desire !

If there had been one word of truth in these assertions, the obstacles to a peace might have been easily removed. He had nothing to do, but to recall his fleets and armies—to concede to the French their indubitable right to form a government for themselves, and a negotiation for the re-establishment of peace would naturally have followed.

But what shall be said, if all that he has advanced on this subject is found to be nothing more than falsehood and imposture ; and that his professions are contradicted by himself almost in the instant that they are uttered ?

In the very next passage of the declaration the British Minister promises “ a suspension of hostilities, and friendship, safety, and protection, as far as the course of events will permit, to all Frenchmen who, by declaring for a Monarchical Government, shall shake off the yoke of anarchy.” He invites the French people to co-operate for that purpose—to serve under the colours of an hereditary Monarchy, and to unite, under the empire of law, morality, and religion. This is the man who rejects the influence of all exterior force ; this is the man who desires not to interfere in the internal form of the French Government. The Minister of England desires peace so ardently that he dictates the very terms on which he knows it will not be accepted !

Whilst he complains against anarchy, he himself excites sedition. He invites the minority of the French nation to revolt against the majority ; to oppose themselves to the general will ; and to take up arms for the purpose of establishing an absolute monarchy.

monarchy. He states, at the same time, the number of "well-disposed" persons in France, and to these he addresses particularly his declaration: This description of persons, he omits to state, consist of honest bankrupts, of priests without faith or law, of starving nobles, and insolent prostitutes, of pickpockets out of employ, and of knights of industry of the order of St. Louis; of men who live like worms but from corruption, and exist like mushrooms only on a dunghill.

After some reflections on the late Queen of France, and a comparison between her and the Princess Sophia of Hanover, which we forbear to recite, the answer passes to a review of the present situation of France.

This country, he observes, is now in a revolutionary state. It turns on its political axis, and tends by its gravitation to the center of liberty. The laws are the necessary result of the exigency of the moment; they are either mild or rigorous, correcting or encouraging, as the public welfare and the importance of the object may require. England has had its revolution; and it is not just to compare a nation which has effected its revolution, to another now in the crisis of that effort. The former is in a state of repose, the latter in a progressive motion. The answerer, after admitting this difference, proceeds to draw a strong picture of the present state of England. He states, that our boasted laws are like those of Draco, written in blood; that they are so confused and contradictory, that not one man in a million can understand them; and yet that to find fault is punished by the pillory, by fine, or by imprisonment.

In the declaration of the British Minister, transmitted to the commanders of the English fleets and armies, and which was expected to work miracles, found, it is added, took the place of sense, and words, of argument. In one part, all was menace and haughtiness; in another, all was softness and reconciliation; in one place, the ass brayed, and, in another, the lion roared.—In the exordium, the British Minister demanded, for himself and his allies, "A just indemnity."—In the middle of the piece he prefers no such demand. In the conclusion, he makes a number of requisitions, which he must be confident will not be granted!

He asks, amongst other particulars, that a legitimate and stable Government may be established in France. But this was already accomplished. It was only the consent of the people which could give legitimacy to a Government. The French Republic is founded on the general will, and is therefore a legitimate form of Government.

The time is not far distant, the answer states, in a haughty tone, when necessity will compel the British Minister to ask for peace. What will then be the language of France? She will

in her turn demand that a stable and legitimate government shall be established in Great Britain, in which the people shall hold the part which belongs to them. The Cabinet, the Ministers, and the Parliament, France will regard in the same point of view as they now consider the Republic—as a combination of usurped powers. The people of France will only treat with the people of Great Britain.

The following Royal Ordinance, respecting Reading Societies and Circulating Libraries, has been dispersed through the whole Electorate of Hanover.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch Treasurer, and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.

The continual increase of Reading Societies and Circulating Libraries, as they are called, renders it necessary, that such establishments should be subject to a stricter police. We find ourselves on this account moved to establish and ordain as follows :

1. All Antiquarians, and others, who keep libraries for reading or letting out books for hire, shall, immediately after publication of this ordinance, deliver to the Police Office of the place where they reside, a complete catalogue of all and every of the books and pamphlets in their libraries ; and shall in future, on every occasion, deliver in a similar catalogue of all such books and pamphlets as they at any time purchase, before they lend them. Whoever refuses this, or lends a book or pamphlet not mentioned in the catalogue, shall pay for the first offence, a fine of ten rix-dollars, and for the second, a double fine, and be prohibited from lending books any more ; half the fine to go to the informer.

2. All Managers of Reading Societies shall likewise be obliged to deliver to the Police Office of the place where they reside, without exception, and without plea of a privileged court, immediately after publication of this ordinance, a complete catalogue of the books and pamphlets at present circulating, or which may hereafter circulate in their societies : and they who are guilty of refusal or neglect, shall pay, without exception of persons, a fine of twenty rix-dollars ; half to go to the informer.

We accordingly command all our Police Officers strictly to execute the above ordinance, to send a copy of the catalogues from time to time delivered to them, to our regency, also immediately

mediately to seize such writings mentioned in the catalogue as are known to be dangerous, or are prohibited; but in doubtful cases, to apply to our regency for further instructions."

Hanover, Dec. 19, 1793.

(L. S.)

By special Command of the KING and ELECTOR.

V. KIELMANNSEGGE,

V. STEINBERG,

V. BEULWITZ,

C. L. HOPNER.

V. ARNSSWALT,

The following Manifesto and Supplement have been printed and published at Martinique :

G. R.

THE Assembly, calling itself the National Convention of France, having exercised in that kingdom and its dependencies the most unlimited and barbarous despotism, destroyed religion, with the government and the laws, and violated all kinds of property, have added to so many crimes, a declaration of their design to involve other nations in the same calamities, to overthrow their respective constitutions, and the fundamental principles of every civilized State; and to that end, not content with making use of secret and incendiary emissaries, they have gone the length of open hostility, by a declaration of war, wholly unprovoked, against his Britannic Majesty and his Allies; and his said Majesty seeing himself compelled to have recourse to arms, and to prosecute a war as just as necessary, for the protection of his subjects, the security of his throne, the preservation of the British constitution, and the defence of his Allies.

His Majesty moreover taking into consideration how notorious it is, that the aforesaid convention and its adherents, among other atrocious machinations, have conceived the project of entirely destroying all the French colonies in the West Indies—a plan they have executed in some parts by circumstances of the most horrid nature, and by means the most criminal and detestable; and that they have, at the same time, manifested similar intentions against the possessions of his Majesty in the same quarter of the world; to put a stop, in the most prompt and effectual manner, to the execution of such projects, and to preserve his own colonies from the misfortune with which they are thus menaced, his Majesty, relying on the protection of Providence, on the valour of his subjects and the justice of his cause, has thought it expedient and necessary to undertake, by the force of arms, the reduction of the adherents of the said National Convention,

vention, and to deliver the island of Martinique from the misfortunes and oppression by which it is overwhelmed.

In consequence whereof, we the undersigned, commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces by sea and land in the West Indies, by virtue of the powers and authorities entrusted to us by his Majesty for that purpose, invite all the friends of peace, government, religion, and order in the island of Martinique, to throw off tyrannical oppression, and to set itself free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection and government of a just and beneficent Sovereign.

And by these presents, we solemnly promise, grant and guarantee, to all those who avail themselves of this invitation, and will submit themselves peaceably and quietly to the authority of his Majesty, personal security and full and immediate enjoyment of their lawful possessions, conformable to their ancient laws and customs, and upon the most advantageous terms; excepting only those persons whose absence from the island seems to be requisite for its peace and security; and even to those persons we promise (whatsoever may have been their conduct) to furnish them the means of transport to France, or to any other place they may desire, that may not be prejudicial to his Majesty's service.

We promise also, that on the establishment of peace, Martinique shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of trade possessed by the British West India colonies.

And furthermore, we promise to all persons (except as before excepted) who, submitting themselves peaceably and in the manner before-mentioned, will and do conduct themselves as good and faithful subjects to his Majesty, a full amnesty for all acts committed under the colour or pretext of any authority whatsoever, and which they may have done before the publication of these presents, guaranteeing them hereby from all persecution and molestation for acts emanating from actual existing authorities.

All persons who, in despite of the instructions graciously and beneficially manifested by his Majesty, shall dare to oppose themselves to this proclamation, will be treated as enemies, and exposed to all the evils that the calamities of war necessarily produce both on persons and effects.

Given on board his Majesty's ship Boyne, the
1st of January, 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.

JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their Excellencies Command,

G. FISHER, }
G. PURVIS, } Secretaries.

SUPPLEMENT.

His Britannic Majesty's generals, willing by all means possible to prevent the effusion of blood, and to remove from the inhabitants of the French islands in America, all doubt of their intentions, think they ought to publish what follows, as a supplement to the manifesto:

ART. I. As they cannot be ignorant that there exists great animosity between the emigrants from the French islands in America, and those inhabitants who remain there, an animosity that would lead them to pursue each other with rage, and retard the re-establishment of peace, his Britannic Majesty's generals have judged it necessary to forbid all emigrants to re-enter any of the said islands before such shall be entirely conquered; exacting thereafter a perfect tranquillity, and engaging to protect none but peaceable inhabitants.

ART. II. His Britannic Majesty's generals promise all succour and protection to the colonists who shall continue peaceably on their plantation; but they are also determined to treat as prisoners of war all those who, in contempt of this declaration, shall be taken with arms in their hands, announcing to them moreover that they will incur pains of death, if after such transportation they shall ever again appear in either of the Windward islands.

ART. III. General Rochambeau having promised freedom to those slaves who take up arms for the defence of Martinico, and his Britannic Majesty's generals, sensible of the impossibility of distinguishing those *Brigands* from people of colour born free, or legally released from slavery, think it proper to apprise all people of colour, without distinction, that those among them who shall be found armed, or who having fought, shall have escaped the bayonets of the British troops, shall be treated as slaves, and transported immediately to the coast of Africa, where they will be abandoned to their fate; promising on the other hand a full amnesty to those who will surrender themselves, and to those who retire to their respective habitations peaceably to renew their occupations.

Given on board his Majesty's ship the *Boyne*,
1st January, 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.

JOHN JARVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their Excellencies Command,

G. FISHER, }
G. PURVIS, } Secretaries.

Res-

Resolutions of the Committees of Finances, General Safety, and Public Welfare, in France, 11th Nivose (January 1st, 1794) read by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, in Feb. 1794.

THE commission, charged with executing the resolutions of the united committees of finances, public welfare, and general safety, which place in requisition the effects of all bankers, merchants, and brokers, desirous of employing the utmost expedition to obtain these articles, so necessary to the happiness and dignity of the French people, resolves as follows :

- I. The bankers, merchants, and all other citizens who have property vested in foreign funds, shall, by the next decade (January) make a declaration to the commission of subsistencies and provisions, first, of all the effects and funded property which they have in foreign countries; and secondly, of the sold and unsold merchandises which they have there.
- II. They shall also declare, with republican veracity, the names of citizens whom they know possess funded property or merchandize in the different parts of Europe.
- III. Commissioners shall very speedily be sent to the cities of Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Nantes, Le Havre, Lille, Dunquerque, St. Malo, and La Rochelle, to obtain similar testimonies and declarations. The representative of the people, BOISSET, shall also be written to, to procure the same at Montpellier and Nismes.
- IV. Five commissioners shall be chosen from among the bankers.
- V. And five more among the brokers.
- VI. The committee of general safety shall be invited to take off immediately the seals put upon the effects of the bankers, brokers, &c. in a state of arrest; and to remove from such seals all papers and effects declaring property abroad, in order to stipulate for the same citizens, as to the declarations required by the preceding articles.
- VII. The commissioners chosen among the bankers and brokers shall be charged with conducting, directing, and superintending the declarations. They shall name those citizens who may delay complying, in order that they may be desired to obey quickly the resolution of the united committees, and those of the commission of subsistencies. They shall also declare if any errors or fraud be committed in the declarations, that the commissioners may be enabled to repair the one, and prevent the other, according to the rigour of the laws.

VIII.

VIII. The national treasury shall be invited to receive the value at par.

IX. The commissioners chosen from among the bankers called to this sitting, being assembled, it is agreed that the commissioners of their body shall be the citizens Pache, Perregeaux, Fulchiron, Baguenhault, and Enfantin. They have mentioned the commissioners to act as brokers, who are the citizens Page, Huppair, Du Columbier, Rogue, and Pillot, who have accepted the office.

Mr. Pitt likewise read another Paper, as follows:

“ Paris, 13 Nivose (Jan. 3.)

CITIZENS! the wants of the Republic demand, that, conformable to the resolutions of the united committees of finances, general safety, and public welfare, on the 7th inst. and agreeable to that of the commission of this day, you deliver to the commissioners, as soon as possible, an account of the exact state of your property in merchandize, bills of exchange, or credit, in foreign countries; and you are required, within two days, to lodge the said bills of exchange in the public treasury, which, after it shall have received the amount, will remit you the value in assignats, at par.—We expect frankness and expedition on your part; and delay or fraud shall be denounced with severity.

“ We inform you, that government will take all possible steps to discharge at par the lawful debts which the Republic or the citizens may have due in foreign countries, other than those with which the Republic is at war. In consequence, you are expressly forbidden to take any more paper upon foreign countries, or to allow foreigners to draw upon you, without having certified to the commission as to the employment of these funds.

“ The President of the Commission,

(Signed)

“ R———.”

In consequence of the foregoing Proceedings in France, the British Legislature passed the following Act on the 1st of March, 1794.

WHEREAS the persons exercising the powers of government in France have issued an order, compelling all merchants, bankers, and other persons, who are possessed of any money, funded property, or effects, in the different parts of Europe, to declare all such money, funded property, and effects, in order that the same, by violence, may be taken, and applied

plied for the purpose of maintaining and carrying on the unjust war in which the persons so exercising the powers of government in *France* are engaged against the greater part of *Europe*: and whereas the direct and violent seizure, under the said order, of the property of persons secured to them by the laws of the country in which it is placed, is in itself destructive of all commercial credit, and is accompanied by a declaration, that no debts due to the subjects of any of the belligerent powers shall be paid. In order therefore to prevent the effect intended to be produced by these unjust and violent measures, and to protect the property of individuals, as far as circumstances will admit, may it please your Majesty that it may be enacted and declared, and be it enacted and declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person residing or being in *Great Britain* shall, after the first day of *March* one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and during the said war, knowingly and wilfully pay, send, supply, or deliver, or cause to be paid, sent, supplied, or delivered, either in *Great Britain* or *France*, or in any other country, either by payment or remittance of any bill of exchange, note, draught, obligation or order for money, or in any other manner whatsoever, any money to or for the use of the persons exercising, or who shall exercise the powers of government in *France*, or to or for the use of any persons or person who on the first day of *January* one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, were or was, or at any time since have or has been, or who, at the time of such act done, shall be within any of the dominions of *France*, or any country, territory, or place, which was on the said first day of *January* one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four; or which shall be during the said war, and at the time of such act done, under the government of the persons exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise the powers of government in *France*, every person so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted or attainted, shall be deemed, declared, and adjudged to be a traitor, and shall suffer pains of death, and also lose and forfeit as in cases of High Treason.

The following is an Abstract of the Clauses.

II. If any such resident shall send or deliver for the use of the persons before mentioned, any goods or effects whatever, he shall incur the penalties of 16 Ric. II. cap. 5.

III. If any such resident shall accept, indorse, or undertake for the payment of any bill, note, &c. for the use of the said persons, he shall forfeit double the value.

IV. As he shall likewise if he shall pay any order for money drawn, &c. since Jan. 1, 1794, in the limits or on account of any of the persons aforesaid. And the payment of such order shall not bar the claim of the person who might otherwise have demanded it.

V. If any such resident, who had on Jan. 1, 1794, or since, or shall have money, notes, or any effects belonging to the persons aforesaid, shall pay such money, or part with such notes or effects, except for converting them into money for retaining it, he shall forfeit double the value; and the payment of such money, or parting with such notes or effects, except for the purpose aforesaid, shall not bar the claim of any person who might have demanded the same; except where such money, &c. has been received, or effects purchased *bona fide*, with notice of their being paid or disposed of contrary to this act.

VI. This act not to extend to any thing done by authority of His Majesty, or in his service.

VII. If any action shall be commenced for any demand contrary to this act, the court may discharge the defendant, and stay further proceedings.

VIII. No person shall be subject to any penalty, or answer for any damage, for not paying money or delivering notes or effects after Feb. 1, the payment or delivery whereof after March 1, is prohibited.

IX. This act shall not affect the right to any property, &c. further than herein expressed.

X. All fines shall be to His Majesty, and may be recovered in any court of Record in *Westminster*, or the court of Exchequer in *Scotland*.

XI. Persons committed for offences against this act may be admitted to bail.

XII. Where offences may be tried. Persons indicted to be entitled to the benefit of 7 Gul. III. cap. 3. and 7 Annæ, cap. 21.

XIII. Nothing in this act shall alter 33 Geo. III. cap. 27.

XIV. Act may be repealed or altered this session.

On the 7th of July, 1794, another Act was passed, which more fully provides for the objects of the preceding.

Dutch Placard.

THE states of Holland and West Friesland published a placard, in exact conformity to the bill introduced into the British Parliament, relative to bills of exchange, and drawn by, or in favour of persons resident in France since Jan. 1, 1794.

By this placard it is commanded,

1. That no native or foreigner, after its publication, and during the continuance of the present war, shall send into France, or deliver, or cause to be delivered, directly or indirectly, either money, bills of exchange, assignments, &c. &c. to any subjects of France, now residing in France, or any other country, on pain of forfeiting double the value, with an exception, however, in favour of such as may have accepted bills of exchange, provided they declare the same to certain persons nominated by the magistrates within the space of eight days.
2. That no person whatever shall indorse any bills of exchange, &c. within the time indicated.
3. That no person in possession of merchandize, &c. appertaining to the subjects of France, shall dispose of, alienate, or deliver, the same to any person residing in France, &c. And,
4. That all such goods, bills, &c. shall be entered to the credit of the merchants of France to whom they belong.

Those transgressing the above regulation, and unable to pay the penalties annexed, shall suffer corporal punishment.

The Imperial Court of Exchange and Commerce at Vienna, on the 10th of February, 1794, issued a Declaration to the following Effect.

THE Imperial directors of exchange and commerce, having received intelligence from Paris, that all bills of exchange, and other debts due to French merchants, and inhabitants of France, by German, and other European merchants and correspondents, were to be delivered up, and conveyed to, and for the benefit of the present French government, who is to pay the proprietors in assignats, manifest a wish that a general meeting of such merchants and others, possessed of French property, would take into consideration how far that measure adopted in France might injure the interest of the subjects of his Imperial majesty; and at the same time, to propose to the Imperial court such measures as might prevent that mischief, which is apprehended from the French drawing such a quantity of

of specie from the hereditary dominions of his Imperial majesty.

In consequence of the above declaration, a meeting was held amongst several of the bankers and merchants of Vienna, who unanimously agreed, that there was no necessity for any measure being taken relative to that declaration, for two reasons :

First, on account of the debts due from the subjects of his Imperial majesty to those of France, being but inconsiderable.

Secondly, from an apprehension that the credit of the Austrian nation might be endangered by taking measures of similar violence with those adopted by a nation, which have proved the very ruin of their credit.

Report presented to the National Convention by Barrere, on Jan. 3d, 1794, in the Name of the Committee of Public Safety, relative to the Situation of Toulon.

CITIZENS, after having celebrated the triumph of the arm of the Republic over the infamous city of Toulon, it becomes the representatives of the people to fix their attention upon *Port de la Montagne*.—A wise decree ought to crown the civic feast. Let us leave to history the task of recounting the simple yet dignified pomp of that feast, celebrated by the conquerors—of relating how the triumphal cars have been for the first time employed in celebrating the patriotic deeds of the soldiers instead of those of the generals—let us leave to philosophy the task of recollecting that the honours of victory have for the first time been decreed to the soldiers wounded in defence of the Republic, and that the representatives of the people have known how to honour at the same time bravery and misfortune. Among the ancients, trees which had been struck by thunderbolts were considered to be sacred—among the French Republicans, the public gratitude consecrates those soldiers who have been wounded by the arms of the despots.—From those citizens whom the chance of war has spared, new traits of military civism are apparent every day: even yesterday, in going out of the convention, an old invalid, exulting at the news received from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, exclaimed—*It is a glorious circumstance to be an invalid in that campaign in which the Prussians were repulsed from Landau.*

To artists and historians must be consigned the task of transmitting to posterity those traits of Republican courage which have appeared at Toulon. They will afford a brilliant and magnificent subject to those poets who are enthusiastically attached to liberty. On our national theatres, Oh men of France! will be repeated those deeds of heroism which have
been

been performed upon the shores of the Mediterranean—those monuments will be civic eulogies in honour of some, and will afford to others a proud lesson, by which they may be deterred from sullyng the national glory. While we wait for the tribute which the genius of arts will pay to the genius of liberty—while we wait for the labours of those poets who will immortalize that tempestuous night, in which, through a heavy rain, the soldiers of liberty advanced with a courageous silence to the English redoubt, that bulwark of their venal treason — while we wait to hear in our theatres the tocsin of fear which was rung by the Spaniards when the English bravery was retreating towards the Mediterranean—while we wait to hear the confused cries of Neapolitans, Portuguese, Italians, Spaniards, and Emigrants, invoking upon their knees the sailors and pilots to fly a dishonoured shore, which restored them to the sea that brought them—while we wait till they shall represent to us the French army advancing suddenly against the walls of that infamous city, where the mine of a fort blew up by its side, where the fire, set to parcels of gunpowder and sand within the town, covered the air with bombs, and spared the lives of our brave soldiers, only because they faced danger the more closely — while we wait till they shall depict to us that beneficent transportation of all the traitors of Toulon, and of their wives, still more guilty, who threw themselves into sloops of embarkation, sunk by our formidable artillery—the reporter of your committee means to confine himself to represent to you the crimes and the destructive cowardice of those furious enemies, who, in their flight, set fire to our fleet. Behold that conflagration! it discovers to us the confused and sudden embarkation of the heroes of Albion, and the nobles of Castile. It shews us those perfidious squadrons whom the very winds refuse to assist, and whom the indignant billows even threaten to throw against our batteries!—Behold that burning ship of the Republic, in which the French patriots, chained by the English, perish!—Behold those atrocious fires! they blazon forth on the wide surface of the seas the crimes of the courts of London and Madrid; they inflame the indignant courage of our troops and light them in their victorious march. This sad and gloomy picture might be softened by the sight of the galley-slaves, who, still mindful of the country which had punished them, broke their chains, thinking only of extinguishing the flames which consumed our fleet. It would be our duty, amidst these sorrowful and melancholy scenes to depict the representative of the people leaving the prison of Fort La Malgue, and asking, in the confusion of victory, “Am I, indeed, with Frenchmen? has the Republic vanquished her enemies?”

Pardon

Pardon this digression, inspired by the subject, and by the circumstances in which we now are. Our committee has only charged me to present to you the means of regenerating the navy of the Republic in the ports of the Mediterranean, and of restoring it to that power, which its position, its richness, and population, its will and its victories, secure to it on the seas.

The Spaniards and the Neapolitans burnt nine ships, and the English *stole* four. Fifteen remained untouched in the port. Four had been formerly sent to the harbours of Brest and L'Orient, no doubt with the design of poisoning our ports on the ocean; and, by such a fatal present, to prepare fresh perfidies, purchased by the English civil list, and the depredations of Charles of Spain.

The Republic possesses in the Mediterranean upwards of thirty ships of war, consisting of frigates, corvettes, and cutters, exclusive of *Le Dufquesne*, a ship of the line of 74 guns. There remain at Toulon fifteen ships, viz. five frigates, five lighters, one ship of the line, and two frigates upon the stocks.

One part of our ships has been destroyed by the crimes of our enemies: those ships will be replaced by the forfeits of the emigrants; their fortune remains to pay the building; their forests will be converted into ships, and their houses changed into arsenals or manufactures. The Republicans will manufacture sails in the very places where the emigrants wove their plots, and the country will grow rich both by their flight and their fortunes. One of our tyrants, who created the French navy more by pride, than by just ideas of its utility, distinguished that creation by the despotism and vanity which signalized all the actions of a reign which lasted too long. He issued a naval ordinance, with numberless formalities, respecting the felling and use of the timber in the forests. The Republic has other means and other views; it wants men and materials: it requires and appropriates the same in the various magazines and working places. In democracy, all the enjoyments are centred; individuality is the egotism of monarchies. The first wants are those of the country: it is entitled to every thing which its welfare requires. Liberty is a privileged and general creditor, not only of person and property, but even of talents, courage, and thought.

The committee proposes to you, to charge the minister of the marine to give immediate orders for building as many ships as the Port de la Montagne (Toulon) can contain. You ought not to confine yourselves to that re-conquered harbour---you ought to order ships to be built in the same manner in all the ports of the Mediterranean. Nature called
you

you almost exclusively to navigate that sea, and to trade upon it, since it has parted it from the ocean and our constant enemies, by a famous and narrow strait. Nature associated you with the nations of Italy : it invited you to carry on commerce in the Levant, and to connect yourselves with the Dardanelles. It is known in the divan, that Republics never marry, and that Vienna will no longer govern France by Austrian women. It is known in your southern manufactures, that their prosperity depends on the preservation of the trade which the mouths of the Rhone found so useful ; and that the Mediterranean is only a great channel of navigation for France, of which she ought to possess the powers of regulation. It is not sufficient to break the sceptres of the continental powers—the sceptre of the maritime powers ought also to be broken, and you ought to free the seas as you have freed the land. Your cannons are the envoys which you send to the powers of the continent : your ships of the line and your frigates are the ambassadors to the maritime powers.—To the arsenals ! to the docks ! citizens, is the cry of the Republic.

With regard to the divers naval storehouses and establishments depending on the maritime department, the minister is to be charged by this decree, to have them immediately restored. He shall have power to put in requisition the masons, and all other necessary workmen. Let private ship-building cease when that of the nation begins. This requisition may extend to all the harbours adjacent to the Port de la Montagne. The representatives of the people sent into the departments where there is timber, shall send it without delay to the ports of the Mediterranean. Every article necessary for the naval service has already been put in a state of requisition. Let a decree of the convention therefore rouse them into immediate activity. At the glad sound of victory the greatest affluence of artificers, sailors, marines, and friends of the Republic will be found in all our ports. Since victory has attended our banners, all assert that they are patriots—all exclaim, *God save the Republic !*—Let them serve the Republic. The administrative bodies may, in this circumstance, expiate or obliterate their political wrongs, in accelerating, by the means which the law has put in their power, the supply of provisions to our ports in the Mediterranean, the conveyance of materials and workmen, and the felling of timber.

It is, above all, in the *ci-devant* duchy of Savoy, in the Alpine forests, that the protecting destiny of the Republic has marked out ships.—Strong and lasting timber, and abundance of materials, can be brought from this southern department to the sea-coast. The representatives of the people in Mont
Blanc

Blanc ought to induce the rangers to enrich the port de la Montagne with picked trees from the Alps. But, as it is necessary to call forth so many workmen from the Southern departments to the ports in the Mediterranean, you should be informed that the first requisition took off a great number of mechanics, who are in the vigour of life, animated with civism, and still continue to be left without arms. Let us, therefore, change for a moment the object of the first requisition, and substitute a mechanical requisition of workmen for a military one. To manufacture a gun, to build a ship, to go through the manœuvres in a garrison, or to fight on the frontiers, is to render the same service to the Republic. You will, therefore, permit the minister of marine to expedite instruments of requisition to all naval workmen, of what age or description soever, to be employed in the ports and arsenals of the Republic.

But these plans of naval service may be obstructed, as the Federalists and Monarchists, who held places in the maritime and military administrations, have not yet all disappeared. All those now employed in those important branches, are not zealous Republicans. The gold of Pitt—like the golden shower of Danae—penetrates through the national offices and working places. Toulon and Marseilles, Brest and L'Orient, are not quite divested of those obscure agents of the British minister, of those numerous adherents of the Duke of York, and of those buffoons of lords who call themselves zealous patriots. All those who shall therefore be guilty of neglect of the works in the sea-ports and arsenals, and shall not exert themselves as much as shall lie in their power, ought to be dismissed by the minister of the marine, and put under arrest as suspicious persons.

The last measure which your committee proposes to you, is to extinguish the maritime federalism, to which the greatest part of the treasons of Toulon is due. Long since have the seamen of the South separated themselves from those of the West, by interest, manners, usages, and connections, from which sprung a great disorganization. It is as though the armies of the Alps or of Italy should imagine that they were not engaged in the same cause, as the armies of the North and of the Rhine.—Federalism is an ill in a certain degree attached to this climate, but it differs materially from that federal disease inherent in intrigue, vanity, royalty, and in the crimes of the combined powers and their partisans in France. It is a local federalism, which, however, the legislator ought to endeavour without ceasing to attenuate and destroy. The virulence is more alarming on the sea than on shore—for on the sea it is supported by distance, by long voyages, by the
 VOL. II. G absence

absence of discipline, and by naval disorganization. On the shore, however, its force is repressed by the ever watchful legislature, and by the several authorities acting in concert with the legislature. The soul of the Republic, therefore, must infuse itself into, and animate the whole body of the naval and military force. We must link together all the seamen in the same manner as we have the soldiers. You ought, therefore, to unite in all parts the naval forces, as you have united the military; all the seamen ought to be linked together like the soldiers.—The battalions of the Alps and the Pyrenees ought to march to the banks of the Sambre, of the Moselle, of the Rhine, and of the Danube: the seamen of Dunkirk and Bayonne ought in the same manner to repair to Toulon and to Cette, as the seamen of the Var and the Rhone ought to serve in the ports of Brest, Rochelle, and L'Orient. Why should the tempests that rouse the anger of the waves of the Mediterranean be unknown to the seamen who have weathered the storms of the ocean? The Republican should be equally acquainted with the rocks of one sea, and the sands of another. The inhabitants of France should accustom themselves to every climate where the voice of their country calls them—They ought to press the waves of every sea, to which the interest of the national commerce summons them. Does it belong to us to feed that unnatural and fatal rivalry between the different ports of the Republic? Is it our duty to continue that antipathy which despotism cherished, but which Republicans ought to destroy? Ought we who have punished the federalists, to support the federal system?—I demand, citizens, your deepest attention---Let us preserve our squadrons, our seas, and the Republic from this danger, which impends over them from the intrigues of federalism---Let the monster expire this day beneath the force of your decrees.

A last thought has struck your committee in presenting this plan; which is, to break the chains with which the antient government has fettered some men, of whom many are, perhaps, more unfortunate than guilty. The slaves did not imagine that they should obtain their freedom by defending the interests of the Republic---They did not forget in the midst of their punishment that they were Frenchmen, and they therefore hastened to extinguish the flames on board the different ships. One of them burnt his hands in endeavouring to extinguish the lighted pitch and tar which was on the point of setting fire to one of our most important magazines. Had the wretched galley-slaves possessed counter-revolutionary sentiments, they would have fed the flames for the purpose of effecting their escape—Had these men resembled the inhabitants of Toulon, they would have assisted the enemies of their country

country—by an opposite conduct have they not paid their ransom in patriotism?

We mean not to propose to you such measures as may appear to partake of immorality—we therefore wish not blindly to break the chains of all the slaves at Toulon.—But has not the love of their country purified their hearts, which might have been corrupted by the vices of the old system, might have been produced by misfortune, and perhaps by those despotic laws which you have repealed?

May we not institute an inquiry into the nature of those crimes which occasioned their condemnation to the galleys? May we not restore to society, men who may again become citizens, and who did not forget their country when it was in danger? Your deputies have written to the Convention, that the galley-slaves were the only patriots in Toulon. Suffer therefore public gratitude to console these unfortunate people, and to prove that the Republic is not insensible to the manner in which they have devoted themselves to her service.

The loss of the Republic in the arsenal is trifling—everything is preserved, except the general magazine and the storehouse for masts. By an attentive consideration of the force of our enemies and the valuable articles they have left us, we shall be convinced that this victory is so astonishing, that posterity will scarce be able to credit it. It is only such soldiers as fight for their country who could have dared to attempt such an enterprise, and who could have gained such a victory.

Barrere then proposed and the Convention passed the following decree:

I. The minister of the marine is ordered to issue immediate orders for building as many ships as can be built in the docks of port de la Montagne, (formerly Toulon.)

II. Orders in the mean time shall be sent to all the other ports in the Mediterranean for the building of as many ships as the docks will hold.

III. The minister of the marine is to order all those establishments of Toulon which are connected with his office to be repaired; and in order to produce this effect, he is ordered to put in a state of requisition all masons and other artificers belonging to the department of Var and the neighbouring departments.

IV. The national representatives in the Southern departments shall send to Marseillés and Toulon, as soon as they receive this decree, all the ship timber, and every other article necessary to the building and equipping of ships.

V. The administrative bodies are ordered to use the greatest activity in the conveyance of the necessary articles for the service of the marine.

VI. The national representatives in the department of Mont Blanc are desired to accelerate the execution of the decree for the felling of timber in that department. The timber when felled, is immediately to be sent to Marseilles and Toulon.

VII. The necessary artificers for the service of the marine, and who have hitherto belonged to the first armed requisition, are required by the present decree to proceed to Toulon, in order to assist in the works, which are about to be begun.—The war and marine ministers are ordered to give the necessary directions.—The marine minister is to send to the Convention a printed list of such citizens as may be drafted from the first requisition for the service of the marine.

VIII. Carpenters, caulkers, sail-makers, and all persons who have been employed in ship building, are put in a state of requisition by the present decree, and are to be employed in the several arsenals and ports of the Republic, by an order from the marine minister.

IX. The minister shall make such a disposition in the service of the marine, that the seamen at present employed in the maritime ports of the North and the West shall be employed in the Southern ports.

X. All the civil and military agents of the marine, and all others employed in this service, who shall neglect or delay, or who shall refuse to assist by all means in their power, the naval operations, shall be dismissed by the minister, and taken up as suspected persons.

XI. The representatives of the people at Toulon are authorized to name a committee, consisting of three persons, who shall examine the registers of the galleys in which persons have been confined, the nature of their crimes, and the sentences which have been passed upon the galley-slaves.

The opinion of the commissioners shall be sent to the Convention, as well as the nature of their determination on the state of these slaves.

XII. All the petitions, &c. which have been addressed to the legislators and ministers by the galley-slaves detained in the port of Toulon and other places, shall be transmitted to the commissioners within 24 hours. The most scrupulous examination shall immediately be made of all the papers in the different offices.

XIII. The National Convention decrees, that the galley-slave who burnt his hand in extinguishing the pitch and tar which was near burning one of the dock-yards, shall be immediately set at liberty. There shall be presented to him by the representatives of the people, a sum of 600 livres by way of aid.

In consequence of a representation of the miserable condition of 1000 French prisoners detained in Mentz, the National Convention decreed on the 9 Pluviose, Monday, Jan. 27, 1794.

1. **T**HE minister at war shall be bound to answer in writing, in the course of 24 hours, whether he has put into execution the decree of Sept. 7, relative to the French detained at Mentz.
2. That he be also obliged to declare, whether the afflicted situation of those citizens, which ought to have been delivered to him by Chaney, commissary at war, has been received by him, and if he paid attention to it.
3. That the representatives of the people with the army of the Rhine and the Mozelle shall be charged to write to Oberndorf (Count) the principal minister of the Palatine despot, and to the regency of that base wretch crowned with an electoral mitre, that if, in the course of twenty-four hours, the bankers of their master at Frankfort shall not have paid to the King of Prussia the sum which he demands for the Frenchmen detained at Mentz, the town, burghs, villages, and hamlets of the great bailiwicks of Creutznach and Alzey, which are in the hands of the Republic, shall be reduced to ashes.
4. That the representatives of the people shall also be charged with removing to the interior of the Republic, all the provisions and effects of value in the great bailiwicks of Lauterecken, Kayserlautern, and Neustadt.
5. That this measure be extended to all the other territories of the German petty princes, nobles, &c. especially to the county of Falckenstein, belonging now to the Emperor.
6. That the great bailiwick of Germerheim be immediately municipalized, and embodied with the district of Landau.
7. That the national vengeance be displayed in setting fire to all the castles and palaces of those countries, to begin with that of the Elector of Mentz at Worms, which has long enough served as a shelter to the infamous Conde and his accomplices.

Report on the Revolutionary Governments, made in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, on the 31st January 1774, by Maximilian Robespierre.

Citizens, Representatives of the People,
SUCCESS, whilst it serves only to relax the efforts of the weak, stimulates to more active exertions men of superior minds.

Be it the task of history and of Europe to boast of the miracles of Toulon—Let us prepare new triumphs for Liberty. The defenders of the Republic have adopted the maxim of Cæsar. They believe that *nothing is done whilst any thing remains to be accomplished*. Sufficient dangers still exist to excite our utmost zeal. The valour of our Republican soldiers renders it an easy task to conquer the English and overcome traitors; an undertaking, however, not less important, though more arduous, still remains to be accomplished. We must frustrate, by an unshaken energy, the perpetual intrigues of all the enemies of our liberty, and render triumphant those principles on which alone the public prosperity can be established. These are the most important duties which you have imposed on your committee of public safety.

We will now, first, explain the principles and the necessity of a Revolutionary Government, and then proceed to point out the causes which have tended to stifle it in its birth.

The theory of a Revolutionary Government is as new as the revolution that produced it. It would be in vain to search for it in the books of political writers, by whom it was not foreseen, or in the laws of tyrants, who, content with abusing, are not very solicitous to inquire into the legitimacy of their power.—To the aristocracy also this word is either the object of terror or a subject for calumny; to tyrants a high offence; to many persons a complete enigma: it is therefore necessary to explain it to all, that the good citizens, at least, may rally round the standard of the public welfare.

The office of government is to direct the moral and physical force of the nation to the end of its institution. The aim of the constitutional government is to preserve the Republic: that of the revolutionary government to lay its foundation. The revolution is the war of liberty against its enemies; the constitution is the government of liberty, at once victorious and at peace. The revolutionary government stands in need of extraordinary activity, because it is in a state of war. It is subject to rules less uniform and exact, because the circumstances, under which it exists, are unsettled and tempestuous, and above all, because it is perpetually obliged to provide uncommon and immediate resources for new and pressing dangers.—Civil liberty occupies chiefly the attention of the constitutional government; public liberty, that of the revolutionary government. Under the constitutional government, almost all that is required is the protection of individuals against the public power; under the revolutionary government, the public power itself is to be defended against all the factions that assail it. The revolutionary government owes to good citizens, all the protection which the
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nation can give; the enemies of the people have nothing to expect from it but death.

This is sufficient to explain the origin and nature of those laws which we call revolutionary. Those who pronounce them arbitrary or tyrannical, are either stupid or obstinate sophists, who endeavour to confound things which are opposite in their nature.—They wish peace and war, health and sickness to be submitted to the same regimen; or rather, they desire only the resurrection of tyranny, and the death of their country. If they are clamorous for the literal execution of the constitutional laws, it is only to violate them with impunity. These are the cowardly assassins, who, to destroy the Republic in its cradle, endeavour to fetter it with vague maxims, from which they well know how to disengage themselves.

The constitutional vessel has not been constructed to remain always on the stocks; but would it have been proper to have launched it in a storm, and under the influence of contrary winds?—This was what the tyrants and slaves, who opposed its construction, wished; the French people, however, have directed you to wait the return of a calm. Their unanimous wishes drowning, at once, the clamours of aristocracy and of federalism have commanded you, first, to deliver them from all their enemies. The temples of the gods are not built to serve as an asylum for sacrilegists, who come to prophane them; nor was the constitution framed to countenance the plots of tyrants, who endeavour to destroy it.

If the revolutionary government be more active in its career, more free in its movements, is it less just or less legal? No! It is supported by the most sacred of all laws—the welfare of the people; by the most irrefragable of rights—necessity. Its principles are founded on justice and public order: it has nothing in common with anarchy or confusion; on the contrary, its aim is to repress them, for the purpose of establishing the reign of laws—neither has it any thing in common with what is arbitrary—it is not directed by particular passion, but by the public welfare.

It is its duty to act on general principles in all cases when they can be applied without endangering the public liberty. The extent of its force ought to be proportioned to the perfidy and audacity of the conspirators. The more it appears terrible to bad men, the more will it protect and favour the good. The oftener we are compelled under particular circumstances to adopt rigorous measures, the more cautious we should be to avoid such measures when they unnecessarily injure liberty, and are hurtful to the interests of individuals, without any advantage to the public. We have to steer between two rocks—imbecility and temerity—moderantism and excess—moderantism, which is

to moderation, what impotence is to chastity—and excess, which resembles energy only as a dropy resembles health.

Tyrants have perpetually endeavoured to make us return to slavery by the road of moderantism; sometimes indeed they have tried to accomplish their purpose by driving us into the opposite path. The two extremes lead to the same point---the supporter of each have failed. No one resembles more the apostle of federalism than the boisterous preacher of the Republic one and indivisible. The friend of kings and the procureur-general of the human race understand each other extremely well. The fanatic covered with scapularies, and the fanatic who preaches up atheism, very much resemble each other. The democratic nobles are the brothers of the marquisses at Coblenz, and the red caps are sometimes more nearly related to the red heels than might easily be imagined.

Here it becomes necessary that the government use the greatest circumspection; for all the enemies of the government are on the watch to turn against it, not only its faults, but the wisest of its measures. If it wear the appearance of what is called exaggeration, they then endeavour to establish moderantism and aristocracy---If it pursue these two monsters, they immediately use their utmost exertions to promote this exaggeration. It is extremely dangerous to leave them the means of improperly directing the zeal of good citizens---it is still more dangerous to discourage and persecute those citizens whom they have deceived. By one of these errors the Republic might be in danger of expiring in a convulsive struggle---by the other it would unavoidably perish of languor. What then are we to do? To detect the villainous contrivers of these infamous plots; to protect patriotism even in its errors; to enlighten the patriots, and without intermission to instruct the people in their rights and in their duties.---If this be not adopted, all will be lost. If we had to chuse between the excess of patriotic fervour and incivism, or moderantism, there could be no hesitation in deciding. A vigorous body overloaded with juices, is certainly preferable to a dead carcase. Above all, let us take care that, in wishing to cure, we do not kill, patriotism. Patriotism is, in its nature, ardent. Was there ever a cold lover of his country? It generally falls to the lot of men whose simplicity renders them little capable of calculating the political consequences of a civic proceeding, by its motive. But where is even the enlightened patriot who is not sometimes deceived? If one admit that there are moderés who are honest, why should there not exist patriots who are honest, whom sentiments that are in themselves praiseworthy, have led too far?

If, ther, you regard as criminals all those, who in a revolutionary movement have passed the exact line traced out by prudence, you will include in one common proscription with the bad

bad citizens, all the natural friends of liberty, your own friends, and all the supporters of the Republic. The crafty emissaries of tyranny, after having deceived them, will themselves become their accusers, and perhaps their judges.

Who then will be enabled to distinguish amidst such a variety of shades? Who then will trace the line of demarcation between so many opposite excesses?—The love of our country and of virtue. This is what kings and knaves are always endeavouring to efface. They wish to have nothing to do either with reason or with truth.

In shewing what are the duties of a revolutionary government, we have pointed out the rocks on which it might split. The greater its power, the more necessary it is that it should be directed by honesty and integrity. The moment it falls into bad hands, liberty will be lost; its name will become the pretext and the excuse for even a counter-revolution; its action will be that of a violent poison.

The confidence, indeed, of the French people is attached more to the character which has been displayed by the Convention, than all the institution itself.

In placing so much power in your hands they expect that your government will be as beneficial to the patriots as terrible to the enemies of the country. They expect that you will display at the same time, the courage and policy necessary for destroying them, and above all, for promoting among yourselves, that union which is necessary for fulfilling the important duties which have been allotted to you.

The foundation of the French Republic was not the sport of a child. It is neither the offspring of caprice, nor the accidental result of a collision of all the various aims of individuals, or of all the revolutionary elements. Wisdom as well as power presided at the creation of the universe.

In imposing upon members taken from your own bosom, the noble task of watching over and guarding the interests of the country, you have also imposed on yourselves the duty of lending them all your support and all your confidence.

If the revolutionary government be not seconded by the energy, by the wisdom, by the patriotism, by the justice of all the representatives of the people, how can it possess a force of re-action, proportioned to the efforts of all Europe by whom it is attacked, and of all the enemies of liberty who oppose it at every point? Miserable indeed will be our situation if we attend to the perfidious insinuations of our enemies, who, unable to conquer, seek only to divide us; if instead of adding strength to, we break the bonds of our union; if truth and the welfare of the country be superseded by private interest and offended vanity! let our souls be elevated to the summit of republican
H virtues,

virtues, and the examples of antiquity.—Themistocles possessed greater talents than the Lacedemonian general, who commanded the Grecian fleet; yet, when the latter, as an answer to some counsel necessary for saving the country, raised his stick to strike him, Themistocles contented himself with replying, “strike, but hear;” and Greece triumphed over the tyrant of Asia. Scipio, after having conquered Hannibal and Carthage, rendered himself glorious by serving under the command of his enemy. O virtue! How much beneath thee is all the pride of little minds? O virtue! art thou less necessary in *founding* a republic, than in *governing* it when at peace? O my country! hast thou less command over the representatives of the French people, than Greece and Rome possessed over their generals? What do I say? If amongst us the functions of the revolutionary government be no longer considered as duties, but objects of ambition—the Republic already is no more.

The authority of the Convention should be respected by all Europe. To degrade it, to destroy it, the tyrants have lavished all their resources; it is necessary that the Convention resolutely prefer its own government to the cabinet of London.—The moment the Convention ceases to govern, tyrants will begin to reign. What advantages have they not had in this war of art and corruption made against the Republic? All the vices have fought under their banners, whilst the virtues only have combated for the Republic. The virtues are simple, modest, poor, often ignorant, and sometimes rude: they are the portion of the unfortunate; the patrimony of the people. The vices are surrounded with abundance, decorated with all the enchantments of delusion, and all the allurements of pleasure, and protected by those dangerous talents which are devoted to the cause of criminality.

With what utility do the tyrants turn against us, not only our foibles and our passions, but even our patriotism itself. How rapidly will those seeds of division which they are perpetually throwing amongst us, ripen into maturity, if we do not hasten to check them! Five years of treason and of tyranny, too much credulity, want of foresight and pusillanimity, have enabled Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, and Italy, to establish a secret government in France in opposition to our own. They have their committees, their treasurers, their agents. This government acquires the force, of which we deprive our own; it possesses that unanimity which we have too long wanted, that policy which we have hitherto thought useless, and that harmony of which we have not always been convinced of the necessity.

Foreign courts, too, have for a long time past, vomited forth on France all the able villains whom they keep in their pay. Their agents infest our armies; the victory even at

Toulon

Toulon is a proof of it ; all the bravery of our soldiers, all the fidelity of our generals, all the heroism of the representatives of the people, are necessary to triumph over treason. They debate in our assemblies ; they introduce themselves into our clubs ; they have besieged even the sanctuary of the national representation ; they direct, and eternally will direct, the counter-revolution on the same plan.

They perpetually surround us, dive into our secrets, flatter our passions, endeavour to learn our opinions, and then make use of our resolutions as an engine against us. Are you timid ? they praise your prudence. Are you prudent ? they accuse you of timidity.—Your courage they call temerity—your justice cruelty. Take no notice of them, and they conspire publicly, threaten them, and they plot in secret, and under the mask of patriotism. One day they assassinate the defenders of liberty ; the next they mix with the funeral procession, and request for them divine honours, whilst they only watch for an occasion to commit similar murders.—Are the flames of a civil war to be kindled ?—these men are ready to preach up all the follies of superstition. Is the war likely to be extinguished by the blood of Frenchmen ? They instantly abjure their priesthood and their gods to rekindle it.

We have seen the English and the Prussians, in our towns and in our villages, publishing ridiculous doctrines in the name of the Convention. We have seen priests place themselves at the head of a collection of rebels, of whose conduct religion was either the motive or the pretext. Many patriots, who have been induced to commit acts of imprudence, merely by the hatred they bear to fanaticism, have already been assassinated. In many parts of the country much blood has been already shed on account of these detestable broils, as if we had more than what is necessary to fight against the enemies of Europe. O shame ! O feebleness of human reason ! a great nation has been made the sport of some of the most detestable lackies of tyranny ! Foreigners have hitherto appeared to decide on the public tranquillity.—Money has circulated and disappeared at their pleasure. If it thought fit the people had bread, if not, they were deprived of it. At their signal, mobs round the doors of the bakers were either collected or dispersed. They surround us with their *sicaires*, and with their spies ; we know this—we see it ; and still they live ! The axe of the law, it appears, cannot touch them. At present it is more difficult to punish, even a grand conspirator, than to snatch a friend of liberty from the hands of calumny. Scarcely have we denounced those excesses falsely attributed to philosophy—provoked by the enemies of France. Scarcely has patriotism pronounced in the tribune the word *ultra revolutionnaire*, which denotes them, when the trai-

tors of Lyons and all the adherents of tyranny hasten to apply it to those warm and generous patriots, who have avenged the people and the laws. On the one hand they renew the old system of persecution against the friends of the Republic; on the other, they invoke our indulgence in favour of villains covered with the blood of their country.

These crimes, nevertheless, increase: this infamous band of foreign emissaries is daily recruited—France is over-run with them—they are perpetually lying in wait for a moment favourable to their designs. They intrench themselves, they are cantoned in the very heart of the nation; they throw up new redoubts, new counter-revolutionary batteries, whilst the tyrants, who support them, raise new armies. Yes! these perfidious emissaries who mix with us, who caress us, are only the brothers—the accomplices of those ferocious satellites, who destroy our harvests, who have taken possession of our towns and of our ships, which have been bought by their masters; who massacre the patriots, who butcher without remorse, the prisoners, our wives, and children, and the reputation of the French people. But what do I say? The monsters who have committed these crimes are a thousand times less atrocious than these vile wretches who secretly prey upon our vitals—and yet these men live, and conspire against us with impunity! They only wait for leaders to rally them whom they seek amongst yourselves—their principal object is to create dissensions—this fatal struggle would raise the hopes of aristocracy, would renew the plots of the federalists; it would avenge the Girondine faction, who have been punished for their crimes; for it is the Mountain, or rather the Convention, whom they attack in endeavouring to divide it, and impede its operations. We make war only against the English, the Prussians, the Austrians, and their accomplices. It is in exterminating them that we reply to our accusers—We know no hatred but to the enemies of our country. It is not to the hearts of patriots and of the unfortunate that we wish to carry terror; but to the haunts of foreign brigands, where they divide their spoil and drink the blood of Frenchmen.

The committee has observed that the law is not sufficiently active in punishing the chief culprits—foreigners, the well-known agents of the coalesced kings; generals stained with the blood of the French, the accomplices of Dumourier, of Custine, and of Lamarliere, have been long in a state of arrest, and have not yet been tried. The punishment of a thousand obscure criminals is not half so useful to liberty as that of one of the chiefs of the conspirators. The members of the revolutionary tribunal, whose equity, and whose patriotism, have generally deserved our praise, have themselves indicated to the committee of Public Welfare, the causes which have fettered their proceedings; and

and we have moved for the reform of a law, which the critical period at which it was made, rendered necessary. We propose to you to authorise the committee to lay before you some alterations on this head, which will tend equally to favour the innocent, and bring to punishment the guilty.

We propose to you to hasten the judgment of foreigners, and of those generals who have conspired with the tyrants who make war against us. To render ourselves terrible to the enemies of our country is not sufficient—we must preserve its defenders: we therefore intreat you to form some plan for the relief of those who have fought and suffered in the cause of liberty.

The French army is not only the terror of its enemies—it is the glory of the nation and of humanity. In marching to victory, our brave warriors cry *Vive la Republique*—in falling under the sword of the enemy, their cry is *Vive la Republique*. Their last words are hymns to liberty, and their departing sighs are, prayers for the country's welfare.

If our generals had imitated our soldiers, Europe would, long since, have been conquered.—The provision made for the defenders of the country have appeared to us to be too small; we believe, that without inconvenience they may be increased one third. The immense resources of the Republic will permit it.—The country demands it.

It appears also to us that the wounded soldiers, and the wives and children of those who have died for their country, experience the formalities of the law, many difficulties which prevent their receiving all the advantages which it intended they should enjoy.

To remedy this inconvenience we think it will be proper to allot them official counsel to enable them more easily to obtain their rights.

Report made by B. Barrere, on the 1st of February, 1794, in the Name of the Committee of Public Safety, to the National Convention of France, on the Necessity of augmenting the Fabrication of Arms, Salt-petre, and Powder, in order to increase suddenly and in a vast Proportion, the Means which the Republic employs for its Defence, and the Extermination of its Enemies.

OUR land forces have made a glorious campaign; and our naval force will procure us an honourable peace. Peace has been talked of; you have been told that you mean to subject the English people to your measures; that you intend to transport Paris to London. Why will you lavish so much French blood? The confederate powers sue for peace. You wish to dethrone all kings—Do you wish it for the purpose of
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undoing the revolution, or, at least, in order to retard its beneficial consequences? This is the common language of the *moderates*!

The committee prepare a terrible war, with the only view of obtaining a solid peace. You desire peace; the leagued kings do the same; but mark at what price! A diplomatic agent in a neutral country said the other day, "The confederate powers are willing, *provisionally*, to acknowledge the French republic." (*Bursts of laughter*)—Well, let us *provisionally* destroy all tyrannical governments. (*Applauded.*) Do you know what the coalesced kings are proposing to you? A cessation of hostilities for two years. ("*No cessation of hostilities!*" was the general cry.) They offer you a two years armistice, for the purpose of establishing among you *New Vendees*, in order to recover their exhausted strength, to carry off your merchandize, to infect the popular societies by their agents; to stir up new conspiracies among you; perfidiously to take from you your arms, your provisions, and to give you at last some royal scoundrel for a master. This is the cessation of hostilities which is offered you; at the term of its expiration, they will grant you peace, they say; and this peace is to be ratified by the French people. Can it be forgotten, that a faction, whose intention it was to destroy liberty by this means, made similar proposals.

The French people desired peace; but an honourable peace, a peace such as we shall be ready to sign. The tyrants offer you peace, because they have neither money nor soldiers. A negociator said lately in Switzerland, "but suppose it was intended to talk of peace, to whom in France should an application of that kind be addressed?"—"To whom? This is not difficult to be determined," answered the national agent; "we have a hundred thousand negociators at the army of the Rhine; a hundred thousand in the south; as many at the northern army." (*Bursts of applause.*)

Why should the French people not act as Rome did? Why should we not surround all kings with the famous circle of Popilius? If the British people wish for peace, why do they not speedily detach themselves from their infernal and despotic government? Let them cease to behave like slaves, and we will grant them peace. The kings, we are told, demand peace—but what have these despots hitherto done to obtain it?—Have they ceased to provoke the neutral governments against us, and to direct their perfidious manœuvres against a free people? Arms and gun-powder must alone procure us peace.

After stating that the two great objects of the report was to produce an extraordinary fabrication of arms and of powder, and that those objects could not be accomplished by the adoption

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tion of the old system, Barrere proceeded to state that the committee had made Paris the center for the extraordinary fabrication of arms. "It is but fitting," he exclaimed, "that that city, which saw a tyrant perish, should forge the thunderbolt that is to strike to the earth all other tyrants."

Barrere then gave an account by which it appears, that 300 forges have been established at Paris, that the three great arsenals contained more than 500 workmen employed in making guns;—that 680 firelocks are made every day, and that it is expected that this number will soon be increased to 1000. That, in the departments, forges have been established for the fabrication of guns, swords, and bayonets. For casting cannon, there are fifteen founderies at Paris—under the old government, there were only two. These fifteen founderies cast 1,100 pieces of brass cannon a month. There are besides two founderies for iron cannon.

With respect to the making of salt-petre and gunpowder, the report gives the following account:

Researches have been made with the greatest industry for such places as were most likely to afford salt-petre. Enlightened commissioners and celebrated chymists were sent into the departments of the Indre and the Loire, always famous for its richness in salt-petre, but never yet properly and in a revolutionary manner explored. Complete success has attended the endeavours of these men. The department of Vaucluse has also furnished a considerable quantity of this valuable commodity. The strong castles, those feudal fastnesses, that were ordered to be demolished, attracted next the attention of your committee.—Nature there had secretly regained her rights, and had produced salt-petre for the purpose, as it should seem, of facilitating the execution of your decree, by preparing the means of destruction.—From these ruins which still frown on the liberties of the Republic, we have extracted the means of producing good; and those piles which have hitherto glutted the pride of despots, and covered the plots of La Vendee, will soon furnish wherewithal to tame the traitors—and to overwhelm the disaffected. The rebellious cities have also afforded a large quantity of salt-petre—Commune Affranchie, and port de la Montagne, will pay a second tribute to our artillery.

Soon after we had fixed our attention on this subject, our ideas experienced a considerable degree of extension.—That revolutionary genius which produces, in a few days, effects which are scarce produced in years under the silence and stupidity of despotic or aristocratic governments—that revolutionary genius whose movements are so active—which concentrates years and ages, created in a moment, new means superior to all those which had hitherto been adopted—that re-
volutionary

revolutionary genius spoke, and the earth immediately surrendered this terrible and destructive article, which she had hitherto concealed in her bosom.

According to the old method, it was difficult to obtain as much powder as was necessary—Complicated and difficult machines were wanted, and the fabrication was of course slow. Proper situations were to be found on the banks of rivers, and a favourable season was requisite to spread and dry the powder for six weeks—A dangerous mechanism was used, and a single accident might sacrifice the lives of several valuable citizens!

Instead, therefore, of employing such ingenious, though dangerous machines, we endeavoured to simplify the means, and to adopt such a mode as should not reduce us to the necessity of having recourse to mechanics.

New means, as simple as they are excellent, have put us in a condition to re-produce powder at all times, in all seasons, and in all places.—Each day will furnish a certain quantity properly prepared, and of a good quality.

An anecdote not well known, has for a long while proved the possibility of producing this article.

La Bourdonnaye, while in the Bastille, let off a pistol in his dungeon before the keeper :—The keeper was astonished.—“ See !” (exclaimed La Bourdonnaye) “ the manner in which I am armed, and how easily I could put an end to my existence !—I have scraped salt-petre from the walls of my dungeon—my fire afforded me charcoal—my matches brimstone—my pewter spoon furnishes me with balls, and a golden tweezer can be converted into a pistol !”

A few days were sufficient to complete this discovery, and to constitute it into an art.—Every thing is simplified—and now, this revolutionary nitre, the refining of which formerly occupied at least six weeks, is refined in a few days.

Charcoal and brimstone are already collected.

Pot-ash, so necessary to the purifying salt-petre, will be also procured, notwithstanding our enemies endeavour to deprive us of it—Besides, the quantity which we have taken, and still continue to take from them, all the departments are in a state of requisition to furnish it. The forests, those retreats and fastnesses of the rebels of La Vendee, will be converted into pot-ash, and the insulted and poisoned soil, thus purified by fire, will yield at the same time abundance of this precious salt.

Eighteen inspectors have been sent into the different departments.

Mineralogists have also been sent to examine all the mineral materials, (metals, salts, brimstone, charcoal) which the benignant

hignant hand of nature holds forth to the defenders of liberty!

(After suggesting that every house which had furnished salt-petre should be honoured with a civic inscription, the report proceeds in the following manner:)

Nature seems to have foreseen that France would become the fruitful soil of liberty. She has made her rich in all those articles which are necessary to destroy tyrants. Religion procured for her the precious metals—superstition afforded her bells of brass—nature has been prodigal in mines of copper and iron, and more than a million pounds of salt-petre remain in the peaceful habitations of the citizens.—Each possesses this natural mean of defence in the same manner as each possesses the innate love of liberty.

(Barrere now mentioned the names of the sections employed in collecting salt-petre, and recommended the greatest activity to all citizens.)

Twenty-four millions of pounds of powder were wanted for the approaching campaign. The Republic expressed her wants, and they were immediately supplied. Twenty-four millions of pounds have been procured.

Let those barbarous foreigners, who bombard our cities, set fire to our *depots*, and blow up our magazines of powder.—From the ashes of the burnt cities and magazines we shall be able to procure materials for supplying immediately the loss.

Methinks I hear the yell of those incorrigible beings who depreciate all projects which are founded on principles adverse to the common routine of action.—I hear them declare, and their hypocritical and venal partisans repeat, that we are in want of powder. Let them be struck dumb by the following intelligence:—That the new measures which we propose, are only supplements to those wants which have been supplied, and that we are now in such a situation as to have nothing to fear on this subject.

The defect of all old systems is, that they circumscribe the energies of man, and affect to confine the powers of the human mind within given and defined limits.—These new systems, however, which we have founded, allow to the human race the unbounded use of their faculties; and if the revolution of France had produced no other good than this solitary one, that it has carried the mind into regions untrodden before, and elevated it to a height which it never before attained, the universe, I say, would still be indebted to us for this great event.

Who is ignorant of the means which our enemies use to attack us internally, by endeavouring to create a famine, by forging our assignats, by checking the operations in our ports,

in our manufactures, in our agricultures, and in the fabrication of arms and of gunpowder ?

Who does not know, that in 1744, France, in the midst of the most brilliant successes, was forced to make peace on account of the want of gunpowder ? To that same condition would our enemies reduce us now.

It belongs then to the French Republic, and to the national representatives, to adopt those new measures which your committee has ordered me to propose.

Let the despots of Europe, *royalized* and degraded as they are, put their slaves in a state of requisition. Let them convert *patriotically* the houses of the citizens into shops for the extraction of nitre. Let them transform the beings, whom they call their subjects, into collectors of salt-petre, and let them force them to forge their own arms. Let the proud potentates, beaten at Toulon, Landau, Worms, Maubeuge, and Dunkirk, *revolutionise* their *beloved and faithful* vassals, and let them continue to represent France as a nation of savages, a den of robbers, a horde of atheists.

These atheists trust in God, the protector of liberty, and in those priests who cast cannon, forge firelocks, and make gunpowder.—These robbers, armed with the revolutionary energy, will snatch from them those superstitious crooks with which they delude and domineer over men, as if they were vile flocks—This nation of savages rears monuments to liberty, collects precious works in immense libraries, reanimates and *republicanises* theatres, bestows rewards on artists, rebuilds the finest edifice in the world, cuts one hundred canals, restores to free navigation large rivers, and consecrates the art of chymistry, which has increased one hundred fold the means of making gunpowder, and of overwhelming kings. It is a volcano newly discovered, a volcano under the feet of tyrants and their satellites, set fire to by Republicans.

The will and the power of a great people exceed what has hitherto been conceived or executed—Nature, the mother of liberty, has furnished us even to prodigality with every thing necessary for our nourishment, our improvement, and our defence—It only belongs to us to second her efforts.

[We omit an uninteresting detail relative to the casting of cannon, and the melting of balls and bullets.]

It only remains for me now to mention the organization of the national committee of arms and gunpowder. This organization is proposed to be similar to that of the committee of subsistence and provisions : its facility of action will be greater, because it will possess establishments already formed, manufactories and founderies in full activity, and a fabrication which it will only be necessary to watch over, to accelerate and increase.

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Its functions are pointed out in the decree which I shall submit to you: it will possess the right of requisition, in order to prevent any individual from checking the zeal of the defenders of liberty, and from placing limits to the exertions of the Republic.

Can we forget the situation of the public spirit and the principles of our democracy? *All Frenchmen are soldiers---private property may be applied to the public use---Enjoyments are no longer individual, they are collected into a mass.*

It is only with principles as ancient as the state of society and the rights of nature, that the Republic presents herself before *royalized* Europe, to announce to her a war of as long continuance as the injustice of tyrants. The Republic can alone continue the war at will. She can alone send forth from her bosom at the opening of each campaign 1,200,000 men in arms. A territory worth fifty thousand millions is mortgaged in defence of liberty. The thoughts, the industry, the courage of twenty seven millions of men are united in defence of the Republic. The fabrication of assignats on the territories of the nation is more productive than the mines which the barbarous Spaniards have torn from South America.

Already are the despots exhausted of their men and money—The coalition will soon degenerate into quarrels and discontent, and will thus fall asunder ——— At ——— a severe account will soon be demanded on the war of the coalesced powers.

Whatever be the projects or the means of these powers, our political system is founded on these maxims—To defeat tyrants—to destroy their armies—to exhaust their treasuries—without extending our dominion externally, to fortify ourselves internally, if it be only to leave nothing but deserts between the Republic and kings—to exalt every part of the administration to the highest point of perfection—to increase the public power by the virtues of private persons, and by the property of royalists, conspirators, and traitors—to concentrate our attention on laws, morals, and opinions—to maintain a revolutionary and vigorous government, that shall impress on the nation that majesty of character which belongs to it—to produce the due execution of an obedience to the decrees of the convention—to form a vast, profound and systematic code of politics, founded on the eternal basis of patriotism and virtue—never to lay down our arms till the honour of the French name is satisfied—neither to be blinded, nor plunged into a sleeping security by success---not to be disheartened by defeat---to fit all men for public functions---to form citizens proud of the name of their country, as devoted

to the Republic as Decius and Cocles, and believing themselves, as free Frenchmen, superior to kings.

It is with such exalted opinions—with such immense armies ---with a government so firm—and with arsenals so full of arms, and magazines so full of powder, that you will give peace to the earth, and liberty to the ocean.---It is by such means that you will realize the speculations of a philosophical and celebrated soldier.

“ If a people of vigorous genius shall appear in Europe,” said the author twenty years ago, “ a people who shall connect republican virtues and a national militia with a fixed plan either of aggrandizement or government; a people who shall never lose sight of this system---who know how to make war at little expense, and to subsist by their victories---who are not reduced to lay down their arms by financial calculations: such a people will either subdue all countries, or will be respected by all.---To foreign governments it will be a north wind forcing the weak reed to bend beneath its power.” You are this people, men of France; without, however, the spirit of aggrandizement and of conquest. Placed in the midst of Europe, under the most serene atmosphere, and on a territory the most fertile, possessing men the most industrious, surrounded by mountains, seas, and rivers, or, in other words, by limits placed on purpose by the protecting hand of Nature---too powerful to fear, and too great to wish for any thing: a pure representation, and a vigorous government, which, instead of burthening the nation with its weight, shall exalt it:---such a government, with cannon, bayonets, and powder, are your only wants.

The decree proposed by Barrere, and adopted by the convention, was, that a committee of arms and powder should be formed, consisting of three members, citizens Capon, Dupin, and Benezecii,---That it should have under its direction the fabrication of arms of all sorts, and of gunpowder.---That it should possess the power of putting the people in a state of requisition;---and that it should have at its disposal forty millions of livres---That any person attempting to check the fabrication of arms and gunpowder should be treated as a suspected person, and imprisoned till the conclusion of the war.---That an extraordinary felling of timber should take place in all the forests of the Republic, and that every proprietor of land should be ordered to cut down such wood as he might otherwise have intended to cut down next year.

The Sections of Unity, and the Fauxbourg Montmartre, having presented the French Convention, on the 3d of February, 1794, the Produce of their first Essays in making Salt-petre, the President said to them,

REPUBLICANS! you have brought us salt-petre, which is in fact, to tell us, that there shall be neither peace nor truce for tyrants, and that the olive of peace shall be planted only on their tombs. Courage, modern Spartans! forge the thunderbolt that is to strike their guilty heads.

Devour proud Albion, and plunge in the ocean Pitt and his accomplices. It is not enough that they should be driven from the territory of the Republic---it is on the banks of the Thames that the glorious emblem of our liberty must be planted. It is in the streets of London that the hymn of the *Marseilloise* must be sung.---These insolent men propose to us a truce of two years: they are desirous to recognize the French Republic, provisionally:

It is, to be sure, a singular generosity towards a nation of 25 millions of souls, which has 1,200,000 heroes in arms---which casts 1,100 cannon per month---makes almost 1,000 muskets per day, and which has 10,000,000,000 livres to exchange against powder and shot!---Depend, citizens, on the incorruptible Mountain. It is against this rock, that our enemies are wasting their strength.---(*Warm plaudits.*)

The speech was ordered to be printed.

Report of Robespierre, February 7, 1793, on the Principles of moral Policy which ought to direct the French Convention in the internal Administration of the Republic.

AFTER having long proceeded at random, and hurried on, as it were, by the impulse of contrary factions, the representatives of the French people have at length shewn a character and a government.—A sudden change in the fortune of the nation announced to Europe the regeneration which was effected in the national representation: but it must be allowed, that till that moment to which I allude, we were guided, in circumstances so tempestuous, rather by the love of public good, and a sense of the wants of our country, than by an exact theory, and the precise rule of conduct which we had not leisure to trace out. It is time to define clearly the object of the revolution, and the boundary at which we wish to arrive. It is time to give an account to ourselves both of the obstacles which still keep us at a distance from it, and of the

the means which we ought to adopt in order to reach it—a simple and important idea which seems never to have been perceived. How could a vile and corrupted government dare to realize it? a king, a haughty senate, a Cæsar, a Cromwell, must first cover their projects with a veil of religion, intrigue with every vice, caress all parties, crush that composed of men of worth, oppress or deceive the people, to attain the end of their perfidious ambition. Had we not had a greater task to perform; had nothing been in agitation here, but the interests of a faction, or of a new aristocracy, we might have believed, with certain writers still more ignorant than wicked, that the plan of the French revolution was written in every respect in the works of Tacitus and Machiavel, and might have sought for the duties of the representatives of the people in the history of Augustus, Tiberius, or Vespasian, or even in that of certain French legislators, as all tyrants are worthy of serving each other as models; for, some shades of cruelty or perfidy excepted, all tyrants resemble each other.—As for me, I shall entrust the whole world with your political secrets, in order that all the friends of their country may rally at the call of reason and public interest; in order that the French nation may be respected in all countries of the universe to which a knowledge of their real principles may be conveyed; and in order that intriguers, who always endeavour to fill the place of other intriguers, may be judged by public opinion according to sure and easy rules. We must at a distance take precautions to commit the destiny of liberty into the hands of truth, which is eternal, rather than into those of men, who pass away; and in such a manner, that if government forgets the interests of the people, or if it fall into the hands of corrupted men, according to the natural course of things, the light of known principles may discover their treacheries, and that every new faction may find its destruction in the perfidy of its crimes. Happy the people who can attain this point! For, whatever new insults may be prepared for them, an order of things, where public reason is the guaranty of their liberty, presents innumerable resources. What is the object to which we look forward? The peaceable enjoyment of liberty and equality, the reign of that eternal justice, the laws of which have been engraven, not on marble or stone, but in the hearts of all men, even in that of the slave, who forgets them, or that of the tyrant, who denies them. We wish for an order of things in which all the mean and cruel passions may be unknown; in which all the beneficent and generous passions may be called forth by the laws; in which ambition may be the desire of meriting glory, and of serving the country; in which distinctions shall arise only from that equality by which the citizen is subjected

subjected to the magistrate, the magistrate to the people, and the people to justice; in which the country shall insure the happiness of each individual, and in which each individual shall with pride enjoy the glory and prosperity of his country; in which the mind shall be enlarged by the continual communication of republican sentiments, and by the necessity of meriting the esteem of a great people; in which the arts shall be the decorations of liberty which ennoble them, commerce the source of public riches, and not of the overgrown opulence of some families. We wish to substitute in our country, morality for self-interest, probity for honour, principles for custom, duties for ceremony, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion, the contempt of vice for that of misfortune, dignity for insolence, greatness of mind for vanity, love of glory for love of money, good men for good companions, merit for intrigue, genius for wit, truth for splendour, the charms of happiness for the languor of voluptuousness, the greatness of man for the littleness of the great, a magnanimous people, powerful and happy, for a people polite, frivolous, and wretched; that is to say, all the virtues and all the wonderful effects of a republic, for all the vices and ridiculous pageantry of a monarchy. In a word, we wish to comply with the will of nature, to accomplish the destiny of mankind, to keep the promises of philosophy, and to acquit Providence for the long reign of vice and tyranny. Let France, formerly illustrious among slavish countries, eclipsing the glory of all free states who have existed, become a model to nations, the terror of oppressors, the ornament of the universe, and in sealing our courage with our blood, may we at last see dawn around us the Aurora of universal felicity. This is our ambition—this is our object. What kind of government can realise these wonders? A democratic or republican government alone. These two words are synonymous, notwithstanding the abuse of vulgar language; for an aristocracy is no more a republic than monarchy. Democracy is not a state in which the people, continually assembled, regulate by themselves all public affairs; still less that, where an hundred thousand factions of the people, by separate measures, rash and contradictory, decide the fate of a whole society. Such a government never existed, and it could never exist without bringing back the people to despotism. Democracy is a state in which the people are the sovereign, guided by laws of their own framing, and in which they do every thing by themselves that can be done properly, and by delegates, what they cannot do of themselves. It is, then, in the principles of the democratic government that you must search for the rules of your political conduct. But, to found and consolidate democracy amongst us—to arrive at the peace-

ful

ful reign of constitutional laws, we must terminate the war of liberty against tyranny, and happily steer through the storms of the revolution : such is the object of the revolutionary system which you have organized. You ought still to regulate your conduct according to the tempestuous circumstances under which the Republic is, and the plan of your administration ought to be the result of the spirit of the revolutionary government, combined with the general principles of democracy : but what is the fundamental principle of a democratical or popular government ; that is to say, the essential spring which supports it and puts it in motion ? It is virtue ; I speak of public virtue, which effected so many wonders in Greece and Rome, and which ought to produce much more astonishing wonders in the French republic, of that virtue which is nothing else than the love of one's country and of its laws. But, as the essence of a republic or democracy is equality, it follows, that love of one's country necessarily comprehends the love of equality. It is true that this sublime sentiment supposes a preference of public interest to all private interest from which it results, that the love of one's country supposes also, or produces all the virtues ; for what else are they but that strength of soul which renders it capable of making these sacrifices ? And how can the slave of avarice or ambition, for example, sacrifice his idol to his country ? Virtue is not only the soul of democracy, but it cannot exist but in that government. In a monarchy, I know only one individual who can love his country, and who to do that has not even occasion for virtue. It is the monarch ; the reason is, that of all the inhabitants of his states, the monarch is the only one who has a country.—Is he not the sovereign ? Is he not in the place of the people ? And what is one's country, if it is not the country where one is a citizen, and a member of the sovereign ? By a consequence of the same principle in aristocratical states, the word country signifies nothing but for families who have seized on the sovereignty. It is only a democracy where the state is really the country of all the individuals who compose it, and which may reckon as many defenders interested in its cause as it contains citizens. This is the superiority of free people over others. If Athens and Sparta triumphed over the tyrants of Asia, and the Swiss over the tyrants of Spain and Austria, it was owing entirely to this cause—but the French are the first people in the world who have established a real democracy, by inviting all men to equality and the rights of citizens in the utmost extent ; and this, in my opinion, is the real cause why all the tyrants leagued against the Republic have been defeated.

Great consequences must, from this moment, be drawn from the principles I have laid down. Since virtue and equality are the

the soul of the Republic ; and since your object is to found and consolidate this form of government, it follows, that the first rule of your political conduct ought to be to direct all your operations towards the support of equality, and to the promoting of virtue, for the first care of the Legislator ought to be to strengthen the principle of government. Every thing therefore, which tends to excite the love of one's country, to reform manners, to elevate the mind, to direct the passions of the heart towards the public interest, ought to be adopted or established by you ; every thing that tends to concentrate them in the meanness of self, to awaken their desire for little things, and their contempt for great, ought to be rejected or repressed by you. In the system of the French Revolution, what is immoral is impolitic, what tends to corrupt is counter-revolutionary. Weakness, vices, prejudices, are the way to Royalty. Hurried away perhaps too often by the force of our ancient habitudes, as much as by the insensible bent of human weakness, towards false ideas and pusillanimous sentiments—we have much more to guard against excess of weakness than excess of energy. The greatest quick-sand, perhaps, which we have to avoid, is not fervor of zeal, but rather lassitude of the public good, and diffidence of our own courage. Wind up therefore continually the spring of Republican government instead of suffering it to be relaxed. I have no occasion to say that I will not here justify any excess. The most sacred principles are abused. It belongs to the wisdom of government to consult circumstances, to seize favourable opportunities, and to choose means, respecting the manner of paving the way for great events. It is an essential part of talents to accomplish them, as wisdom is itself a part of virtue. We do not pretend to cast the French Republic in the mould of that of Sparta—we wish to give it neither the austerity nor the corruption of cloisters. I have presented to you in its full purity the moral and political principles of popular government.—You have then a compass to direct you amidst the storms of jarring passions, and that hurricane of intrigue, which surrounds you.—You have the touchstone, by which you may prove all the laws and all the propositions made to you ; and continually comparing them with this principle, you may hereafter avoid the usual quick-sand of all great assemblies, the danger of surprises, and precipitate, incoherent, and contradictory measures ; and may give to all your operations that unity, wisdom, and dignity, which ought to announce you as the first people of the world. It is not the easy consequences of the principle of democracy that we ought to detail—it is the simple and easy principle itself which ought to be displayed. Republican virtue may be considered as it relates to the people, and as it relates to the government.—It is *necessary* in both. When the govern-

ment alone is destitute of it, a resource remains in that of the people; but when the people themselves are corrupted, liberty is lost; virtue, fortunately, is natural to the people, in spite of aristocratical prejudices. A nation is truly corrupted, when, after having lost by degrees its character and its liberty, it passes from democracy to aristocracy or monarchy: this is the death of the political body through decrepitude: when after four hundred years of glory, avarice, at length, banished from Sparta morals, together with the laws of Lycurgus, in vain did Agis lay down his life in attempting to recall them. In vain did Demosthenes thunder forth against Philip: Philip found at Athens degenerate advocates more eloquent than Demosthenes. There is still at Athens a population as numerous as in the the time of Miltiades and Aristides; but there are no longer Athenians. Of what avail is it that Brutus killed the tyrant? Tyranny still lives in hearts; and Rome exists no longer but in Brutus. But, when, by prodigious efforts of courage and reason, a people break the chains of despotism to convert them into trophies to liberty; when, by the force of their moral temperament they escape, in some measure, from the arms of death to resume all the vigour of youth; when, in terms, feeling and haughty, intrepid and tractable, they can be checked neither by ramparts almost impregnable, nor by the numerous armies of tyrants marshalled against them, while they stop of themselves before the image of the law, if they do not soar with rapidity to the height of their destiny, it can only be through the fault of those who govern them. Besides, it may be said in one sense, that the people, to love justice and equality, have no need of great virtue: it will be sufficient for them to love themselves. But the magistrate is obliged to sacrifice his interest to the interest of the people, and the pride of power, to equality. Above all, the law must speak with authority to him who is the organ of it; government must feel its own weight, to keep all its parts in harmony with it. If there exists a representative body, a first authority constituted by the people, it belongs to it to continually watch over, and repress all public functionaries: but how will it be repressed if not by its own virtue? The more elevated this source of public order is, the purer it ought to be. The representative body then must begin by subjecting, in its own bosom, all private passions to a general passion for the public good. Happy are the representatives when their glory and interest, as much as their duty, attach them to the cause of liberty! From this let us deduce a great truth: It is, that the characteristic of popular government is to have a confidence in the people, and to be severe to one's self. To this all the exposition of our theory would be confined, had you to guide the vessel of the Republic only

only during a calm ; but the tempest howls, and the present state of the revolution imposes on you another task.

The great purity of the basis of the French Revolution, the sublimity even of its object, is precisely what constitutes our strength and our weakness—our strength, because it gives us the ascendancy of truth over imposture; and the rights of public over private interest—our weakness, because it rallies against us all vicious men, all those who, in their hearts, were plotting to plunder the people, all those who wished to plunder them with impunity; all those who opposed liberty as a personal misfortune; and those who embraced the revolution as a trade, and the Republic as their prey. Hence the defection of so many ambitious and avaricious men, who, since the time when we started, abandoned us on the road, because they did not undertake the journey with a view of arriving at the same point. It may be said, that two contrary genii, who have been represented as contending for the empire of nature, combat, in this grand epoch of the history of mankind, to fix unalterably the destiny of the world; and that France is the theatre of this formidable contest: without all the tyrants surround you; within all the friends of tyranny conspire against you, and they will continue to conspire until vice be deprived of its hopes. We must destroy the internal and external enemies of the Republic, or perish along with it; but in this situation, the first maxim of your policy ought to be to rule the people. If the spring of popular government, during peace, be virtue, the spring of popular government, during a revolution, is both virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal: terror, without which virtue is ineffectual. Terror is nothing else than speedy, severe, and inflexible justice. It is, therefore, an emanation of virtue.—It is not so much a distinct principle, as a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to the most urgent wants of the country. It has been said, that terror is the main spring of a despotic government—Shall our's then resemble despotism? Yes, as the sword which glances in the hand of the hero of liberty resembles that with which the satellites of tyranny are armed.—Let the despot by terror govern his debased subjects: as a despot, he is in the right. Subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right, as the founders of the Republic. The government of a revolution is the despotism of liberty against tyranny. Is force made only to protect vice? and is it not to strike the haughty head that thunder is destined? Nature imposes upon every moral and physical being, the law of providing for its own preservation. Vice destroys innocence, in order to reign; and innocence struggles with all its force in the hands of vice. Let tyranny reign one day, and next morning there will not remain a single patriot.

How long will the fury of despots be called justice, and the justice of the people barbarity and rebellion? How tender one is towards oppressors, and inexorable towards the oppressed! Nothing is more natural than that whoever does not hate vice cannot love virtue; one or the other, however, must fall. Indulgence towards the Royalists, exclaim some; pardon for villains! No—pardon for innocence; pardon for the weak; pardon for the unfortunate; pardon for humanity! Protection is due from society only to peaceable citizens: there are no citizens in a Republic but republicans: royalists and aliens are rather enemies. Is not this terrible war excited by liberty against tyranny indivisible? Are not our internal in alliance with our external enemies? Are the assassins who tear the country within, the intriguers and traitors who sell themselves, the libellists paid to discredit the cause of the people, to destroy public virtue, to kindle up the flames of civil discord, and to pave the way for a political by a moral counter-revolution, are these people less criminal, or less dangerous, than the tyrants whom they serve? All those who interpose their patricide lenity between these villains and the avenging sword of national justice, resemble those who should throw themselves between the satellites of tyrants and the bayonets of our soldiers; all the transports of their false sensibility appear to me only as sighs emitted towards England and Austria. For whom then should their hearts melt with pity? For those 20,000 heroes, the flower of the nation, destroyed by the swords of the enemies of liberty, or by the poignards of royal and federalist assassins! No—these were only plebeians, patriots. To be entitled to their tender feelings, one must at least be the widow of a General, who has twenty times betrayed his country. One must almost prove, that one has caused ten thousand Frenchmen to be sacrificed, as a Roman general, to obtain a triumph, must have killed, I believe, ten thousand of the enemy.—People hear with cool indifference a recital of the horrors committed by the tyrants against the defenders of liberty: our women dreadfully mutilated; our children massacred in the arms of their mothers; our prisoners suffering exquisite torments on account of their sublime and affecting heroism; and yet the too slow punishment of a few monsters, who have fattened on the pure blood of their country, is called horrid butchery. The misery of generous citizens, who have sacrificed to the noblest of causes their brethren, children, and wives, is beheld with little emotion; but the most generous consolations are lavished on the wives of conspirators. It is admitted that they may pervert justice, and plead against liberty the cause of their relations and accomplices: they are made almost a privileged corporation. Ye creditors and pensioners of the people, with what mildness are we still the dupes of words!

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How much aristocracy and moderatism still govern us by the destructive maxims they have given us! Aristocracy defends itself better by its intrigues, than patriotism by its services. Revolutions are governed by the chicane of palaces; conspiracies against the Republic are treated like the trials of individuals. Tyranny kills—liberty pleads—and the code made by the conspirators themselves is the law by which they are tried. When the safety of the country is concerned, the testimony of the Universe cannot be substituted for evidence, nor evidence for literal proof. Slowness in passing sentence is equivalent to impunity.

The uncertainty of punishment encourages all criminals, and yet complaints are made of the severity of justice! Complaints are made that the enemies of the Republic are kept in confinement! Examples are sought for in the history of tyrants, because they will not select them from that of the people, nor draw them from the genius of threatened liberty. At Rome, when the consul discovered a conspiracy, and stifled it at the same time by the death of the accomplices of Cataline, he was accused of having violated the established forms. By whom was this done? by the ambitious Cæsar, who wished to increase his party of conspirators; by Pisos; by Clodius; and all the bad citizens who dreaded the virtue of a true Roman, and the severity of the laws. To punish the oppressors of mankind is clemency; to pardon them barbarity. The severity of tyrants has no other principle than severity: that of the Republican government arises from beneficence.—Woe to him, therefore, who shall dare to direct towards the people that terror which ought to approach only its enemies. Woe to him who, confounding the unavoidable errors of civism with the devised errors of perfidy, or with the crimes of conspirators, shall abandon the dangerous intriguer to pursue the peaceable citizen! Perish the villain who dares to abuse the sacred name of liberty, or the arms which have been entrusted to him, to convey mourning or death into the heart of the patriots! There can be no doubt that this abuse has existed. It has, doubtless, been exaggerated by aristocracy; but if there existed in the Republic only one virtuous man, persecuted by the enemies of liberty, it would be the duty of government to use the utmost diligence to discover him, and avenge him in an exemplary manner. But must it be concluded from these persecutions, excited against the patriots, by the hypocritical zeal of the counter-revolutionists, that we ought to set at liberty the counter-revolutionists, and to renounce severity? These new crimes of aristocracy only prove the necessity of it. What does the audacity of our enemies prove, if not the remissness with which they have been pursued? It is owing in a great measure, to the doctrine which has been preached up to give them confidence. If you reject this advice, your ene-

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mies will accomplish their end, and will receive from your own hands the reward of the last of their crimes. How weak would it be to consider some victories gained by patriotism, as the end of all our dangers? Take a view of our real situation, and you will find that vigilance and energy will be more necessary for you than ever. A secret malevolence every where thwarts the operations of government. The fatal influence of foreigners, though more concealed, is neither less active, nor less fatal. It is perceived that undaunted vice only uses more address to conceal its progress. The internal enemies of the French people are divided into two sections, as an army into two corps. They march under banners of different colours, and by different routes; but they both march towards the same object. This object is the disorganization of the popular government, the ruin of the Convention; that is to say, the triumph of tyranny—one of these two factions drives us towards weakness, the other to excess. The one wishes to convert liberty into a Bacchanalian, the other into a prostitute. Subaltern intriguers, and even good citizens misled, avenge themselves sometimes on both parties; but the chiefs belong to the cause of Kings or aristocracy, and always unite against the patriots. These villains, even when they make war against each other, do not hate one another so much as they detest honest men. The country is their prey: they quarrel respecting the partition of it; but they league together against those who defend it. The name of moderates has been given to the one: there is, perhaps, more ingenuity than justice in the denomination of *ultra-revolutionists*, by which the other has been distinguished. This denomination, which cannot in any case be applied to honest men, who by zeal may be led beyond the sound policy of the revolution, does not exactly characterize those perfidious men, whom tyranny keeps in pay, in order to endanger, by false or destructive applications, the sacred principles of our revolution.

The false revolutionist is, perhaps, still oftener on this side than beyond the revolution. He is moderate, he is mad with patriotism, according to circumstances. What he will think to-morrow is resolved in the Prussian, English, Austrian, and even Russian Committees. He opposes measures of energy, and exaggerates them when he cannot prevent them. Severe towards innocence, but indulgent towards vice, accusing even the guilty who are not rich enough to purchase his silence, nor of importance enough to be the object of his zeal, but taking good care never to expose himself so far as to defend virtue calumniated; discovering sometimes open plots; tearing the mask from traitors unmasked and even decapitated, but extolling traitors alive and possessed of influence; eager always to embrace the opinion of the moment, and no less attentive never to enlighten it, and above all never to oppose it; always ready to adopt bold measures, provided they are attended

attended with many inconveniencies; calumniating those which present only advantages, or adding to them those amendments which may render them hurtful; economical in speaking truth, and speaking it only with a view of acquiring a right to lie with impunity; distributing good, drop by drop, and pouring out mischief by torrents; filled with ardour for grand revolutions, which are of no avail; more than indifferent for those which may honour the cause of the people, and save the country; setting great value on forms of patriotism; strongly attached, like devotees, of whom he declares himself the enemy, to reclusive practices, he would rather use an hundred red caps than do one good action. What difference do you find between these people and your moderates? They are servants employed by the same master; or, if you choose, accomplices, who pretend to quarrel that they may the better conceal their crimes. Judge them not by the difference of language, but by the identity of results. Is not he who attacks the national Convention by foolish speeches, and he who deceives, to expose it to danger, in concert with him who, by unjust severity obliges patriotism to tremble for itself, and to invoke humanity in favour of aristocracy and treason? One would invite France to the conquest of the world, who had no other design than to invite tyrants to conquer France. The foreign hypocrite, who, five years ago, declared Paris to be the capital of the world, transcribed only in another jargon the anathemas of the vile federalists who devoted Paris to destruction. To preach up atheism is only a method of absolving superstition, and of accusing philosophy; and the war declared against the Deity is only a diversion in favour of royalty. What other method remains of combating liberty? Will they, after the example of the first champions of aristocracy, go and extol the mildness of slavery, the advantages of monarchy, the supernatural genius and incomparable virtue of kings? Will they proclaim the vanity of the rights of man, and of the principles of eternal justice? Will they go and raise from the grave the nobility and the clergy, or claim the imprescriptible rights of the higher citizens, to their double succession? No—it is much more convenient to assume the mask of patriotism, to disfigure by insolent parodies the sublime drama of the revolution, and to endanger the cause of liberty by hypocritical moderation, and by studied acts of folly. Thus aristocracy constitutes itself into popular assemblies: counter-revolutionary pride conceals, under rags, its plots and its poignards; fanaticism destroys its own altars; royalty celebrates, in songs, the victories of the Republic; the nobility, galled by recollection, tenderly embrace equality in order to stifle it; and tyranny, stained with the blood of the defenders of liberty, bestrews their grave with flowers. If the hearts of all are not changed, how many visages are masked!—How many traitors intermeddle in

our affairs only to ruin us!—Do you wish to put them to the proof?—Ask from them the bond of an oath and declarations, that they will perform real services. Is it necessary to act? they harangue. Is deliberation required? they wish to begin by acting. Are the times peaceable? they oppose every useful change. Are they tempestuous? they speak of reforming every thing to overturn every thing. Do you wish to repress the seditious? they remind you of the clemency of Cæsar. Do you wish to snatch the patriots from persecution? they propose to you as a model the firmness of Brutus. They discover that such a one acted nobly when he served the Republic; but they are silent when he betrays it. Is peace useful? they display to you the palms of victory. Is war necessary? they extol to you the sweets of peace. Is it requisite to defend our territories? they wish to go and drive the tyrants beyond the seas and the mountains. Are we desirous of recovering fortresses? they wish to take churches by assault, and to scale heaven; they forget the Austrians in order to make war on devotees. Is it necessary to support our cause by the fidelity of our allies? they declaim against all governments, and propose to you to put even the great Mogul in a state of accusation. Do the people go to the capitol to thank God for their victories? they give vent to lamentations for our past misfortunes. Are we preparing to gain new ones? they disseminate among us, hatred, division, persecution, and discouragement. Is it requisite to realize the sovereignty of the people, and concentrate their strength by a firm and respectable government? they find that the principles of the government violate the sovereignty of the people. Is it necessary to assert the rights of the people oppressed by the government? they speak only of respect for the laws, and the constituted authorities. They have found out an admirable expedient to second the efforts of the Republican government, which is to disorganize and degrade it completely; to make war on the patriots who have contributed to our success. Do you seek for the means of supplying your armies with provisions? are you employed in tearing from avarice and timidity those provisions which they hoard? they emit patriotic groans for the public misery, and announce famine. The desire of preventing the evil is to them always a motive for increasing it. In the North, they have killed the poultry, and deprived us of eggs, under the pretence that the poultry consumed grain. In the South it was in agitation to destroy the mulberry and orange-trees, under the pretence that silk is an object of luxury, and oranges a superfluity. You can never imagine what excesses hypocritical counter-revolutionists have committed in order to tarnish the cause of the revolution.—Can you believe that, in countries where *superstition* has exercised the greatest power, not satisfied with over-

overloading the operations respecting worship with all those forms which would render them odious, they have spread terror among the people, by propagating a report, that all the children below ten years of age, and all the old people above 70, were to be put to death ! This report has been propagated above all in the *ci-devant* Brittany, and in the departments of the Rhine and the Moselle. This is one of the crimes ascribed to the *ci-devant* Public Accuser of the criminal tribunal of Strasbourg. The tyrannical follies of this man render probable every thing related of Caligula and Heliogabalus; but one can scarcely give credit to them, even when proofs are exhibited. He carried his madness so far as to put women in a state of requisition for his own use. We are assured that he employed this method to get married. Whence issued all of a sudden, that swarm of foreigners, priests, nobility, and intriguers of every kind, who, at the same moment, dispersed themselves throughout the Republic, to execute, in the name of philosophy, the plan of a counter-revolution, which could not be defeated but by the force of public reason? Execrable conception, worthy of the genius of foreign Courts leagued against liberty, and of the corruption of all the internal enemies of the Republic ! It is thus that with the continual miracles operated by the virtue of a great people, intrigue always intermixes the baseness of its criminal plots—a baseness commanded by tyrants, and which they afterwards make the basis of their ridiculous manifestoes, to keep the ignorant people sunk in the mire of opprobrium, and in the paths of slavery.

But what does liberty suffer from the crimes of its enemies ? Is the sun, when obscured by a passing cloud, less that luminary which animates all nature ? Does the impure scum, with which the ocean covers its shores, render it less awful ? In perfidious hands all the remedies of our evils become poisons. Whatever you may do, whatever you may say, they will turn against you even the truths which you have unfolded. Thus, for example, after having every where scattered the seeds of civil war by a violent attack on religious prejudices, they will endeavour to arm fanaticism and aristocracy with those measures, even, which you have prescribed in favour of liberty of worship. Had you left a free course to the conspiracy, it would have produced, a little later, a terrible and universal reaction. If you check it, they will endeavour to profit by it, by persuading the people that you afford protection to priests, and the moderates. You must not even be astonished if the authors of this system are those priests who have been the most forward to acknowledge their quackery. If patriots, hurried away by a pure, but inconsiderate zeal, have, in some parts become the dupes of their intrigues, they will throw the whole

blame on the patriots ; for the first point of their Machiavelian doctrine is to ruin the Republic by ruining the Republicans, as one subdues a people by destroying the army which defends them. From this we may appreciate one of their favourite doctrines, which is, that men ought to be accounted as nothing : a maxim of regal origin, and which implies that all the friends of liberty must be abandoned to them. It is to be remarked, that the destiny of men, who seek only to promote the public good, is to become the victims of those whose sole wish is to promote their own. This arises from two causes : the first is, that intriguers carry on their attack with the vices of the ancient government ; the second, that the patriots defend themselves only with the virtues of the new. Such an internal situation ought to appear to you worthy of your whole attention ; if you reflect that you have to combat, at the same time, the tyrants of Europe, to maintain 1,200,000 men in arms ; and that government is obliged to repair, continually, by energy and vigilance, all those evils which the innumerable multitude of our enemies have been creating to us during the course of five years. What is the remedy of all those evils ? I know no other than the expansion of that general spring of the Republic virtue. Democracy perishes by two kinds of excess—the aristocracy of those who govern, or the contempt of the people for those authorities which they themselves have established—a contempt which causes every club, and every individual, to assume the public power, and which, by excess of disorder, conducts the people to annihilation, or the government of one. The double task of the moderates, and counter-revolutionists, is to keep us continually tossed between these two quicksands. The representatives of the people may avoid them both ; for government has it always in its power to be just or wise ; and when it possesses this character, it is sure of the confidence of the people. It is very true, that the object of all our enemies is to dissolve the Convention. It is true, that the Allies flatter themselves that they shall be able to destroy your energy, and to deprive you of the public confidence, which you have merited ; this is the first instructions given to their emissaries ; but it is a truth which ought to be considered as trivial in politics, that a great body, invested with the confidence of a great people, cannot be ruined, but by themselves. Of this your enemies are not ignorant. You need not doubt, therefore, that they exert themselves, above all, to rouse amongst you all those passions which can second their insidious designs. What can they do against the National Representation, if they do not extort from it by surprise, impolitic acts which may furnish pretences for their criminal declamations ? They must necessarily wish, therefore, to have agents of two kinds—some who endeavour to degrade it by their speeches,

speeches, and others, even among its own body, who strive to deceive it, in order to endanger its glory, and the interests of the Republic. To carry on their attack with success, it was necessary to begin by making war in the departments, on the Representatives who had shewn themselves worthy of your confidence, and against the committee of Public Safety. They were attacked therefore by party-men who seemed to combat against each other. What could they do better than to enfeeble the government of the Convention, and to break all the springs of it in a moment which ought to have decided the fate of the Republic and of tyrants? Far be it from me to imagine that there still remains amongst you a single man base enough to wish to serve the cause of tyrants! But still farther from me be the crime, which would not be pardoned, of deceiving the National Convention, and of betraying the French people by a criminal silence! For a free people have this happiness, that truth, which is the scourge of despots, forms always their strength, and ensures their safety. But it is true, that there still exists a danger for our liberty, the only serious danger, perhaps, which it has to encounter.—This danger is a plan which has been formed of rallying all the enemies of the Republic, by reviving the spirit of party; of persecuting the patriots; of discouraging and ruining the faithful agents of the Republican government; and of destroying those parts which are most essential for the public service. They have endeavoured to deceive the Convention respecting men and things; they have wished to deceive it, in regard to the causes of abuses which they exaggerate, in order to render it impossible to remedy them; they have endeavoured to fill it with false terror, in order to mislead or enfeeble it; they have attempted to divide it; they have, above all, attempted to divide the representatives of the people sent into the departments, and the committee of Public Safety; they wished to oblige the former to thwart the measures of the central authority, to bring back disorder and confusion; they wished to sour them on their return, to render them, without their knowledge, the instruments of a cabal. Foreigners take advantage of all these private passions, and even of patriotism abused. They, at first, adopted the plan of proceeding straight to their object by calumniating the committee of Public Safety; they then openly flattered themselves that it would sink under the weight of its laborious functions. Victory and the fortune of the French people saved it.—Since that period they have adopted the plan of praising it, enfeebling it, and destroying the fruits of all its labours. All these vague declamations against the necessary agents of the committee, all the plans of disorganization disguised under the name of reforms, already rejected by the Convention, and revived at present with strange affectation; that

eagerness to applaud intriguers whom the committee of Public Safety ought to have removed; that terror struck into good citizens; that indulgence with which conspirators are encouraged; all that system of imposture and intrigue, the principal author of which is a man whom you expelled from among you, is directed against the National Convention, and tends to realize the wishes of all the enemies of France. It is since the epocha when that system was announced in libels, and realized by public acts, that aristocracy and royalty have begun to raise their insolent heads; that patriotism has been again persecuted throughout the whole Republic; and that the national authority has experienced a resistance, the habit of which intriguers had begun to lose. In short, these indirect attacks, were they attended with no other inconvenience than that of dividing the energy and attention of those who have to support the immense burthen with which you are loaded, and distract them too often from the grand measures of public safety, to employ them in defeating dangerous intrigues, might still be considered as a diversion useful to our enemies; but let us take courage, here is the sanctuary of truth; here reside the founders of the Republic, the avengers of mankind, and the destroyers of tyrants. Here to destroy an abuse it will be sufficient to point it out. It is sufficient for us to call, in the name of our country, councils of the self-love or weakness to individuals to the love of virtue, and the glory of the National Convention. I call for a solemn discussion on all the causes of these disturbances, and on every thing that can have an influence on the progress of the revolution. I conjure it not to suffer any private or secret interest to usurp an ascendancy over the general will of the assembly, and the indestructible power of reason. I shall, at present, confine myself to propose to you to consecrate, by your formal approbation, the moral and political truths, on which ought to be founded your internal administration, and the stability of the Republic, as you have already consecrated the principles of your conduct towards foreign nations; by this you will give confidence to all good citizens, and deprive conspirators of their hopes; will secure your own progress; confound the intrigues and calumnies of kings; and will honour your cause and character in the eyes of all nations. Give to the French people a pledge of your zeal for protecting patriotism, of your inflexible justice on criminals, and of your attachment to the cause of the people. Order the principles of morality and politics, which I have unfolded, to be proclaimed in your name, both within and without the Republic!

On

On the 27th of February, 1794, the French Convention passed the following decree concerning the Creditors of the English, of the Spaniards, and of Persons condemned or banished.

THE National Convention, after having heard the report of their committees of Legislation, of Domains, and of Alienation, decree as follows :

I. The lists of names, which, according to the law of 26th Frimaire (the 16th of December) was to be made of all persons whose property has been, or shall be confiscated to the profit of the Republic, shall be sent and proclaimed in the same manner as the general list of emigrants, and shall, besides, be pasted up in the chief towns of each district only. In consequence, there shall only be ten thousand impressions of each list.

II. In the decade following the publication of the present law, there shall be made out particular lists of the English, the Spanish, and all the subjects of the other foreign powers at war with France, who have any property in France, whether consisting of moveables or immoveables, or of credit. These lists shall be made out by the respective municipalities, within whose precincts they possess any property or credit.

III. These lists shall, within the following decade, be sent by the national agents of the Communes to the administration of the district, who shall verify them, and shall add, if there be occasion, a general state, which the national agent shall address, within the third decade, to the administration of departments, and to the administration of domains.

IV. Moreover the national agents of the districts shall be bound to send every month to the administration of their departments, and to the administrator of the national domains, and the national administration of registers, all new information they may have procured concerning the property and the credit of each of the individuals comprised in the 2d article.

V. The administrator of the national domains shall comprise these lists and these informations in the tables mentioned in the first article of the present law, and in the states whose formation is ordered by the tenth article of the law of the 26th Frimaire (December 16.)

VI. The creditors of the emigrants shall from henceforward have only one declaration and one deposit of titles to make. They shall make them at the Secretaries Office of the district where their debtors last resided, indicated by the general list, made in conformity to the second article of the law of the 27th of Brumaire (November 17.)

VII. The creditors of banished persons, of imprisoned priests, of Englishmen, of Spaniards, and of the subjects of other powers

powers at war with the Republic, or of persons outlawed, and whose property is confiscated, are subject to the same declarations and deposit of titles, as the creditors of emigrants.

VIII. These declarations and deposits shall be made by the creditors of emigrants and others, described in the preceding article, within four months, reckoning from the day of the publication, made in the chief town of the district. Where this term is past, their debts will be forfeited.

IX. The depositaries, public and private, the debtors, the farmers or the holders of property belonging to emigrants and others, comprised in the lists or general tables mentioned in the present law, shall, within the same period, make the declaration prescribed by the laws of the 25th of November 1792, 25th of July 1793, and 26th Frimaire (December 16); and this under the penalties there pronounced.

X. The dispositions of the laws of the 2d of September, the 25th of November 1792, the 13th of January 1793, the 26th Frimaire (December 16) and others, which may be contrary to those of the present law, are annulled..

By order of the Right Hon. Thomas Dundas, Major General in his Britannic Majesty's Army, commanding the conquered Part of the North of Martinico.

ALL Merchants, captains of vessels, factors, and others, either French or foreigners, having in their possession within the circumference of this town of St. Pierre, colonial productions and provisions, of whatever kind and quality, are hereby ordered, to-morrow morning, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to deliver without fail, an exact, true and verified specification thereof to Mr. Baillie, at the head-quarters, at the intendant's hotel, under pain of imprisonment against the transgressors, and confiscation of the goods not declared; and the persons above-mentioned must take care, in the said specification, to set down the name of the proprietors of the above merchandize, the warehouses where they are laid up, and the street where the said warehouses are situated.

At St. Pierre, Martinico, the 19th February, 1794.

THOMAS DUNDAS, Maj. Genl

In the National Convention of France on the 11th Ventose, March 1, 1794, the following Decree was presented by Merlin of Douay, in the name of the Committees of Legislation, Domains, and Alienation; and several Articles were proposed concerning the confiscation of the Property of Nations at War with the Republic.

AR T. 1. Tables of the names of all persons whose goods and estates are liable to confiscations, shall be given in to the persons appointed at Paris to receive these denunciations, and they shall be afterwards proclaimed in the same manner as has been done in regard to the emigrants.

2. In the decade following the publication of the present law, there shall be made out particular lists of the English, the Spanish, and all the subjects of the other foreign powers at war with France, who have any property in France, whether consisting of moveables or immoveables, or of credit. These lists shall be made out by the respective municipalities, within whose precincts they have posselt any property or credit.
3. These lists shall, within the following decade, be sent by the national agents of the communes to the administration of district, who shall verify them, and shall add, if there be occasion, a general state, which the national agent shall address, within the third decade, and to the administration of domains.
4. Moreover the national agents of the districts shall be bound to send every month to the administration of their departments, and to the administration of the national domains, and the national administration of registers, all new information they may have procured concerning the property and the credit of each of the individuals comprised in the second article.
5. The administrator of the national domains shall comprise these lists and these informations in the tables mentioned in the first article of the present law, and in the states, whose information is ordered by the tenth article of the law of the 26th Frimaire.
6. The creditors of the emigrants shall from henceforward have only one declaration, and one deposit of titles to make. They shall make them at the secretary's office of the district where their debtors last resided, indicated by the general list, made in conformity to the second article of the law of the 27th of Brumaire.
7. The creditors of banished persons, of imprisoned priests, of Englishmen, of Spaniards, and the subjects of other powers at war with the Republic, or of persons outlawed, and whose property is confiscated, are subject to the same declarations and deposit of titles as the creditors of emigrants.
8. These declarations and deposits shall be made by the creditors of emigrants, and others described in the preceding article,

within

within four months, reckoning from the day of the publication made in the chief town of the district. Where this term is past, their debts will be forfeited.

9. The depositaries, public and private, the debtors, the farmers, or the holders of property belonging to emigrants and others, comprised in the lists of general tables mentioned in the present law, shall, within the same period; make the declarations prescribed by the laws of the 25th November 1792, 25th July 1793, and 26th Frimaire; and this under the penalties there pronounced..

10. The dispositions of the laws of the 2d September, the 25th November 1792, the 13th Jannary 1793; the 26th Frimaire, and others which may be contrary to those of the present law, are annulled.

Report from the Committee of Public Safety of France on the Internal Situation of the Republic, presented to the National Convention on the 6th of March 1794, by B. Barrere.

Citizens,

WITHIN this last month the committee has observed, that the disaffected, unable wholly to check, have endeavoured to retard, as much as possible, the progress of the Revolution. Not daring to appear in the face of the day, they chose the dark hour of night, for deliberation and for action; flattering themselves that the attention of the guardians of the Republic would then be averted from them. But the imprudent speed with which they carried their schemes into execution has betrayed them.

It is not on this day that the committee intend to tear off the veil which covers these machinations and the authors of them. A more ample and satisfactory report is preparing, whose appearance will involve the conspirators in complete discomfiture, and will surrender them to the indignation and contempt of all good citizens.

By its central situation the committee is perfectly well acquainted with the condition of France and of foreign courts, with the relative state of London and of Paris, and with the crimes perpetrated in one of these cities, and the intrigues fomented in the other.

When you hear that the Republic has never been one moment free from treason, you will not be astonished—you will only be more vigilant.

You cannot wonder that Europe, whose diplomatic and military resources are united against you—and that Kings, the natural enemies of Republicanism, should be able to create some internal con-

convulsions—or that they should corrupt every thing that surrounds us—calumniate us in our labour—divide us in our opinions, and disappoint us in our projects.

In all revolutions there have been foreign parties against them. The revolutions in Greece had to contend with the gold, the agents, the orators, and the calumniators, who were bribed by Philip. The revolutions in Europe have been opposed by the treasures, the spies, the associators, and other persons bribed by two of the courts of Europe.

In the revolution even which took place in this century in Denmark in favour of despotism, Russia and — stipulated in favour of anarchical extravagance, and though they spoke of liberty and patriotism, they neither desired the establishment of laws, nor the prevalence of those principles upon which patriotism is founded.

For four years have we beheld this secret conspiracy of all monarchies to destroy, as it were, by sap, the fabric of our liberty—sometimes by gentle measures—or by immoral means—at other times by preventing the execution of decrees, or by executing them in such a manner as to produce a counter-revolutionary effect—But Liberty has sustained her empire even by the very means that have been used to destroy it.—She has struck deep her root into the heart, into all the hearts of all true Frenchmen; she has been strengthened by the disappointed plots of her enemies, in the same manner as the wind binds the earth after the storms that had laid it under water.

We have deduced from history, all the lessons and all the experience with which she could furnish us. We have our eyes fixed on all our agents, and on all the public functionaries: even the national representation in the departments is not exempt from our vigilance.

We have agents in every part of Europe—we have agents even in America, from whom we learnt the plots of the emigrants from the colonies, and of the envoys from the European courts. We are not ignorant that these courts use every artifice to penetrate into our projects. We therefore attack them with the same weapons which they use against us. The combined powers cannot speak one word which we do not hear. The conferences of Mack, at London—the representations of Luchefini, at Frankfort—the new tactics of the slave in uniform—and the fresh intrigues of the British government in our ports—the last convulsion in the military system of Austria, and the politics of the *Capetians* of Spain and Italy; all these are known to us.

There is, as it were, an echo in Europe, and this echo repeats to the committee every political system adopted in Europe. It repeats to us the last words of these great politicians—the plots of

these modern intriguers, and the counsel of these pretended patriots, who also assist in the conspiracy against us.

We have been of opinion that we could not open the campaign with security, until we had exercised the most active and severe vigilance, until we had made the tour of the frontiers and traversed the interior. We have even walked over the ruins of La Vendee. It was only the day before yesterday, that 500 rebels who endeavoured to light up anew the flames of civil war, *bit the dust*, and in a few days we mean to propose to you a provisional administration for that department, that shall last to the end of war,—a strong government for a country impregnated with counter-revolutionary and anti-republican principles.

If Paris, which is the firm center of patriotism and courage, be each day fretted and teased by petty conspirators—if every hour give birth to some counter-revolutionary intrigue and to a variety of false reports—if stock-jobbing manœuvres be each moment practised on opinions, and corruption with unceasing activity exercise her power on the persons of republicans—if, I say, such scenes are acted in Paris, imagine what must be the state of the frontiers, when the power of vigilance is weakened, and where a correspondence with the enemy may be more easily carried on.

In the short space of one month we have discovered four plots.

At Havre the merchants and bankers endeavoured to degrade the national wealth by depreciating assignats, and by attempting to disgust the people with the national representation.

We are, however, well acquainted with the source of that fictitious scarcity, which was to result from the depreciation of assignats, and we have in our possession the correspondence which leads us to a discovery of these plots. We have arrested the guilty, who are now on their way to the revolutionary tribunal.

At Lille, a lawyer, named Legosne, received money from the aristocrats in France, and sent it into foreign countries. He corresponded with the emigrants and facilitated the circulation of forged assignats, and the exportation of merchandize. His papers are in our hands, but it would be imprudent to produce them now.

At Maubeuge a French agent kept up a correspondence with the *ci-devant* nobles—enlisted soldiers for the enemy, and sent packets of intelligence to Coburg. He has confessed that he corresponded with several Englishmen at Calais, particularly one of the name of Fielding.

Finally, at Landrecy, a letter received yesterday has informed us of a new treason upon this important part of our frontier.

At Paris the people are every day deceived with respect to provisions—groups are collected—insidious addresses made to them—insinuations propagated against the Convention, and even accusations made, charging the national representation with that scarcity which

which has been solely produced by the disaffected—provisions are stopped on the road, and the markets thus want supplies. The exclamation of the traitors is eternally ‘ *there will be a famine, and epidemic distempers.*’

But let the conspirators tremble.—We shall soon shew them their own plans, and trace them from London to Paris, from the cabinet of Pitt to the hands of his agents.—We shall publish the advice given by the Earl of Moira, on the project entrusted to him.

We shall soon state to the intriguers in the streets and the counter-revolutionists in the markets, our sentiments on this question asked in the British Parliament—“Where is this famine in France which Mr. Pitt promised us? Where are these intestine commotions which he promised to revive in the departments?”

Men of England!—We shall soon appeal to the elements which you have enslaved, and the sea which you have dishonoured. Nature herself will unite with the love of humanity and the courage of Republicans, in order to revenge such multiplied insults.

Thus shall we unveil all the plots—we shall drag into open day all those conspirators, who can only have been influenced by that aristocracy which remains in France, and by the foreign powers.

What purpose can these divisions, these movements, these disorganizations in the social principle serve? They can only serve the cause of tyrants and of slaves.

Citizens, the campaign is on the point of commencing.—Let us purify the soil from the filth of intrigues, in order that we may be able to concentrate our attention on the means of combating and conquering the powers leagued against us.

On Saturday, March 8th, 1794, in the National Convention of France, in the name of the Commission of Customs, and of the United Committees of Public Welfare, Commerce, Legislation, and Marine, Bourdon presented the following plan of a Decree, which was adopted:

- I. **T**HE treaties of navigation and commerce existing between France and those nations with whom she is at peace, shall be executed in their form and tenor, without changing them in the least by the present decree.
- II. All nations, whose government is at peace with the Republic, have a right to the justice and friendship of the French nation. All those foreign nations who commit no hostilities against France, shall be treated in the same manner.
- III. In all those ports and places of France which are not intersected by a foreign territory, the same laws, decrees, and tariffs, shall be observed.

IV. The foreign vessels, and the French vessels coming from abroad, shall not be permitted to anchor in the islands of Corsica, Croix, Bouin, La Croisiere, Noirmoutier, Isle-Dieu, Bellisle, Ushant, the Island of the Mountain, Mole Nehedic, Ile des Saints, the Isles of Rhé, Oberon, and other great or small islands, unless they are in distress, or obliged to come to anchor.

V. The commodities and productions of territory of Fishing and Salt, drawn from the places denominated by Article IV. shall pay no duty in the French ports; but no manufactured goods shall be imported from those places in France.

VI. French ships may be dispatched from the places pointed out in Article IV. from one harbour to another, the same as for a French harbour.

VII. Those articles, the importation of which is lawful from the United States of America to the French colonies, shall not be exported from the said colonies to France.

Proclamation by the States of the Island of Jersey, March 8, 1794.

THE commander in chief having caused the states to be assembled, to communicate to them the intelligence which he has just received, that the enemy have actually collected in force on the adjacent coasts, that it is their avowed plan to make a descent in this island, and that they announce they are invited to it by the inhabitants of Jersey, with a view, doubtless, of spiriting up their soldiers, by making them believe that they will meet with no resistance, and perhaps also with a view of making bad impressions upon our august sovereign respecting the loyalty of this country: the states, after having testified their gratitude to the commander in chief for his attentive conduct in this critical moment, cannot forbear expressing the horror which they feel at such a calumny, as false as it is malicious, against the acknowledged fidelity of the inhabitants of this island. The states take this opportunity to assure the commander in chief of their zeal and their inviolable attachment to the best of kings, and to the British government, under which this island has enjoyed, for several centuries, inestimable privileges and advantages.—They declare to him, that he will always find them ready to second his efforts for the safety of the country; and knowing, from happy experience, the sentiments of the people whom they represent, the states dare assure the commander in chief of the devotion of this loyal people, and of their eagerness to defend their country, and to repulse the attacks of a cruel and barbarous enemy, who trample under foot all laws human and divine, and who have

no other aim but the plunder and the destruction of their fellow creatures. Wishing, at the same time, that the advice communicated by the commander in chief to the states, relative to the meditated invasion, and the atrocious calumny thrown out against the most faithful people, and which cannot fail to excite the most lively indignation in the hearts of the inhabitants, be publicly made known, the states have ordered that this present act, unanimously voted, be printed, published, and put up in all the parishes of this island: and the ministers are requested to have the goodness to read the same next Sunday from the pulpit.

PHILIP DE CARTERET, Clerk.

General Orders for the Security of Great Britain.

Whitehall, 14th March, 1794.

IT is natural to be supposed that gentlemen of weight or property in different parts of the kingdom will separately stand forward, in order to carry into execution the several parts of the plan for the security of the country: but it seems also desirable, a general subscription should be opened, to be applied, under the direction of a committee, for the purpose of assisting in carrying into execution all, or any, of the measures therein suggested, as circumstances shall appear to require.

Whitehall, March 14, 1794.

In order to provide more completely for the security of the country against any attempts which may be made on the part of the enemy, it may be expedient to adopt some, or all, of the following measures:

I. To augment the militia by volunteer companies, as was practised in the last war; or by an additional number of volunteers, to be added as privates to each company.

II. To form volunteer companies in particular towns, especially in those situated on, or near the sea-coast, for the purpose of the local defence of the particular places where they may be raised, according to the accompanying plan, or such other as may, on application for that purpose, be approved of, as best adapted to the circumstances of any particular town.

III. To raise volunteer troops of fencible cavalry, consisting of no less than fifty, nor more than eighty per troop; who will be to serve only during the war, and within the kingdom. The officers will have temporary rank only, and will not be entitled to half-pay: the arms, accoutrements, and

and cloathing will be furnished by government; but the levy money for the men to be furnished by the persons who undertake to raise such troops; and the horses to be found by them, but to be paid for, at a reasonable price, by government.

A person raising two troops to have the temporary rank of major; four troops, that of lieutenant-colonel; and six troops, that of colonel.

IV. To form other bodies of cavalry within particular counties or districts, to consist of the gentlemen and yeomanry, or such persons as they shall bring forward, according to the plans to be approved of by the king, or by the lords lieutenants under authority from his Majesty: and the officers to receive temporary commissions from his Majesty; and the muster-rolls also to be approved by his Majesty, or by the lords lieutenants, at periods to be fixed. No levy money to be given, and the horses to be furnished by the gentry or yeomanry who compose the corps; but the arms and accoutrements to be supplied at the expense of the public. Such corps to be exercised only at such times as shall be fixed by warrant from his Majesty, or by the approbation of the lords lieutenants: to be liable to be embodied or called out of their counties by special directions from his Majesty, in case of actual appearance of invasion; and to be liable to be called upon, by order from his Majesty, or by the lord lieutenant or sheriff of the county, to act within the county, or in the adjacent counties, for the suppression of riots and tumults. In either case, while actually in service, they shall receive pay as cavalry, and be liable to the provisions of the mutiny bill.

V. To enroll and appoint places of rendezvous for a sufficient number of persons in different parishes and districts, particularly in places near the sea-coast, to serve as pioneers, or to assist the regular force in any manner that may be necessary, on the shortest notice, in cases of emergency.

Companies of infantry for manning batteries on the coast, each to consist of

- 1 captain.
- 2 lieutenants.
- 3 serjeants.
- 3 corporals.
- 2 drummers.
- 60 private men at least; one third to be armed with firelocks, the others to have pikes eight feet long.

The officers to be recommended by the lords lieutenants of counties, but to have commissions from the king.

To assemble two days in each week, to practise. The officers to be allowed pay, and the non-commissioned officers and private men, each one shilling per day, for the days they are at exercise. To have cloathing given by government, that they may be all uniform. Not to be removed more than five miles from home, unless ordered by his Majesty on the appearance of an invasion, when they are to be called out, and paid like other militia, but not to be removed out of their county.

Officers on half-pay will be accepted, if recommended.

To be under military law when embodied, and under the command of a general officer.

An Act for encouraging and disciplining such Corps or Companies of Men, as shall voluntarily inroll themselves for the Defence of their Counties, Towns, or Coasts, or for the general Defence of the Kingdom, during the present War, passed in the British Parliament on the 17th of April 1794.

WHEREAS the utmost exertions are now requisite for increasing the military force in this kingdom; be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that any corps or companies of volunteers who now are, or shall hereafter be formed, in any counties or towns in *Great Britain*, during the continuance of the present war, under officers having commission from his Majesty, or from the lieutenants of counties, or others who may be specially authorized by his Majesty for that purpose, and who shall at any time, on being called upon, by special direction of his Majesty, in case of actual invasion, or appearance of invasion, voluntarily march out of their respective counties or towns, or shall voluntarily assemble within the same to repel such invasion, or who shall voluntarily march, on being called upon, in pursuance of an order from his Majesty, or from the lord lieutenant or sheriff of the county, to act within the county or the adjacent counties; for the suppression of riots or tumults, shall in such cases be entitled to receive pay in such manner, and at such rates, as the officers and soldiers of his Majesty's regular forces do now receive; and shall, during the time of their being continued in such service, and so receive pay as above, be subject to military discipline as the rest of his Majesty's regular and militia troops: provided always, that no officer or soldier of any volunteer corps shall be liable to be tried or punished by any court martial at any time, unless such court martial be composed entirely of officers serving in volun-

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teer corps, formed as aforesaid, such court martial to be assembled by warrant under his Majesty's sign manual, or by warrant from some general or other officer duly authorized to hold courts martial.

II. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for all mayors, bailiffs, constables, tithingmen, headboroughs, and other chief magistrates and officers of cities, towns, parishes, tithings, and places, and (in their default or absence) for any one justice of the peace inhabiting within, or near, any such city, town, parish, tithing, or place, (but for no others;) and they, or he, are, or is, hereby required to quarter and billet the sergeants, corporals, and drummers, of such corps or companies as aforesaid, and their horses, in inns, livery-stables, ale-houses, victualling-houses, and all houses of persons selling brandy, strong waters, cyder, wine, or metheglin, by retail, upon application made to any such mayors, bailiffs, constables, tithingmen, headboroughs, or other chief magistrates or officers, by his Majesty's lieutenant, or by the officer commanding the said corps or companies.

III. Enacts the penalty of 10*l.* for not delivering up arms, &c. when discharged, and one month's imprisonment if the offender has no goods whereon to levy.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all commissioned officers of the said corps, who shall be disabled in actual service, shall be entitled to half-pay; and all non-commissioned officers and soldiers so disabled, to the benefit of Chelsea hospital; and the widows of commissioned officers killed in the service, to a pension for life.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person who shall be enlisted or inrolled in any corps or company of volunteers as aforesaid, shall, during the time that he is serving in the said corps or company, be liable to serve personally, or provide a substitute to serve in the militia, provided he shall produce to the deputy lieutenants, assembled at the subdivision meetings, holden in the several counties, for the purpose of hearing appeals against the militia list returned from each parish, an affidavit of his having been inrolled as aforesaid, and a certificate signed by the commanding officer of the said corps or company, that he has for the space of six weeks, immediately preceding such subdivision meeting, punctually attended at all such times and places, as may have been agreed upon for the exercise of such corps or company.

VI. Provided always, and be it enacted, That this act shall have continuance during the present war, and no longer.

Extract from the Records of the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention of France ; dated the 7th Day of Germinal, (March 27, 1794) the second Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

ON the report made by the minister of foreign affairs, relative to the representations made by the United States, Denmark, Sweden, Genoa, and the Hansetowns, to obtain the raising of the embargo laid on all foreign vessels actually detained at Bourdeaux ;

Considering that the motives which gave room for this embargo no longer exist, and that it becomes the dignity and justice of the Republic to grant sufficient indemnities to the foreign proprietors of ships, whose interests have suffered by the embargo, and to facilitate the departure of their vessels,

The committee of public safety, by virtue of the powers delegated to them by the decree of the 14th Frimaire, (4th December),

Resolve as follows :

1. The embargo laid upon all foreign ships at Bourdeaux shall be raised without delay, and the captains are at full liberty to depart, conforming themselves nevertheless to the laws and decrees relative to the exportation of goods.

2. No foreign ship that arrived at Bourdeaux before the 12th of Nivose, (the 1st of January), and detained in consequence of the embargo, shall pay any other duties than those that were exacted from foreign vessels before that epoch.

3. The captains or proprietors shall produce accounts of their expenses, and of the indemnities they claim, to the administrators of the navy, who are to forward them, with their observations, to the executive council.

The executive council shall fix the indemnity to be granted to the captains or proprietors, which shall be paid them, or to their attornies, upon the approved decision of the committee of Public Safety.

4. The captains shall be at liberty to get and export, on account of this indemnity, and without waiting for its fixation, the necessary provisions for their return voyages.

5. The committee of Public Safety leave at the disposal of the minister of the navy the sum of eight hundred thousand livres, to be advanced to the captains on account of their indemnities, according to their respective wants, to be verified by the consuls of their nations.

6. The minister of the navy, as soon as he has ships of war which he can dispose of, is directed to escort beyond the cape

such of the neutral vessels as are exposed to the depredations of the Barbary privateers.

7. The minister of foreign affairs is to acquaint the different governments it concerns with this resolution, and the minister of the navy is to put it into execution in the most speedy manner possible.

(Signed in the Register), B. BARRERE, B. LINDET, CARNOT, BILLAUD VARENNES, COLLOT D'HERBOIS, SAINT JUST, ROBESPIERRE, C. A. PRIEUR.

By Extract, (Signed)

BILLAUD VARENNES,
B. LINDET.

(For copy)

DEFORGUE.

Proclamation at Martinico.

SIR Charley Grey and Sir John Jervis, commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's land and sea forces in the Windward Islands, having resolved, that all the provisions and other articles heretofore declared to the agents of seizures in the town of St. Pierre, shall be publicly sold for the profit of those who have seized them: all persons having made such declarations, are herewith ordered, as soon as the aforesaid agents shall desire it, to deliver up the provisions and other articles thus declared.—All persons that have hitherto neglected to make similar declarations, are also ordered, at their risk and peril, to make them without any further delay.

Given, signed with my own hand, and sealed with my arms,
Head-quarters, on the 10th of April, 1794.

ROBERT PRESCOTT.

By Order of the General,
B. CLIFTON, Sec.

Proclamation concerning the Seized Goods in Martinico.

THE Agents of seizures having represented to me, that at the sale of commodities seized at the town of St. Pierre, a considerable deficiency has been found in the quantities delivered, which, in their opinion, originates from the long space of time elapsed since the delivery of the specification thereof; the inhabitants of the said town of St. Pierre are herewith ordered, next Monday morning, the 28th instant, to deliver to the above agents, an exact specification of the productions of the colony, at this time

time actually existing in their houses and warehouses, for which they are to remain answerable at their own peril and hazard. A general sale shall hereafter take place; and if it should then appear, that any goods have been concealed, those that are guilty thereof shall be severely punished.

All such persons as have sold commodities, or non-manufactured tobacco, are also ordered to deliver, without any delay, to the agents of seizures, an account of the sums received.

St. Pierre, Martinico, April 26th, 1794.

(Signed) ROBERT PRESCOTT,
Lieutenant General.

By the Governor's order,

(Signed) B. CLIFTON, Secretary.

*In the National Convention, on the 2d Floreal (21 April, 1794),
Billaud Varennes presented the following Report from the Com-
mittee of Public Safety.*

CITIZENS, at the opening of this campaign, which must be terrible, because it is time to put an end to the contest between royalty and republicanism, the committee of Public Safety have felt the necessity of fixing finally the basis of that system which ought to regulate our political conduct. If courage and despair be alone necessary to commence a revolution, perseverance and prudence are indispensably requisite to conduct that revolution, and genius and magnanimity of mind to put an end to it. It belongs then to you to foresee all the causes, and to calculate all the effects.

Too long have we marched forward at random. Whoever has neither settled system, nor defined plan, may sometimes be successful, but he must often be exposed to the operations of the passions, and be dragged by circumstances far from the destined goal.

It is not thus that a cautious politician prepares for success: he endeavours to prevent disasters, and not to be dismayed by them when they arrive. He seizes the favourable opportunity, without supposing that such opportunities will frequently occur. Every thing which is doubtful ought to be deemed delusive or precarious,—every thing that is unforeseen passes often away with the quickness of lightning.

Do we wish to succeed—we ought then to begin by knowing our real situation—by lopping off those principles which are only specious; and thus combining and concentrating all circumstances, the Republic must proceed with a firm step. It must overcome all obstacles—conquer all difficulties, and, in a word,

word, attain the desired end by the force of the *impetus* with which it is invested.

Billaud Varennes entered now into a very eloquent comparison of the situation of Rome at the expulsion of the Tarquins, and of the situation of France at the present moment.

Representatives of the French people, he continued, the Republic has imposed on you a duty, as vast in its extent, as it is difficult in the performance. The establishment of a democracy in a country which has so long languished in fetters, may be compared to that tremendous and awful effort which nature makes, when she passes from nothingness to existence.—It is necessary, if I may be allowed the expression, to re-create that people whom we are leading to a life of liberty, because all ancient prejudices must be eradicated—all old customs abolished—all depraved habits extirpated—all superfluous wants restrained. A vigorous action, a vehement impulse, is necessary to develop the civic virtues, and to repress the passions of avarice and intrigue.

Citizens, the inflexible austerity of Lycurgus was the fundamental stone on which was erected the column of Spartan liberty—the feeble character of Solon re-plunged Athens into slavery. This parallel contains all the science of legislation. The consul Brutus, when he condemned to death his guilty sons, well knew that such a severity, striking the people at the same moment with admiration and terror, would appal conspiracy, and render her inert. This calculation was so just, that after the death of Brutus's sons, the only resource of Tarquin was that species of combat, in which he was conquered, and liberty established. Who will now dare to project the ruin of the country, when it is known that you have made justice the order of the day?

We must prevent the assassination of the social body, by putting the assassins to death. The death of Cataline saved the lives of the Roman Senators, and of thousands of other persons. The destruction of the two factions has prevented the destruction of the people and their representatives—has paved the way for victory—has forced the enemy's advanced posts, and has surrendered to us their head quarters, without even giving them a battle.

Billaud Varennes concluded by proposing the following decree, which was unanimously adopted:

That supported by the virtues of the people of France, the National Convention will establish democracy, and punish all the enemies of that democracy.

The Emperor published a Proclamation to the following Purport, at Brussels, on the 17th of April, 1794.

EUROPE has, during five years, witnessed the calamitous state of the wretched kingdom of France; the evils of which increasing daily, do not as yet hold out a prospect of their termination. The impious faction which tyrannizes over that kingdom, to maintain its monstrous system has at once attacked, under the specious pretext of reform, religion, the constitution of the state, and all the bases of social order, which this faction has hastened to destroy, substituting in its place a pretended equality, absolutely chimerical.

Resolved invariably to maintain the religion and the constitution which have for ages constituted the happiness of the Belgic provinces, we are desirous, by a rigid law, to support the public wishes so strongly and generally pronounced by the horror the whole country has displayed at the French revolutionary systems.

The undermentioned articles follow the preamble in the usual form:

I. All persons, whether foreigners or inhabitants, who shall, by conspiracies or plots, attempt to introduce, or propagate in this country, the above system, shall be considered as guilty of high treason, and punished with death.

II. All those who by words or writing shall favour the propagation of such a system, shall be punished by imprisonment.

III. The associations, known under the titles of clubs and literary societies, as well as every other similar assemblage of men, whatever its denominations may be, shall be bound to inform the fiscal counsellors of the object of their society, and the names of those who compose it, for the purpose of obtaining in writing a consent from the said fiscal counsellors, which shall, however, be merely provisional. Every act of disobedience to be punished by a fine of one hundred crowns. This clause to extend to all the cities, towns, and villages, of the Imperial Netherlands.

IV. Those who shall lodge informations against such as are guilty of the above-named crimes and excesses, shall have a recompence, proportioned to the magnitude of the discoveries they shall make. For the crimes mentioned in the first article this recompence shall not be less than 1000 crowns. And,

V. Informing accomplices shall have the same recompence, with forgiveness, unless they shall have been the chief and principal abettors.

The French General, Andre Massena, published the following laconic Proclamation to the People of Garezio and other Cities, in Piedmont, early in May, 1794.

THE invincible French Republicans are at your doors. They know no enemies but the enemies of liberty. They invite you to shake off the yoke of your perfidious tyrant, and you shall be treated as brethren; otherwise, you shall be dealt with as slaves. I expect your immediate answer at my camp,
 MASSENA.

General Order at St. Helena.

ENGLAND being at war with France, this is not a time for disputes between British subjects: none of them can quarrel now but rascals. I make it public therefore, that I am determined to see the laws put in execution, as every good man would wish, and to have every bad man, who disturbs the peace here, brought before a court or jury, let him wear whatever coat he may; and if any further disturbances arise between foldiers and failors, I must, contrary to my inclinations, put a stop to all intercourse between them, and keep the latter from coming inside the gates. British subjects, wherever they meet, should shew that love and affection to each other, that God and nature directs. At all events, they shall not quarrel here with impunity.

(Signed)
 St. Helena, May 2, 1794.

ROBERT BROOK, Governor.

The following Address was sent by Chodieu, National Representative, with the French Army of the North, to the Magistrates of the Town and Castlewards of Courtray, dated the 15th Floreal, (4th May).

CITIZENS,

THE intention of the French Republic is to afford succour and protection to all peaceable citizens, and those principles which have influenced the representatives of the people with the army of Italy, form the basis of the conduct of the representatives of the people with the army of the north, on the entrance of the republican troops into the territories of the enemy. We are all actuated by one sentiment—the love of liberty and justice.

I know

I know that terror has every where preceded us—we expect all sorts of calumnies; to which French republicans will deign only to reply by their conduct. Soon will it be recognized, that the cause of the people of France is the cause of the people of all other nations.

The most positive orders have been given to respect the person and property of every one.—If an imperious necessity has obliged the French Republic to put in a state of requisition all articles which may be useful, that Republic has, at the same time, adopted such measures as will conciliate the interest of individuals with that of the Republic. The *proces verbaux* that will be drawn up, and the acknowledgements that will be delivered to each, will be sufficient to calm the uneasiness of those, who hitherto have not appreciated properly French loyalty.

We desire all the inhabitants to remain peaceably in their houses, and whatever their opinions or their prejudices may be, they shall find in us friends and brethren, as long as they, on their part, shall respect our independence, and shall not endeavour to destroy that form of government which France has adopted. We will be free ourselves; but at the same time, though we complain of those who are ignorant of the value of freedom, we have not formed the project of releasing them against their will from slavery.

A proclamation will, in a few days, disclose to the citizens, whose country will be occupied by the armies of the Republic, what they have to expect from the generosity of a great people, who make war only to produce a permanent peace, and who, as a recompence for the numerous sacrifices they have made, wish only to be free.

Perfidious agents, in the pay of tyranny, have, in the last campaign, abused the public confidence; but now, that the French Republic has destroyed all traitors, and has solemnly proclaimed, that the virtues and justice are the orders of the day, there can remain no cause for the inhabitants of Belgium to abandon their habitations. Those, therefore, who do not return to their houses, cannot complain that no measures have been taken to insure their safety.

Honoured by the confidence of your fellow-citizens, it is for you to enlighten them on such subjects as immediately interest them, and to teach them, that the French nation, in declaring war against all tyrants, offers fraternity to all people.

(Signed)

PIERRE CHODIEU,
Representative of the people with
the army of the north.

An Act to enable Subjects of France to enlist as Soldiers in Regiments to serve on the Continent of Europe, and in certain other Places; and to enable his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to grant Commissions to Subjects of France, to serve and receive Pay as Officers in such Regiments, or as Engineers, under certain Restrictions, passed in Parliament the 9th May, 1794.

WHEREAS, during the present war between Great Britain and France, it may be expedient to raise regiments to serve on the continent of Europe, or in the dominions of his late most Christian Majesty; and to enlist, as soldiers in such regiments, such persons who were subjects of his late most christian Majesty as shall be willing to enlist themselves in his Majesty's service; and to enable certain numbers of them to serve and receive pay as officers in such regiments, and as engineers, under restrictions; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for all such persons who were subjects of his late most Christian Majesty, as shall be willing to serve his Majesty, to enlist as soldiers, and to accept commissions or letters of service from his Majesty, his heirs and successors, or from persons duly authorized by his Majesty to grant the same, (which commissions it shall be lawful to grant) to serve as officers or as engineers in any part of the continent of Europe, or in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, or in any part of the dominions of his late most Christian Majesty: provided, that no such officer or soldier shall be enabled by this act to serve as an officer, or engineer, or soldier, in any place, except on the continent of Europe, or in any of the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, or in any part of the dominions of his late most Christian Majesty: provided also, that no such officer, when he shall be reduced, shall be entitled to receive half-pay: provided also, that no such person as aforesaid shall be liable to any pain or penalty for having enlisted as a soldier in any such regiments as aforesaid, by reason of his having professed the Popish religion, and not having declared the same at the time of his enlisting.

II. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in case it shall be deemed necessary or expedient to bring any such troops as aforesaid, to any port or place in Great Britain, for the purpose of rendezvous, or with a view to operations abroad, and it shall be deemed necessary or expedient to land such troops in any part of Great Britain, for health or exercise, it shall be lawful so to do, any thing herein contained to the contrary

trary notwithstanding: provided always, that such troops so landed shall not be marched into the country to any distance greater than five miles from the sea coast: provided also, that notice of landing such troops shall, within fourteen days after such landing, be given to both Houses of Parliament, if Parliament shall be then assembled; and if not, then within fourteen days after the next meeting of Parliament.

III, Provided also, and be it enacted, That there shall never be at any one time, within this kingdom, a greater number of persons who shall have been enlisted under the authority of this act than five thousand men.

IV: Enacts that the officers and soldiers shall be liable to such articles of war, as his Majesty shall establish, &c.

V. And be it further enacted, That this act shall be in force and have continuance during the said war, and from the end thereof to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

Proclamation by his Excellency Robert Prescott, Esq. Lieutenant-general of his Britannic Majesty's Forces, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Martinico and its Dependencies.

THE inhabitants of the different quarters of the island of Martinico are desired to meet in their respective parishes, for the purpose of choosing by ballot, for their representative, an intelligent person of known integrity; and those deputies, after they are chosen, are requested to assemble next Sunday, the 18th instant, in the town of Fort Royal, to meet the commissaries appointed by their Excellencies Sir Charles Grey, K. B. and Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. for the purpose of fixing, in an equitable and efficacious manner, a general contribution (the amount of which shall be made known to the representative of each parish), to be paid by all those who possess property in the colony; the commanders in chief having decided, that such an arrangement would be much more convenient than a general confiscation; other matters concerning the welfare of the colony will also be proposed to them.

Given at the governor's house at St. Pierre, on the 10th of May, 1794, in the 34th year of his Majesty's reign.

(Signed)

ROBERT PRESCOTT.

By order of the general,

(Signed)

B. CLIFTON, Secretary.

Proclamation by Order of their Excellencies, General Sir Charles Grey, and Admiral Sir John Jervis, Commanders in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Fleets and Armies in the West-Indies.

NO attention having been paid to the proclamation of the 10th instant, issued by his Excellency General Prescott, desiring all the good people of this colony to assemble in their respective parishes and quarters, for the purpose of choosing persons of known intelligence, and approved integrity, to represent them in an assembly, which, according to the said proclamation, was to be held at Fort Royal, Sunday the 18th instant, to meet the commissioners appointed and duly authorised by the commanders in chief, and to confer with them on the most equitable and most expeditious way and means to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest, destined to reward the valour, to compensate the excessive fatigues, and their consequences, sickness and mortality, and to make good the heavy expense incurred by the British officers, soldiers, and sailors, who, with unshaken firmness, and matchless perseverance, have achieved the conquest of this island, subjected it to the British government, rescued from a wretched exile the greatest number of its inhabitants, and restored them to the quiet possession of their property, the confiscation of which had already been decreed:

And the procrastination of this general arrangement being the cause which prevents many well-disposed inhabitants from carrying their commodities to market, and procuring themselves what is necessary for their habitations, to the obvious prejudice of the whole colony:

The commanders in chief, in order to remove an evil of such importance, and which is daily increasing, enact and ordain as follows:

I. The civil commissaries, each in his respective parish, are to draw up and deliver, as soon as possible, exact lists of the habitations situated in the said parishes, containing the number of slaves, cattle, acres of land, buildings, and plantations, an estimate of each of those objects, and a specification of all sorts of productions made and gathered on each estate, wherein ought to be distinguished those, that, bona fide, had been made and collected before the 23d of last March.

II. The civil commissaries in the parishes of the different towns and boroughs are likewise to draw up and deliver a list of the houses, slaves, and servants, to be found in the said towns and boroughs, stating the proprietors thereof, the yearly rent of each house, and enumerating all sorts of pro-

perty, comprised under the denomination of goods, commodities, or merchandise, in the said towns and boroughs.

III. The civil commissaries are also ordered, in their respective quarters, to demand the ledgers, and all account books, notes, and deeds, belonging to captains or agents of the French trade, as well as an exact account of all sorts of property, falling under the description of vacant succession in each quarter of the colony, with a correct inventory of all the goods, effects, and chattels, belonging to such persons as have been taken, arms in hand, or killed during the siege, or banished the island; and further, a specification of all property belonging to persons of any description whatever, residing in France.

IV. The civil commissaries are to name in their reports all persons, without exception, that should delay giving in the different specifications required, or be suspected of making a false declaration, or fail to give the usual assistance, necessary for the exactness and impartiality of reports of that kind; it being the intention and wish, that the intended levy be made in the most equitable manner, and in exact proportion with the means of each individual.

V. The said reports are to be made with all possible expedition, so that on Saturday, the 31st instant, or sooner, they may be delivered by the civil commissaries to the commissioners appointed to receive them, and who, for this purpose, will repair either to the intendant's hotel at St. Pierre, or to the governor's house at Fort Royal: the commanders in chief having, on their part, manifested their ardent wish to adopt the mildest measures; declare herewith, that it is their firm resolution to have this present measure fully executed; or, on the failure of it, to avail themselves of the power with which they are invested, to order and enforce a general confiscation.

Given under our signature, on board the Boyne, Fort Royal bay, on the 21st of May, the year of our Saviour, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and the thirty-fourth year of his Majesty's reign.

(Signed)

CHARLES GREY,
JOHN JERVIS,

By order of their excellencies,

(Signed) G. FISHER,
G. PURVIS.

*General Orders at Tournay by the Emperor.**Head-Quarters, Tournay, May 26.*

HIS Imperial Majesty has heard, with the greatest displeasure, that a report has been spread of the British troops having allowed themselves to be surprised on the 18th instant. He hastens, therefore, to make it publicly known, that he is perfectly convinced of the untruth of this report, and of their having behaved on that day with their accustomed resolution and courage; that they only retired from the too great superiority of the enemy's numbers, being attacked in front, flank, and rear, at the same time; and that their retreat was performed with the utmost steadiness and order. His Imperial Majesty takes this opportunity of informing the troops of the Combined Powers, that since he has taken the command of the army, he has almost every day had proofs of their ardour and courage, and cannot too strongly express his satisfaction and gratitude to them for their conduct.

Address to the Inhabitants of the Netherlands.

THE EMPEROR AND KING,

REVERED Fathers in God, Nobles, dear and liege vassals, dear and well beloved: by our Royal dispatch of the 30th of April last, we announced to you the motives which induced us to have recourse to your zeal; the motives which our commissioners have since disclosed to you, concern yourselves as much as they concern us.—Since that period the mass of the enemy, which has precipitated itself on Belgium, rendering your danger more pressing, it becomes more necessary to employ all the means in your power, and to check the operation of that mass by all the force which it is possible to collect and combine.

Our armies have suffered, and stand in need of a large number of recruits; and although we have seen with as much satisfaction as gratitude, the sacrifices which you have evinced a wish to make, in order to excite our subjects to enter into voluntary engagements, we cannot conceal from you that, as this resource has been hitherto unproductive and unavailing, our army will perhaps be no longer in a condition to employ, against an enemy who makes such efforts to invade these provinces, that resistance and those offensive measures which have hitherto preserved them.

It

It would be superfluous to recal to your recollection that hitherto our Hereditary States have furnished the major part of those who have defended you, and undoubtedly our Belgic provinces, so flourishing, so populous, and so interested in the success of the war, which unhappily may be attended with their annihilation and total ruin, will not be backward in furnishing men to assist in the defence of those provinces.

It is at the present moment, while the period is not yet elapsed, that we address ourselves to you for an object more important even than that contained in our dispatch of the 30th April; we demand for our army, from all the provinces, a levy of men, and we are persuaded that, penetrated with the necessity of satisfying so just a demand, you will only pause on the mode of carrying it into execution. We do not hesitate to propose to you that which is most conformable to reason, to justice, and to the general interests and exigencies of the moment, viz. An equitable assessment on all the districts, each of which shall be directed to furnish one man in every hundred, as far as regards its general population, and five men in every hundred capable of bearing arms.

It is to this demand that we immediately expect your consent, and your most efficacious concurrence, leaving, however, to your choice the best means of satisfying it, at the same time informing you that this extraordinary levy is so necessary and so pressing, that if in the execution of it you stand in need of our sovereign authority, we are disposed to grant it to you in the most extensive manner.

You have, it is true, offered several times to raise some new corps, but we have considered that it would take too much time to organize them, and to train them to the military exercise and evolutions; while, on the other hand, men mingled among soldiers will immediately render us that service which we expect from them.

You cannot dissemble—your future existence depends perhaps on the speedy execution of such an increase of force—you see your enemies multiply at all points of your frontiers, while our armies moulder away by our victories, and by those glorious contests which they are forced so frequently to maintain.—Besides, the efforts that you will make in this respect, cannot be a grievous burthen on a country so populous, and on a nation formerly recognized as brave and warlike.

Given at our Head-quarters at Tournay, 26th May, 1794.

To our reverend Fathers, &c.

(Signed)

FRANCIS.

The following Manifesto was presented by Barrere, from the Committee of Public Safety, to the National Convention of France, on the 30th of May.

SHALL the French Republic be always forced to derive her energy only from events? Too long has the attention of France been concentrated on the conspiracies of Danton and Hebert. It is time that she should know, that if the traitors were allowed to carry on their criminal projects with impunity but for a few days, France, surrendered to England and Austria, would be nothing more than a pile of cinders.

At the period when the conspirators first took the veil of patriotism, a system of calumny was adopted at London—a system that has since been rendered permanent. From that period, too, projects have been continually formed against the lives of certain members of the National Convention of France.

A few days only have elapsed since the journals of foreign powers asserted, that the poignards of assassins had stabbed all the members of the committees of Public and General Safety, and that a revolution had taken place at Paris. A few days only have elapsed since the English newspapers prophesied that Robespierre would soon be no more. Robespierre has escaped the poignards of the ———; but these ministers still think, that, at least, he cannot exist under their calumnies, and that, by asserting that his intentions are to make himself the dictator of France, they shall be able to concentrate on his head the combined detestation of the people of the French Republic.

In these despicable journals the Republican soldiers are invariably characterized as the soldiers of Robespierre—the soldiers of Robespierre, it is said, have attacked Menin—the soldiers of Robespierre have evacuated Arlon; the soldiers of Robespierre have advanced towards Furnes.

We should think that we were guilty of injustice to the power of the people, to the authority of the National Convention, to the unremitting labours of the committee of Public Safety, to the patriotism of Robespierre, and to the courage of the armies, if we were to condescend to refute such calumnies, which, equally gross and atrocious, are calculated only to amuse the English in their brothels or their taverns. We state them merely to prove the intimate relation that subsists between the calumniator of Robespierre and that English agent who so lately sent a new Corday to Paris.

It is the same English who, in speaking of the French armies, express themselves in the following manner:—That horde, the Convention, have adopted such a mode of conduct—the committee of Public Safety has issued such orders, as if no national

repræ-

representation existed, and as if the power of the French Republic were in the hands of one man.

The English have invariably attempted to mislead the human mind. At the commencement of the revolution they endeavoured to produce a belief that France was contending only for a change of dynasty. In the progress of the revolution they insinuated that projects had been formed in France to raise a particular person to the dictatorship—These projects were attributed to the committee of Public Safety, for the purpose of asserting that Robespierre was to be the dictator.

The phantom, which the English conjured up, has been made to flit before the eyes of Republicans, who have proved themselves to be superior to corruption, and whose mighty efforts, seconded and supported by the invincible courage of the armies, and the gigantic power of the people, must annihilate Great Britain. The English ring in the ears of the people the word dictatorship for the purpose of exciting them to rise up and murder their representatives.

Are we returned to the time of the Brissotine domination, when the insidious Louvet scattered his venom against Robespierre? Are we returned to the period of the conspiracy of that animal, Egalité? Must we again endeavour to preserve the friends of liberty, and the armies of the Republic, from these new snares which England has prepared by dispersing her journals through the frontier departments.

We have been witnesses to an insidious expression of uneasiness for the safety of the deputies, and to a proposition for surrounding them with guards, and thereby distinguishing them from the mass of the people. Friends of liberty, suspect such insidious propositions.—Be assured that the authors of them are not sincerely attached to the Republic.—The members of the committee of Public Safety need no guard—their best, their surest protection is the love of the people—the esteem of every good citizen—and the fortitude of their fellow deputies.

Five years of revolutionary experience have taught the people to mistrust the exaggerated representations of men who are the natural foes of liberty.

They are the — who, to make us hated, endeavour to assimilate us to themselves, and who speak of the troops of a deputy in the same manner as they speak of the troops of William, or of —. They wish to attach to us the character of tyrants, because they are convinced that all France detests tyranny.—Yes, ye speculators, ye dealers in treachery and slaves, ye bankers of crimes, we detest tyranny, for we abhor you.—The hatred of Rome against Carthage is revived in the hearts of Frenchmen, in the same degree as the Punic faith is revived in the hearts of —.

Not

Not content with letting loose assassins to massacre us—not content with letting loose calumniators to defame us, you wish to make us die a lingering death, and to starve us by seizing the corn which is destined for our support.

The favourite system of _____ is to corrupt the human race, and to exterminate one country for the purpose of enslaving another.—That system which they best understand is a system by which murder is organized, and a project of famine carried with facility into execution.

What people, not in Europe alone, but in the globe, we would ask, have not been furnished with ample cause of accusation against these islanders? Africa bids them give her back the sons whom they have sent into perpetual slavery.

Asia demands from them those possessions which they have laid waste.

America points to them, with a reproachful hand, as the cause of her miseries.

Europe owes to them her corruption.

They do not disgrace their origin. Descended from the Carthaginians, who dealt in the flesh of beasts and slaves, they have not discarded the commerce of their forefathers. Cæsar, when he landed on their island, found them a ferocious race, contending with the wolves for the fee-simple of the woods. Their subsequent civilization, their civil and naval wars, all bear the stamp and character of their primeval ferocity.

In Bengal they starved several thousands of the human race for the purpose of conquering a small number, and of procuring an inconsiderable extent of territory. This project was executed with that degree of coldness which is the prominent feature of their national character.—They would rather reign the sovereigns of a church-yard than cease to extend their conquests.

On the 7th Prairéal (26th May, 1794) a design of assassinating Robespierre was discovered and attributed to the English: upon which the National Convention of France decreed; **THAT NO ENGLISH NOR HANOVERIAN PRISONERS SHALL BE MADE.**

On the 11th Prairéal, Barrere proposed to the Convention, that the above decree should be accompanied by the following address to the armies of the Republic, which was agreed to.

England is capable of every outrage on humanity; and of every crime towards the Republic. She attacks the rights of nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty.

How long will you suffer to continue on your frontier, the slaves of George—the soldiers of the most atrocious of tyrants?

He formed the Congress of Pilnitz, and brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon. He massacred your brethren
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at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns. He corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation. He starved your plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers.

When the event of battles shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country English slaves have laid waste. Carry your view to La Vendee, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecies, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and Machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of George, say, can they fight for him!

No, no, Republican soldiers, you ought therefore, when victory shall put in your power, either Englishmen or Hanoverians, to strike; not one of them ought to return to the traiterous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free.

Duke of York's General Orders, JUNE 7.

HIS Royal Highness the Duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the British and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the National Convention of France, pursuing that gradation of crimes and horrors which has distinguished the periods of its government, as the most calamitous of any that has yet occurred in the history of the world, has just passed a decree, that their soldiers shall give no quarters to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops, whom he addresses, upon receiving this information. His Royal Highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. His Royal Highness believes that it would be difficult for brave men to conceive that any set of men, who are themselves exempt from sharing in the dangers of war, should be so base and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders.

It was, indeed, reserved for the present times to produce to the world the proof of the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree, even if

founded in truth, would justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the National Convention. It is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted. The French must themselves see through the flimsy artifice of an intended assassination, by which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring that military guard, which has at once established him the successor of the unfortunate Louis, by whatever name he may choose to dignify his future reign. In all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and the French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies, while the Hanoverians for a century, the allies of the former, have shared in this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place, the instant that opposition ceased; and the same cloak has been frequently seen covering those who were wounded, and enemies, whilst indiscriminately conveying to the hospitals of the conquerors.

The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves, as 'tis disgraceful to the persons who passed it: on this confidence, his Royal Highness trusts, that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the National Convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier; and his Royal Highness is confident, that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers, and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting a species of warfare, for which they will then stand acquitted to their own conscience, to their country, and the world: in such an event, the French army alone will be answerable for the ten-fold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, and their children, and their unfortunate country, already groaning under every calamity, which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims.

His Royal Highness desires these orders may be read and explained to the men at their successive roll-calls.

The following is the Commentary of Robespierre, on the humane and manly Instructions issued by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in General Orders to the Army under his command, in consequence of the Decree of the Convention, that no British or Hanoverians should be taken Prisoners. Delivered in the Jacobin Club, on the 3 Messidor, June 21, 1794.

ROBESPIERRE appeared at the tribunal.—It is time, said he, that patriots should fix their attention on the dangers of the country; they are not yet past. In vain the armies of the Republic shall triumph over our enemies from without, if we do not deprive their emissaries of all the means of assassinating liberty even in its most sacred asylum. I do not come to point out to you all the dangers which threaten the national representation; I have to lay before you an object still more important, from the deep laid manner in which it is concerted, and the perfidious end which it has in view.

I came to submit to your inspection a sort of proclamation, published in the British armies by order of the Duke of York, a proclamation issued in consequence of the report of Barrere, and the decree by which it was followed; that no English or Hanoverian soldier should be made prisoner, and published with a design of exciting the hatred of the soldiers in a more direct and forcible manner against the Convention. (Robespierre then read the proclamation.) Though very contemptible in itself, it will not be amiss, continued he, to accompany it with a short comment.

His Royal Highness reminds the British and Hanoverian troops, that clemency is the brightest gem in the character of a soldier: on this head he refers to the example of former periods; but what similitude is there between the circumstances as they were formerly, and as they are at present? What is there in common between liberty and despotism, between vice and virtue? That soldiers fighting for despots should give their hands to conquered soldiers to return together to the hospital, can easily be conceived; that a slave should hold intercourse with a slave, a tyrant with a tyrant, can also easily be conceived; but that a free man should make any compromise with a tyrant or his satellite, valour with pusillanimity, virtue with vice, is what cannot be conceived, and is in its own nature impossible.

A free man can pardon his enemy if he only present to him death: he never can pardon him if he present to him chains. York talks of humanity! What! York a a soldier of How odious is a tyrant, even when he talks of humanity!

York ascribes the decree to a pretext, and he does not undertake to prove what the pretext is. Our troops, says he, will
P 2 not

not believe that even the French nation, in their infatuation, &c. And what signifies to us what they believe, provided they believe in the valour of our soldiers, and the force of our bullets? Undoubtedly the French nation is infatuated, but the infatuation continues for a length of time, and undoubtedly it is reserved for the Duke of York to enlighten the French nation.

His Highness draws a comparison between France and England. To what tends this parallel? What is there in common between the inanimate heart of a slave, and that which glows with the sacred love of liberty? England is a despicable meteor, which disappears before the republican luminary. They would assimilate the French to the English in the field of battle, in order to corrupt the Republican virtues: a distance must be kept up between the soldiers of liberty and the slaves of tyranny.

We are not astonished that the Duke of York should have been so frightened by this decree, for the principal force of the tyrants combined against France consists in those machinations which they have been able to carry on in the heart of the country; they wish, after being conquered, still to preserve a medium of communication, in order to carry on their perfidious plots.

The Duke of York, by circulating his proclamation, probably imagines that the French armies will pay more deference to his orders than to the decrees of the Convention; but we are no longer in the time of Brissot, of Guadet, of Gensonne; the Republic has extricated itself from the numerous factions, it has destroyed them all. That of Orleans no longer exists, but the Republic exists, although it has not completely attained the end of the revolution; for it has secretly glided, if I may so express it, over a revolutionary tract, amidst rival factions, all of which tended to establish a new system of tyranny. The true Republicans were regarded as intruders. While the Republic was advancing in its progress, all the factions exerted themselves in order to crush it, and its defenders: there were but few patriots in the commencement of the revolution; tyrants and their agents exerted themselves in every sense to sow amongst us division, discord, and disorganization: they well knew that no people can successfully combat its combined enemies, except by that concert, that union, that common point of rallying, which is alone the soul of all victories and triumphs.

This plan of division has been incessantly pursued on its immense ramifications: not being able to attack the people in a mass, they attempted to separate them from the Convention, the Convention from its Committees, and the members of the committees from one another. Such is the object of the *proclamations of the Duke of York*: the factions are not yet annihilated,

nihilated, they will still raise their head. His Royal Highness flatters himself that the soldiers of the two nations will confine their resentment to the National Convention.

The Duke of York, then, relies upon treacherous plots in the interior : he relies upon the snares of imposture, on the system of immorality, and in fine on all crimes. What means also that distinction which the Duke of York confers upon me ? I suppose myself a French citizen, and he makes me King of France and Navarre. I esteem too much the title of citizen, not to spurn at any title that would assimilate me to the Duke of York.—Can there be any thing more dear to a friend of liberty than the love of his fellow citizens ? And would the French people descend from the highest summit of glory to debase themselves to a throne ?

The Duke of York says I am surrounded with a military guard ; you best know how far such is the fact ; but it is not difficult to perceive the insidious nature of the insinuation.

Let us distrust such snares : let us firmly adhere to principles ! ~~the system is against~~ the Convention, and that is all that is necessary in order that it should be defeated.—They wish to render us suspected to the people, and deprive us of the courage requisite to unmask and encounter our enemies : they can only effect their object by poignards ; while we exist, we will unmask and oppose tyrants, traitors, and criminals !

On the 19th Praireal, (7th June 1794), after a Report from the Committee of Finance had been read, the French Convention decreed :

1. **T**HAT for the present year alone, an extraordinary war contribution shall be established :—that this contribution shall consist of the tenth of the sums carried to the lists of the forced loan, established by the law of the 3d of September last, Old Style.

2. That this extraordinary contribution shall attach upon all those whose names are contained in such lists, in the proportion fixed by the first article, and according to the sum at which they have been assessed.

3. That for this purpose there shall be made out in each municipality, in the decade after the publication of the present decree, a particular list of all persons assessed in the lists of the forced loan.

4. The lists of the extraordinary war contribution shall be closed and examined by the municipality, and remitted to the receiver in the next decade.

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5. These new lists shall contain four columns: in the first shall be inscribed the names of persons assessed; in the second, the sum assessed; in the third, the half of the sum; forming the quota of the person assessed; and the fourth shall be reserved for the account of payments made.

6. This contribution shall be paid by one-third at a time, from month to month, beginning from the day of the publication of the lists. The assessed persons who shall neglect paying, shall be proceeded against in such a manner as the law prescribes in matters of contribution.

7. The produce shall be paid monthly by the receiver into the hands of the receiver of the district. The produce collected at Paris shall be paid directly into the national treasury within the decade, after the expiration of the time appointed for the payment of the sums assessed.

8. The national agents, in the districts and communes, shall take care, as far as relates to them, that the present decree is carried into execution. They shall be made responsible.

((FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.))

Proclamation of his Excellency Brigadier General Whyte, commanding his Britannic Majesty's Forces in St. Domingo.

THE commissioners and their agents, in order to carry into execution those perfidious designs which have proved so fatal to the lives, the laws, the liberty, and the happiness of this once flourishing colony, have every where calumniated the British government.

General Whyte, who has the honour to represent his Britannic Majesty, assures the inhabitants of Port au Prince, and its vicinity, that the object of his Majesty and of his government is to restore peace among every class of inhabitants.

Those parts of the colony, which have already placed themselves under his Majesty's protection, can bear a faithful testimony that there is nothing oppressive in the behaviour and laws of the English.

A considerable part of the people of St. Domingo has been seduced from its duty; these persons are hereby invited to return to their occupations, to lay down their arms, and to forget every cause of resentment.

The English government demands, and will obtain, by force if necessary, that peaceful obedience which is due to its mild and just laws.

The mulattoes will find in the^l General and the government every disposition to favour their interests; they are considered by the English, who are and will continue to be their friends.

The negroes, who have been so long the dupes of the vile artifices of the commissioners, will soon be convinced that the English disdain falsehood and deceit.

Let them, relying with confidence on the generosity of the British people, return to their masters, lay down their arms, and enjoy the advantages of a life devoted to industry; their present sufferings will soon be relieved, and the laws will protect them against cruelty and oppression.

The forces, which are now in this colony to support the happiness of the inhabitants, and the glory of the English nation, are but a part, even a small part of the army destined for its service; it being his Majesty's resolution to punish in a manner as certain as severe, those who will not accept the offers of this and of the preceding proclamations.

All persons who shall repair to Port au Prince, and to the English General, within the delay of eight days from the date of this proclamation, except those who have been guilty of murder, or of taking a part in the insurrection, will be received and pardoned; but all those who are taken in arms after the above-mentioned period, will be put to death as traitors.

Done at Port au Prince, the 8th of June, 1794.

(Signed)

JOHN WHYTE,

Brigadier-General Commandant.

Orders issued by his Excellency the Field-marshal General Mollendorff, on the Parade, at the Prussian Head-quarters at Kayserlautern, June 22, 1794.

WHEREAS an ill-founded report has been spread in these environs, and amongst the army, namely, that the troops of his Prussian Majesty had entered into British pay. In consequence of which, his Excellency Field marshal Mollendorff, in order to prevent such unfounded rumours from being credited, declares, publicly, to the army in general, that the army of his Prussian Majesty is only subsidised by the two maritime powers, Great Britain and Holland, in the manner as it was in the seven years war; but receives no pay from any of those powers.

Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, or Death !

Richard and Chodieu, Representatives of the People with the Army of the North, in order to secure to the Inhabitants of the conquered Countries their Tranquillity, Safety, and Property, and to take Measures to prevent all Enterprises in those Countries which may be hostile to the Interests of the French Republic, order as follows:

ARTICLE I. Every inhabitant of a conquered country absent from his place of abode, is permitted to return within a fortnight from the date of this arret; after that period, those who do not return will be considered as emigrants. This permission, however, is not to extend to those who have been guilty of any crime against the Republic, for which they will be pursued and treated as the enemies of the French people. It is not to extend to the inhabitants of the conquered countries, whose effects have been sequestered by laws anterior to this arret. The delay granted to the inhabitants of places actually blockaded, shall be estimated from the day in which the blockade shall cease; their effects, however, shall continue provisionally sequestered.

II. All the inhabitants of the conquered Belgic provinces, under the special protection of the French Republic, are charged not to favour, directly or indirectly, the arms of the Combined Powers.

III. All those who shall be convicted of correspondence with the enemy, either by act, conspiracy, or discourses, to the injury of the French people, shall be given up to the revolutionary tribunal of France, and dealt with according to law.

IV. Every individual, now domiciliated in the conquered countries, who has quitted France in consequence of the laws of the Republic, is ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, under pain of being treated as a French emigrant.

V. The military commanders are enjoined to take rigorous measures for the preservation of order and tranquillity in the conquered places, and to prevent any violence to the safety or property of the inhabitants, under any pretext whatsoever. The freedom of worship must be respected.

VI. The magistrates of the conquered towns and communes are enjoined, on their responsibility, to comply with the requisitions made by the commissaries of war, for the service of the Republic, within the time prescribed. In case of disobedience, they will be treated as enemies to the Republic.

VII. All magistrates that shall be found favouring, or exciting, by their private or public conduct, or by discourses against the French Revolution, any commotions against the Republic, shall be given up to the revolutionary tribunals, and considered as enemies to the French people.

VIII. The

VIII. The police of the conquered places shall be administered by the military commandants, till it shall be otherwise ordained: they must use the most active vigilance to discover the plots, and to prevent the designs of the enemies of the Republic; they must be careful to prevent any public or private assembling of the inhabitants, and shall employ the military force to disperse them.

IX. The inhabitants of the conquered countries shall resign their arms into the hands of the military commandants within the space of twenty-four hours after the publication of the present arrêt. Those convicted of secreting them, shall be given up to the military commission, and punished with death.

X. Assignats shall be received at all the public banks, and in all commercial transactions: those who shall refuse, deny, or forge, and those who shall circulate false ones, are to be given up to the criminal tribunal of the department of Pas de Calais, and punished conformably to the laws of the Republic upon that head.

XI. To prevent the disaffected from raising the price of merchandize and wares of the country, on account of the introduction of assignats, the maximum established in the city of Lille shall be adopted in all the conquered countries of West Flanders.

XII. The imposts and other duties established in the conquered countries, under whatever denomination they may exist, shall continue to be received for the use of the Republic.

XIII. The soldiers of the Republic shall observe the strictest discipline in the conquered countries, and refute by their conduct the calumnies of their enemy. The commanders of corps and the generals shall cause to be given up all those who commit disorders, the effect of which would be to favour the designs of the enemy.

Done at Lille, 4th Messidor, (22d June) in the second year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

A true copy.

RICHARD,
S. BOURJER,
Commissary in Chief.

The last Paper issued by the Austrian Government, exhorting the People of the Austrian Netherlands to rise in a Mass, was dated Brussels, June 23, 1794, and concludes thus:

THE Emperor's armies are still entire: victory has often crowned their glorious efforts; but they are wearied by continual battles; and perhaps the inactivity of the Belgians may diminish their ardour, when they see that it is not felt by the nation they are defending. A rapid march into the enemy's territory presented prospects more brilliant; but glory was sacrificed to your safety. Powerful re-inforcements are expected; but the danger,

danger, though momentary, is urgent; you have no time to lose. The general arming, to which we invite Belgium, implies neither a regular incorporating with the army, nor taking up arms for any length of time, nor even a difficult war; for disciplined and courageous armies support you; and the august brother of our master, the accustomed organ of his sentiments in your favour, will guide your efforts, and march at your head. Merely to arm is at once to destroy the audacity and the hopes of the enemy.

Religion, constitution, property, the sovereign who wears you all in his heart, who came among you without guards, who trusted himself to your love, who esteems you—These are the watch-words that will organize you; and your zeal and your courage will never deceive our hopes.

Address of the National Convention of France to the Citizens and the Communes of the Republic, dated 26th June, 1794.

CITIZENS, when the country was declared in danger, upon its call, you sent your youth to the frontiers to defend it: for five years you have shewn yourselves worthy of liberty, by the sacrifices you have made in its cause. The Convention do not require of you new sacrifices at the present moment; they have only to congratulate you upon the abundance which surrounds you, and which nature seems to have bestowed in order to drown your generous efforts; never was your territory at any period the seat of such riches. You have in your fields subsistence for yourselves and for your brothers who fight for you on the frontiers, and for those who watch over liberty in all the Republic. The law now calls you to the preservation of so precious a deposit. When you were surrounded by perfidy and malevolence, severe laws were necessary to overawe the traitors, who sought to distract and mislead the people, in order to deprive them of subsistence. At present, when the law has removed and punished the conspirators and their accomplices, the representatives of the people address themselves to their republican virtues; they entrust to pure hands the most luxuriant harvest that a free land has ever produced. It becomes us, when dastardly foes, despairing to subdue us by valour, have already attempted to subjugate us by famine, to reduce them again to despair, and frustrate their perfidious efforts, by securing to ourselves all the advantages of abundance. Citizens, to attain this object, we must disconcert the manœuvres to which malevolence may still have recourse; in order to strengthen our confidence, the Convention wish the resources of the Republic to be completely ascertained. A decree has just been passed for this purpose; while it requires every citizen to give an account of the produce

produce of his harvest, it suggests how that object may be attained by the most simple means. Who is he, that while his brothers shed their blood in his defence, will refuse to submit to a census which tends to secure their subsistence? Who is he whose heart does not desire a measure so salutary, and who will not be eager to concur in it as soon as the intention of the law shall be made known to him?

If there still remain among you any selfish person so insensible to the wants of his country, as not to comply with the spirit of the law, or endeavour to elude it, let him be declared, let the law that moment punish his infidelity, and let his name, unworthy to be placed among those of republicans, be inscribed on the shameful list of suspected citizens. But no, citizens, the law will not find among you any individuals so base. It belongs only to slaves, who have no country, to insulate themselves, and think only of their own petty interests. Here all republicans are brothers; the means and the wants of the same family are common to all its members. This sacred maxim is now recognized in all quarters of the Republic; it existed in the hearts of those worthy citizens, of those respectable communes who, without even being required, have shared, and still share their means of subsistence with their brothers in the neighbouring departments. Such are the instances which history will collect with enthusiasm, such is the heroism of republicans, which ought to make despots tremble. Citizens, be tranquil, rely on your means of subsistence; in order to direct their destination, and ascertain their extent, the Convention has passed this precautionary decree. The harvest is about to commence; your fields are covered with abundance; turn your eyes towards the country where your brothers fight against tyrants, and swear, that these brave soldiers, their parents, and their children, whom you have among you, shall not want the means of subsistence. Hasten, amidst the labours of the harvest, to prepare that subsistence, that it may be speedily sent to the armies, to those markets where any scarcity is felt, and the armies who are in want. Let each of you be an intrepid superintendant, and a faithful executor of the law; have always the Republic in your heart; on your patriotism it reposes its most tender solicitude.

This address was ordered to be printed and distributed.

Report on the Arrival of the French West India Fleet, and on the Naval Action of the First of June. 28th Praireal, (June 16th, 1794.)

THE municipality of Chapelle Franciade having presented an ear of corn at the bar of the Convention, the produce of the present harvest,

Barrere, in the name of the committee of Public Safety, exclaimed—The valuable present which has just been offered you, seems to be the forerunner of the happy news I am about to communicate. The convoy of one hundred and sixteen vessels coming from America has entered our ports, and brings us subsistence of all kinds. Our news on the Alps, and towards the North, is equally good. Our troops have retaken possession of the Palatinate. Pirmasens is our own again; and the army of the Rhine is every where victorious.

But an object still more important, is, the provisioning the Republic. Here, then, is an end of that compact of starvation between England and Spain, which was to desolate France with famine.

The solicitude of the committee is great. The English had united all their forces on the ocean to capture this rich convoy. The safety of the country depended on its arrival. What have your committee done?

It has been secret in its measures: it has united all its maritime strength. Jean Bon St. Andre was on board the Montagne; and as our fleet was inferior to the English in the number of fourteen ships of the line, the committee ordered the French fleet to station itself between the enemy and the convoy; and not to fight unless it was to save this valuable fleet.

The courage of republicans, and their hatred to the English, triumphed over every obstacle. A battle became inevitable; and it has been one of the most glorious and bloody that ever occurred in the annals of naval history.

Our fleet, though fourteen ships inferior in number, and to leeward of the English, made them feel our vengeance, and obliged them to abandon to us the scene of action. Seven of our vessels were dismasted; ten belonging to the English suffered the same fate, and there is every reason to presume, that one of their three deckers went to the bottom. Our seven dismasted vessels are not yet arrived in port, and there is reason to apprehend that they are lost.

Let Pitt then boast of this victory to his nation of shop-keepers (*nation boutiquiers*). Already do the English newspapers announce that a division of our fleet has taken a Dutch convoy: but we can tell you better news. Not a day passes but the commerce of our enemies affords us provisions and wealth.

Here then is what the French marine has done, now that it is rid of its vermin nobility. When the details of this victory reach us, we will recommend the rewards due to our brave sailors.—Our applauses shall reach from one end of the Republic to the other.

Now that the provisioning of the Republic is secured, we will unite our forces; attack the vile knaves; and England shall be *the spot to which* our republican cannons shall be pointed.

Public

Public Thanks of Lord Howe to the different Ships' Companies, for their Conduct in the Actions with the French Fleet.

The Charlotte, Spithead, June 13, 1794.

THE Admiral cannot omit the very grateful part of his duty, that requires these his public acknowledgments to be made, of the highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which have been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps in the ships of the fleet, during the several actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st of the present month; and which cannot be better affirmed than by reference to their effects on those occasions.

Nor is the merit of the seamen of the fleet less to be applauded, in their active and unwearied exertions to put their ships in a state for service, so speedily as it was completed after those actions had ceased.

(Signed)

HOWE.

Public Orders.

Queen Charlotte, at Spithead, June 20, 1794.

The commander in chief is directed, pursuant to the King's pleasure, to make known in the fleet, that his Majesty has deigned to express the highest satisfaction in the account reported by the Admiral, of the bravery and gallant behaviour of the officers and men serving in the fleet, in the actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May and 1st of the present month; and is charged, in the manner judged most proper, to acquaint all the officers and men (more especially, the Admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood, K. B. the Rear-Admirals Bowyer, Caldwell, Gardner, and Pasley, and Sir Roger Curtis, first captain to the commander in chief) with the just sense his Majesty entertains of the zeal and courage they have so eminently exerted in his service on those occasions.

The commander in chief has also been required by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and by the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, to convey the thanks of their respective Houses to the flag-officers already named as above, and to the captains and other officers of the fleet, for their bravery and gallant conduct, with their approval and acknowledgment of the services of the seamen, marines, and soldiers, serving in the said fleet, on the several actions with the enemy as aforesaid.

The commander in chief, with the highest sense of pleasure, communicates in this manner, such approval and acknowledgment as above stated, to the said officers and ships' companies; and desires in consequence, that the captains of the different ships

ships will signify the same to their respective officers and crews accordingly.

He is moreover to make known at this time, that in a Court of Common Council, holden in the chamber of Guildhall, of the city of London, the 18th instant; on consideration (as it is expressed) of the very gallant conduct of the seamen, &c. who served on board the fleet in the said actions, and in token of the gratitude of the said Court of Common Council, the chamberlain of the city is directed to pay into the hands of Mr. Thomas Tayler, the master of Lloyd's Coffee-house, the sum of five hundred pounds, for the relief of the wounded warrant officers, petty officers, seamen, &c. and also the widows and children of those who so gloriously fell on the days before-mentioned in the service of their king and country.

It is likewise to be noticed, that a very considerable sum of money had been previously subscribed (and still increasing in amount) by many respectable and generous private gentlemen, making their deposits with Mr. Tayler for the like purposes; consonant to the tenor of which, the several captains of the fleet have been desired to transmit to the said Mr. Tayler, the names of the killed and wounded seamen, marines, and soldiers, with adequate descriptions of the persons entitled to such relief, with all convenient dispatch.

Speech of Barrere, on the 21st Messidor, (July 9, 1794) on the late Naval Action; introductory of the Decree for hanging up, in the National Pantheon, a Model of the Ship le Vengeur.

CITIZENS, the committee has charged me to make known to you sublime traits of heroism, which ought neither to be concealed from you nor the French nation. Since the sea has first become a field of carnage, and the waves have been blood-stained by war, the annals of Europe do not record a battle so obstinate, a valour so sustained, and, in short, an action so terrible and sanguinary as was that of the 1st of June, when our Squadron saved the American convoy. Vanstabel, in conducting the American fleet into our ports, passed through waves empurpled by blood, amidst lifeless trunks, and wrecks of vessels. The obstinacy of the conflict which preceded the arrival of the convoy, proves how truly republican our squadrons are, since the hatred of the English name directed the blows. In proportion as the force on the part of the French was unequal, so was the resistance great and courageous. The English seamen, when they returned into their ports, could not conceal from history this remarkable confession.—Let us hear what their papers say of the seamen of the English fleet; “The French,” said they to their comrades who had not been in the
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the action, "are like flints; the more they are struck, the more fire they give."—*Applause*. The soul of republicans rises insensibly in a ratio with the progress of the revolution: it becomes still more energetic, and their courage more exalted in proportion to the dangers and ill successes. The passion of liberty follows them every where, encourages them in imprisonment, and comforts them in adversity; while the songs by which we celebrate our victories and our independence, console them when condemned to live among the implacable enemies of the Republic. The English have obtained possession of their persons and their ships; but the republican virtues, the lofty courage of a patriot, that love of the country which is the idol of a French warrior, and that proud and elevated soul which characterises a republican, were never in the power of the old enemies of France. In spite of adversity, the freeman has an advantage over tyrants, even when in chains. "Very early this morning," say the English journals, "the prisoners belonging to the French prizes arrived at Spithead, began to be debarked, and several of them are already safely lodged at Hilsea. During their debarkation, and on their way, they sung republican hymns with their usual gaiety." At the pleasing remembrance of their country their enthusiasm was so great, that the English guards considered their ardent expressions of liberty as indications of mutiny, and had the barbarity to silence the consolatory hymns by a signal of death. A Frenchman was killed by a militia soldier belonging to the guard, and the march to quarters was continued in silence. Citizens, let us leave these execrable islanders, and return to the ocean, where we shall see the sublimest traits of courage and of patriotic ardour. The naval forces of the French Republic and the English Monarchy were for a considerable time in sight, when at length came this most desperate engagement: the severest fire possible, and the most legitimate fury on the part of the French, augmented the horrors and the perils of the day. Three English ships were sunk, and several French vessels disabled: the enemy's fire had torn in pieces the hull of one of the latter, and united the double horror of a certain shipwreck, and a deadly conflict. But this vessel was manned by a crew, gifted with that intrepidity of soul which braves danger, and with that love of the country which contemns death. A species of warlike philosophy had possessed the whole crew: the English vessels surrounded the republican ship, and called on her to strike; a prodigious fire of heavy artillery was kept up on le Vengeur, while her broken masts, tattered sails, and detached fragments covered the waves. Is so much courage, are so many preternatural efforts to be thrown away?—Could the English think that French republicans would deliver themselves into their perfidious hands, and treat with such enemies? No; they could not hope so much. The Republic con-

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templates her heroes, who for her will conquer or die: several hours of combat did not abate their courage; they still fought; the enemy received their last fire, and on all sides the vessel filled with water. What was to be the fate of our brave brethren? Either they were to fall into the enemy's hands, or be swallowed up by the waves: be under no apprehension for their glory, they were still greater in misfortune than amidst successes. A firm resolution succeeded to the heat of the combat. Picture to yourselves *le Vengeur*, pierced through and through, open on all sides, and surrounded by the English tigers and leopards, the crew made up of wounded and dying men, contending against guns and waves. On a sudden, the din of battle, the terrors of danger, and the cries and the pangs of the wounded ceased; the flags and streamers were displayed; and the shouts of *Vive la Republique! Vive la Liberté, et la France!* were heard on all sides; it was rather the moving and animated spectacle of a civic festival, than the terrible moment of a shipwreck. A moment only was left them to consider of their fate; but no, citizens, our brethren disdained to deliberate; they saw on one side the English, on the other their country, and they chose rather to be a prey to the waves, than to be dishonoured by a capitulation. They hesitated not; their last prayers were for Liberty and the Republic: they disappeared!—[An unanimous movement of admiration was manifested in the Assembly. Applauses and shouts of *Vive la Republique* expressed the lively and profound emotion with which the Convention was penetrated; and the acclamations of the tribunes were blended with those of the representatives.] By whom, then, has the secret of our grandeur been revealed? What friend of liberty has transmitted to us this heroical trait, which seems to belong to fabulous times? Who is it that has made the discovery? Our enemies, the English, their journals, their eagerness to contest our glory. You shall hear what is said in an English journal, dated June 16th. “It is certain, that in the brilliant naval action which has just taken place, the crew of one of the French ships, at the moment she sunk, were heard unanimously to exclaim *Vive la Republique! Vive la Liberté!*—“This expression of gratitude to the Republic, this predominating passion for liberty, which prevails over even the horrors of death, is it the effect of mental energy, or of terror?” Another English paper, of the 14th of June, relates this circumstance, ascribing to the crew of the *Terrible* this memorable proof of greatness of soul, and constancy. The ship sunk with the flags and streamers bearing the national colours flying on all sides, and amidst the redoubled cries of *Vive la Republique!* In a private letter from an officer of Lord Howe's squadron, this sublime trait is ascribed to the ship *le Vengeur*; and, according to Jean Bon St. Andre, the national representative, this last account is

best established : to le Vengeur belongs this most glorious achievement ; and if it has been the admiration of our dastardly enemies, by what Frenchman can it be disputed ? Let us not commiserate the Frenchmen who composed the crew of le Vengeur ; let us not pity them ; they died for their country : we will honour their destiny, and celebrate their virtues.—*Applaudes*. A Pantheon is erected in the midst of the central commune of the Republic : this monument of national gratitude has been devoted to every part of the frontiers ; let it also be dedicated to the bosom of the ocean ! We have hitherto decreed no honours to the heroes of the sea service ; those belonging to the land having alone obtained our homages. Why ought we not to suspend at the roof of the French Pantheon a model of le Vengeur, inscribing on the column of the Pantheon the names of the brave republicans who composed the crew of that vessel, and recording the courageous action they achieved ? By such honours the remembrance of great men is perpetuated, and the seeds of courage and virtue dispersed over the lands of the Republic. It is thus that the Pantheon, by a simple decree of the National Convention, will be converted into a terrible repository, in which will be collected, at the call of the Republic, ships and mariners : it is not enough to form heroes by national recompenses ; we must besides restore to the French marine the ship the sea has swallowed up. No ; the remembrance of le Vengeur shall not perish ; and that glorious name shall, by your orders, be bestowed on the three-decked ship now building in the covered basin of Brest. We must also preserve the remembrance of this vessel, which has been the theatre of glory and republican virtue. The vessel le Vengeur shall therefore again float on the waves, and shall soon justify its name and its renown, by joining a squadron which will exult over those cruel islanders, who aim at the annihilation of French liberty, and the destruction of the rights of man ! But are there not still more durable monuments of glory ? Time, which overturns mountains, and destroys the works of man, will not always respect those which the Republic shall raise, and ruins will still succeed to ruins. Are there not other modes of immortalizing the traits we admire ? The actions of the celebrated men of antiquity, who also obtained temples that no longer exist, are they not still living in paintings and in writings ? To poets and painters it belongs to describe and depict the event of le Vengeur : by their consolatory verses, by their grateful pencils, they are to hand down to posterity all that the founders of the Republic considered as grand, generous, or useful. The monuments raised to the heroes of Homer, are to be found in his verses alone : the celebrity of Agricola no longer lives in the urn made by a celebrated artist, but still breathes in the writings of Tacitus. Let us lay the basis of an honourable strife between poetry and painting,

and let national recompenses, decreed in a civic festival, regenerate the arts and encourage artists : or rather, David again take up your pencils, and let your genius snatch from the bosom of the ocean the celebrated vessel, the seamen of which have drawn admiration from the English themselves. Why can I not make my voice reach to all those who defend the country on the ocean ! I should then say to them, Seamen of the Republic, when her destinies on your terrible element are entrusted to you, turn for a moment your view towards the Pantheon, and there see the gratitude of your country ; but above all, recollect *le Vengeur*, whenever you encounter the tyrants of the ocean. The marine of kings is an expensive luxury ; that of the Republic a sure weapon to emancipate the seas. Liberty has besides commerce, another ambition : commerce will have slaves, and ordains that one nation alone shall predominate. Liberty will have no more tyrants by sea than by land. It is not that we should be maritime slaves, that nature has bestowed on us whatever is necessary for the construction of ships, numerous ports to receive them, and seas washing our shores. It is not to be tyrannized over by the bankers and traders of London, that the revolution has placed in our hands an enormous property, immense woods, a warlike population, and skilful seamen. Frenchmen, be brave and great, like the republicans who composed the crew of *le Vengeur*, and soon will England be annihilated. Clear the ocean of these monopolizing traders, and the shades of the seamen who have immortalized themselves on board *le Vengeur* will rejoice, as they hover over the tomb which their courage has dug for them in the abyss of the ocean.

He concluded with proposing the following decree, which was adopted :

I. A model of the ship of the line *le Vengeur* shall be hung up in the vault of the Pantheon ; and the names of the brave Republicans who composed the crew of that vessel, shall be inscribed on the column of the Pantheon.

II. For this purpose, the marine agents of the ports of Brest and Rochfort shall transmit, without delay, to the National Convention, the list of the crew of the ship *le Vengeur*.

III. The three-decked ship, now building in the covered basin of Brest, shall be named *le Vengeur*. The commissioner of the marine shall give immediate orders to hasten the construction of that vessel.

IV. The National Convention calls on all artists, painters, sculptors, and poets, to unite in transmitting to posterity the sublime trait of republican heroism of the citizens forming the crew of *le Vengeur*, in sacrificing themselves for their country. Recompenses shall be decreed in a national festival to the painters and poets who shall best celebrate the glory of these republicans.

*In the National Convention, on the 16th Messidor, (July 4, 1794)
Jean Bonstain-Andre, the National Commissioner's Account of
the Action between the British and Republic fleets.*

CITIZENS,

THE details of the expedition of the naval force of the Republic are not yet completely known to you. In the first instance, it was only possible to give you a general idea of what had happened. Sent by you to the fleet, in order to observe and report to you every occurrence, it is my duty to supply the deficiency of the first accounts, which I shall do with all the simplicity and accuracy of truth. A valuable convoy, laden with provisions and grain, was expected from the United States of America, which Pitt had formally promised to the council of his master that he should get into his possession, and which a formidable English force was stationed in different quarters to intercept. The British cabinet, apprized of every occurrence in the Republic, by numerous hired emissaries, had likewise in America, agents instructed to give them notice of all your operations.

The moment of the departure of your convoy, its course, the point where it was to pass, the force by which it was protected, and the number of the ships sent out to meet it, were all known. The favourable season for sailing was likewise past: your convoy, retarded, either by negligence or design, on the part of your American agents, or by the obstacles which they had met with, could not possibly arrive at the period it was expected; the division, commanded by rear-admiral Nielly, was insufficient to protect it. The committee of Public Safety, sensible of the necessity of securing at any price, the means of subsistence to the people, and defeating the project of famine devised by the English minister, and pointed out in all the instructions of the English ships, ordered the fleet commanded by rear-admiral Villaret to proceed to meet the convoy, for the sole purpose of favouring its safe return. Upon arriving at the destined point of cruising, we there fell in with the English fleet. It was on the 9th Praireal (May 28) at eight in the morning, that we descried them for the first time. This day passed in manœuvring on both sides. One of our ships, le Revolutionnaire, from motives of which we are still ignorant, slackened its sails on the appearance of the enemy, and notwithstanding signals were made to it, continued to remain behind the rest of the fleet, so that, on the approach of night, when we could no longer observe it distinctly, it was engaged by several English ships. We have since learned that this ship was disabled, its captain killed.

The ship *l'Audacious*, which fell in with it next day, took it in tow, and brought it into Rochefort. The two fleets remained within sight the whole of the night.

On the morning of the 10th, the English admiral manœuvred in such a manner, as to give us reason to suppose his intention was to harrafs us in the rear. We were obliged to manœuvre, in order to prevent him from succeeding in this object, and from the movements of the two an engagement necessarily followed. The advanced ships of the enemy being forced to give way, tacked about towards their rear. The delay in the execution of the admiral's orders brought into the engagement two of our ships, *l'Indomptable* and *le Tyrannicide*, with an infinitely superior force. These two ships suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy, and were already disabled. In vain was the signal displayed to tack about towards the rear: the ship that was a-head did not stir, and prevented all the line from moving.

The French admiral at one moment supposed himself abandoned: he took his measures with great resolution; he tacked about the first, made the signal for the fleet to follow, and, uncertain whether this signal would be more attended to than the former, placed himself at the head of the line, resolved, if it were necessary, to go alone to the assistance of the two ships. All the others followed, one only excepted. The line was in an instant formed.

The fleet of the Republic attacked and put in disorder the English fleet, but unfortunately, from the delay in complying with the signals, we lost the advantage of the wind, which we had in the beginning of the action; that did not, however, prevent us from keeping up a terrible fire upon the enemy, but it facilitated their escape by crowding their sail. They precipitately withdrew, abandoning to us two ships and the scene of action. The English fleet consisted that day of 30 ships of the line. Two were compelled to return in order to refit, one of which was next day descried, and for some time pursued by the frigate *la Bellone*.

The engagement of the 10th (May 29) lasted between seven and eight hours, and if not decisive, was glorious for the Republic. The scene of action was the very place where the convoy were to pass, the safety of which was our object. We deemed it then our best method to manœuvre in such a manner as to draw the enemy from their position to such a distance, to the northward and westward, as that the convoy might pass twenty-five leagues to the southward of the two fleets. The event completely ascertained the propriety with which we had taken our measures.

On the 13th (June 1) we distinctly counted 28, and we perceived some in reserve; *la Proserpine*, which was appointed to

reconnoitre them, counted 34, of which eight were three-deckers; this report corresponds with the list published in the English papers of the number of admiral Howe's fleet, when it set out to sea: by these lists, admiral Howe had under his command 36 ships of the line, seven of which were three-deckers, the different divisions commanded by eight admirals, all distinguished in the English marine: the fleet of the Republic consisted of 26 ships, four of which forming the division of rear-admiral Nielly, were exhausted by a long cruize. We had only three ships of three decks, and three admirals. With this inequality of force the engagement commenced. We deemed it more conformable to your views, and to the public interest, to perish rather than to abandon to Pitt the means of subsistence of a free people. Whatever might be the result, to reduce the English to such a state as not to be able to keep the sea, was to us a victory. Such were the motives which determined us to try the fate of the most dreadful contest that ever took place upon the ocean. The action commenced about nine in the morning, and lasted till three o'clock.—The French fleet were in good order, and their dispositions were excellent, but the French at sea have always had more impetuosity than method, a defect for which it remains with the legislature to provide a remedy, faults were certainly committed, and you are all apprized of the false manœuvre of capt. Gallin, which occasioned the line to be cut behind la Montagne. The contest was, however, maintained with fury; several ships in both fleets were disabled; the rear of the French fleet stood the shock with a courage and intrepidity beyond all eulogiums. The whole sky was involved in one cloud of smoke. On different points of our line, English ships were seen to sink: reports transmitted to me state, that three went to the bottom. Details of facts must necessarily escape the observer. In such a moment who can answer for this accuracy of observation? The English first ceased firing, and afforded us an opportunity to examine our position. The van of the French fleet had given way, and had got half a league to the leeward: this circumstance alone ravished the victory from our hands. If it had retained its position, the admiral by tackling about, as was his intention, would have covered the disabled ships of both nations. He was forced to proceed to rally the van; but this manœuvre made him lose way, and prevented him from saving all the ships.

Such is the state of facts, from which you may judge how far admiral Howe is borne out in his assertion, that he had compelled the French admiral to fly. Le Pavillon, a corvette of eight four-pounders, went to bring off one of our ships within shot of the enemy: they did not even fire upon it a single gun. We did not move during the whole time: the English fleet were

to the windward : they might have come to us, we could not go to attack them. The truth is, that the enemy were more damaged than we ; they are compelled to confess that they were not in a situation to keep out at sea. If they deny it, let facts speak. They had a convoy to intercept—that convoy was expected at London—it was already sold there. If the English fleet had not received great damages, why is that convoy not at London ? Why has it peaceably pursued its course amidst the wrecks through which it has passed ? As for us, citizens, our mission was to save the convoy : we were bound to fulfil it, whatever might have been the sacrifice ; and had it been necessary, we were resolved to perish to the last man in the attempt.

Jean-Bon Saint-Andre concluded his report with an eulogium on the valour displayed in the engagement, and with citing several acts of heroism.

His report was ordered to be printed.

The Council of the City of Maestricht issued the following Publication early in July, 1794.

AS in the present juncture it is probable that a considerable reinforcement of our garrison must arrive in a short time, and in which case it will be necessary to economise our provisions, and to make as much room as possible in our houses, stables, and quarters for soldiers ; and as it is much to be feared that we shall, in the end, be obliged to order out of the city all strangers and useless mouths.

The council, in concert with the military government, has thought proper to advertise all strangers now in the town, without distinction of nation or quality, to remove elsewhere as soon as they can, and to provide for their own security as they can ; and that besides no stranger nor fugitive can be admitted for the future. We also recommend it to every citizen, inhabitant, and shopkeeper, to augment as much as possible their ordinary provisions and stores of the necessaries of life, in order to prevent distress and famine in time of danger, &c.

*Barrere, on the 5th July, 1794, said to the French Convention,
“ I am charged to present to you the following Decree :”*

THE National Convention, after having heard the report of the committee of Public Safety, declare that the army of the North, and the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, do not cease to deserve well of their country.

The

The National Convention decree, that all the troops of the combined tyrants, who remain garrisoned in French towns, invaded by the enemy on the frontiers of the North, and who shall not surrender at discretion within 24 hours after being summoned by the generals of the armies of the Republic, shall not be admitted to any capitulation, and shall be put to the sword.

The present decree shall immediately be transmitted to the armies of the Republic.

This decree was adopted with the greatest applause, and a shout on all sides of *Vive le Republique!*

On 19th Messidor, Monday, (July 7, 1794,) the following Decree proposed by Cambon was adopted by the French Convention:

THE National Convention, having heard the report of the committee of Finance, decrees as follows:

All persons in possession of property belonging to the countries which are at war with the Republic, shall, in one month after the promulgation of this decree, pay it into the receiving-offices of their respective districts, and in Paris into the national treasury, where they will be furnished with receipts.

The foreign debts shall be reduced into French money, according to the rate of exchange at Paris, at the time the decree passed which enjoins the seizure and confiscation of foreign property; and the amount, according to that calculation, shall be paid in assignats.

The commissioners of the National Treasury shall calculate the rate of exchange stated in the preceding article, and dispatch their decision to the directors and receivers in the different districts.

These directors shall take possession of the effects, real and personal, belonging to the subjects of those countries with which the Republic is at war; they shall dispose of them in the same manner as the other national property, and the produce shall be deposited in the hands of the receivers.

The receivers shall then transmit to the national treasury the amount of their receipts, which shall be deposited in the chest with three keys.

A separate account shall be kept of the payments made under this decree, observing, however, the mode prescribed for deposits and assignations.

Those who may not have complied with the provisions of this decree, in the interval prescribed, shall be liable to a penalty equivalent to a fourth of the sum held back.

The national agents are directed to superintend the due execution of this decree, and to sue those who are in arrears.

The

The following Proclamation was circulated at Brussels.

French Republic, one and indivisible — Liberty—Equality.

*Ghent, 20th Messidor, (8th July) the second
Year of the French Republic.*

RICHARD, the representative of the people, sent to the army of the north, decrees as follows:—

I. The persons and property of the inhabitants of the conquered countries are put under the immediate protection of the French soldiers.

II. Every individual belonging to the army who shall be found a quarter of a league from the posts, camps, or cantonments occupied by the French troops, and who cannot justify his conduct by the sanction or leave of absence from his officers, shall be considered as a plunderer, and punished with death.

III. All the generals, captains, and subordinate officers, are made responsible for the rigid execution of this decree.

IV. The French soldiers are required, in the name of their country, to denounce to their chiefs all those who may be found aiding, by excesses or acts of depredation, the cause of the enemies of liberty; or by violating the principles upon which the French Republic has been instituted.

V. The present decree shall be read at the head of every corps, and their officers shall notify the same to their generals by a certificate from their administrative council. It shall, besides, be printed, stuck up, and publicly read three times every decade, until otherwise ordered.

(Signed)

RICHARD.

And sealed with the seal of the representatives
of the French people.

Certified according to the original,

SOUHAM,

The general of the Division.

*Copy of a Proclamation published in French and Flemish, relative
to the circulation of Assignats.—Liberty.—Equality.*

THE Representatives of the French people sent to the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, hereby decree:

I. That the assignats of the French Republic shall be circulated in Brussels and other conquered countries, in the same manner as metal money.

II. All

II. All the inhabitants, whether merchants or others, are hereby prohibited from fixing two prices for their commodities, and from refusing or discrediting assignats, under the penalty of being regarded as the enemies of the Republic, and sent to take their trials before the revolutionary tribunals of France.

L. B. GUITTON, RICHARD.

23d Messidor, 11th July, 2d year of the Republic,
One and Indivisible.

Address of the Stadtholder to the United States.

High and Mighty Lords,

WHEN, in the beginning of last year, this state was unexpectedly attacked by the French, and the enemy had, in a short space of time, nearly approached the last frontier of the province of Holland, I thought it incumbent on me, in consequence of the respective posts trusted to my care, to lay my views before your High Mightinesses, as also the grounds of my confidence in the salvation of our country.—This I proposed in the assembly of your High Mightinesses on the 28th February, 1793, and I had, in that moment of danger, the inexpressible happiness of seeing the spirit of the nation roused, of seeing how the inhabitants joined heart and hand, and how effectually our allies co-operated: it has since pleased the Supreme Being to grant us a successful issue, by driving the enemy from our territory, and by the conquering arms of the states, with our friends and allies, removing the seat of war into the enemy's own country. We now see, however, High and Mighty Lords, a wonderful revolution in the state of affairs, attended with the loss of the greater part of our advantages, the enemy having penetrated and advanced near our frontiers; and instead of our carrying on the war offensively, they have forced us to act in our own defence.

It is under such circumstances, that it behoves all those who more or less bear a share in conducting public affairs, to step forward with their undisguised sentiments, and cordially take the lead of the good inhabitants, and by such means cement a mutual confidence, without which the country cannot be saved.

With this view I once more appear before you in this assembly, to declare to your High Mightinesses, from the bottom of my heart, that I am ready and firmly determined, supported by the wise and vigorous measures of your High Mightinesses, and the Lords of the respective provinces, to sacrifice my life in defence of our country; and also to assure you, that I do by no means des-

pair of saving the state, if we, with additional courage and fortitude, under the goodness of Providence, employ the ready and effectual means in our power, and finally to declare to your High Mightinesses, that I hold the least neglect of such necessary exertions, and every indication of despondency and fear, as inevitably tending towards the irretrievable loss of our country.

I will, no more than last year, conceal the real danger: the true knowledge of this danger being requisite to call in aid every possible means of resistance. Still were we to consult the history of our Republic, we should find circumstances of peril, compared to which, the present appears to vanish.

Our brave ancestors fought and obtained their liberty and independence in the midst of such difficulties, as human foresight could not reasonably hope to surmount; notwithstanding which, did they constantly spurn at all the insidious overtures offered them; they thought themselves more secure in manfully facing the dangers of war, than suffering themselves to be deceived by a treacherous peace. While King Philip and his adherents continued to be considered as enemies, our forefathers had to defend themselves only against open hostilities; but had the enemy in appearance become friends and brothers, the weapons of deceit, seduction, and corruption, would have proved far more alarming than a state of open warfare. Are we to suppose the present situation worse than that in 1672, when not only single towns, but three provinces of the Union were in possession of the enemy? Or that of 1747, when all Dutch Flanders and the strong frontier of Bergen-op-Zoom were lost? Or, lastly, than that of 1793, the recent events of which are too well known? If neither our ancestors nor ourselves, during those periods, shewed symptoms of despondency, how disgraceful would it be in us, under our present circumstances, did we enter on the defence of the state without energy and determined courage! Were we to compare the means of defence actually in the power of the Republic, with those in former wars, we are most assuredly no less in a state prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy, than we were in the above-mentioned periods. The greater part of our frontiers is covered, and continue to be improved; we have an army on foot, who have signalized themselves by their bravery during the two last campaigns, and who will act, if possible, more so, when fighting for their all. The cheerfulness, joined to the courage of our seamen, hath shewn itself in the year 1793. Neither is the Republic without allies, who, as far as their own situation may admit, will strengthen her: but it is of infinitely more weight than to depend on human efforts, to consider that the God of heaven and earth, having so often brought about our deliverance, when the prospect seemed most dreary, we have

at this time good grounds to hope, under him, for the achievement of honourable and glorious deeds.

If there are in the Republic such unnatural and degenerate Dutchmen, who wish for the approach of the enemy, because they may imagine it will procure them the means of gratifying their private vindictive spirit; who with such views endeavour, by intimidating their fellow-citizens against their taking up arms in the common cause, let us consider them as internal foes, and watch their criminal intentions with no less vigilance than we do those of our enemy.

The pacific system which this Republic, as a commercial state, hath ever adopted, I hold to be most to her advantage; but God forbid we should wish for peace at the expense of our security and independence: if we must lose these inestimable blessings through the superior force of an enemy, it will be an event sincerely to be lamented; but should we make a voluntary surrender of the same, then should we become an object of contempt to all nations.

That this state hath given France no cause for war is notorious to all the world. That people might among themselves persecute the Christian worship, overthrow the ancient throne of their kings, arbitrarily dispose of the freedom, the lives and property of their fellow-countrymen. Our state saw all this with inexpressible grief, it is true, but never had the most distant wish of declaring war against the opinions of this deluded people. In spite of our moderation, have we been suddenly and most unjustly attacked; this attack having been preceded by a decree of the National Convention, whereby it appears, that the reason of this destructive war is to put all countries and nations on a footing of equality with the miseries of France, namely, to destroy the religious worship of our forefathers, the fundamental laws of the state, and to work a total subversion of our true freedom. These, High and Mighty Lords, are the objects for which we should enter into a treaty of capitulation, in case the war is to terminate agreeable to the enemy's views; however, these very objects must never be made the subject of treaties, but for their better security and preservation. With regard to myself, I know no medium between a vigorous resistance and pusillanimous submission; and I doubt not for a single moment about the choice of your High Mightinesses, that of the States of the Provinces, and of all the well-disposed in the country. Let every individual, whatever be his religious or civil principles (provided he is no enemy to his country and to his own interest) rally round the standard in favour of the common cause of his country: let every one within his circle contribute towards her protection to the utmost of his power: let the necessary supplies be furnished; and I have hopes, I might say, I trust with confidence

dence, that we shall be able to defend ourselves, and under Providence, protect the honour, and promote the prosperity of the Netherlands.

Behold, High and Mighty Lords, what in duty I owe to the whole nation, to a people among whom I was born and educated, for whose independence a great number of my ancestors sacrificed their lives, for whose welfare I am ready to spill my last drop of blood, and for which both my sons have given proofs of their not being unworthy the name they bear—I wish then for nothing more than the co-operation of my fellow citizens, and the reward of my house will be their liberty, independence, and permanent happiness.

(Signed)

WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Hague, July 14, 1794.

*Extract from the Register of the States General.
Monday, July 14.—Fiat Insentio.*

THE deputies of the several provinces having deliberated upon the address and propositions of his Highness the Prince Stadtholder, fully accord with him in the noble sentiments therein manifested; declaring, at the same time, that they have no doubt of the co-operation of the different provinces at so critical a period as the present, and of their determination to use all their efforts in aid and support of his Highness, by the sacrifice of their lives and properties in the defence and support of their country.

Their High Mightinesses have further assured M. Van Schuylenberg, their president, that they will take the more essential points recommended by his Highness into immediate consideration, in order to rid the state of the difficulties it now labours under, flattering themselves, that the means of defence adopted will prevent the enemy from penetrating any further; and that, under the Divine blessing, their efforts will be crowned with a happy issue, and the honour and prosperity of the Netherlands be finally supported; all vain and premature apprehensions be suppressed, which can only tend to prejudice the country; and that such as wish for the arrival of the enemy, with their adherents, may be disarmed; the most observant attention, it being particularly necessary, should be paid to these internal enemies of their country, much more dangerous than those without, open and declared.

It is further thought proper to have it understood, that the propositions of his Highness should be printed with all speed, and copies sent to the respective provinces, as well as to Dort, and the States of Drenthe.

The

The States of Holland and West Friesland, in the Middle of July, 1794, published the following Proclamation.

THE States of Holland and West Friesland, &c. make known, Whereas the circumstances of the war, so unjustly declared by the French government against the Republic, have again taken such a turn, that the frontiers of the state are exposed a second time to the violence of the enemy's invasion, which can be no otherwise resisted than by employing the most vigorous means: to this effect, animated by the sentiments which his most Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder expressed in his address to the States General the 14th of last month, we have firmly resolved to sacrifice our properties and lives in the defence of the state, particularly of this province, and in protecting every thing that is dear to us in this country. We have judged it necessary and our duty to inform the good citizens of these our serious intentions and views, and at the same time to declare, that we are very far from despairing of the safety of the state, together with all its prerogatives, religious and civil, in case that the means which Divine Goodness has given and preserved to us are employed with that cordiality, concord, and true patriotism, which have at all times characterised the free-born Belgic nation. It is with this view that we exhort every citizen, who is not totally degenerated from the virtues of his ancestors, to renounce at this time, when the country is in danger, all party spirit, and to unite heart and hand for the preservation of their own interests, and to remember that every one in his own sphere is obliged to co-operate, since there is not a single person who would not lose, in the fall of the state, his own personal liberty, and his unrestrained means of subsistence; but above all, let every one think that this obligation becomes greater in proportion to his possessions, or other relations to this country, so favoured by Heaven.

That amongst the means we judge may, and ought to be employed with vigour, we reckon the local situation and the natural force of the country, strengthened by fortresses and by inundations, by means of which our enemies have been so often driven from our frontiers, as likewise the augmentation and the abundant stores with which the army of the state is provided, encouraged as it is by the immortal glory it has acquired in the two last campaigns. But neither is it to be dissembled, that in order to put every thing into the most respectable situation it is capable of, considerable sums are wanted: for these wants we have endeavoured to provide in time, as well by resolving upon different, as by imposing a tax after the example of like circumstances in the year 1747; three proportions of which we, with

with all other well-intentioned citizens, have already paid, being obliged, by our necessities, to anticipate the last proportion a month before the time. Nevertheless, all the means of supply hitherto furnished fall greatly short of the necessities of this expensive war, more especially at the present moment, when the safety or the fall of the Republic depends upon the prompt furnishing of coin.

In the mean time we with pleasure learn, that many good citizens, who have the power of doing so, have declared themselves ready to succour the country efficaciously with all their power, at this conjuncture, if a general call be made to this effect, and if a loan be opened on such conditions as agree best with the present value of the interest of money.

Declaratory Answer of the States of Overijssel to the Exhortatory Address of their High Mightinesses of Holland, respecting the present alarming Crisis.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

WE have thankfully received the two addresses of your High Mightinesses, written at the Hague, the 14th and 26th of last month; the first of which earnestly recommended a proposition made that day by his Highness the Stadtholder to the Assembly of your High Mightinesses; and the other tended to communicate to us the resolution of the Lords the States of Holland and West Friesland, taken upon the said proposition, and remitted to the Assembly of your High Mightinesses.

We thank your High Mightinesses for the communication alluded to; and we beg leave to testify to his Highness our warmest obligation and sincere gratitude, that, far from despairing at this critical moment for the safety of our dear country, which is precious to all, there is no want, on the contrary, of that laudable emulation, which not only serves to manifest cordially, proper and patriotic sentiments, but also to arouse effectually the courage and union of the High Allies, in order, as the danger is renewed and increased, our efforts and vigour may be redoubled, to resist courageously the evil which threatens us, and, with the aid of divine Providence, to defeat effectually this dangerous combination.

We rejoice that the Lords the States of Holland and West Friesland, also the Lords the States of Guelder, Utrecht, and Drenthe, by whom the resolutions have been communicated to us, have cheerfully conformed to these generous sentiments.

We make no difficulty in sincerely and frankly confessing, before your High Mightinesses, and before the whole Republic, that in the extremity of danger in a country, we know no situation more alarming, than when the inhabitants lose courage, or
relax

relax from their exertions ; that foreseeing the actual danger, we are, however, far from considering the difficulty as insurmountable ; and that, in conformity with the wishes of his Highness, we entertain no doubt but we will be able, with the aid of divine Providence, to defeat the arduous efforts of an artful enemy.

The experience of former deliverances, the resources which still remain to us, the courage and the cordiality of the allies, the wisdom of his Highness the Stadtholder, the bravery of his sons, and of your troops, and, above all, the succour of the God of the Low Countries, whose beneficence we have so often witnessed, are ample foundations on which we are able to build a certain hope of preservation and security.

As to us, there shall not be wanting every exertion which can contribute to this salutary end, that we may defend our religious and political liberties against a dangerous, a powerful, and an artful enemy, repress the evil intentions of certain individuals of this country, and transmit our constitution unimpaired to posterity.

We are,
High and Mighty Lords, &c.

(Signed)

M. TYDEMAN.

De Zwolle, Aug. 8, 1794.

The Representatives of the French People sent to the Army of the North.

INFORMED that the markets of Brussels are not so well furnished with provisions as heretofore, under pretext of the circulation of assignats, and that different individuals have ceased to carry on trade from the same motive : considering that the former *arretes* relative to this subject do not admit of any exception ; that the law ought to be equal to all ; and that every manœuvre, tending either directly or indirectly to elude it, ought to be repressed with severity, hereby command the communes which furnish the markets of Brussels with corn and provisions of all kinds, to continue to provide them with the same, as in times past, without any distinction of price, in respect to assignats, which they are to receive as the money of France, under penalty, of such individuals as refuse the same at par, being reputed enemies of the Republic, and conducted into France, to be punished accordingly. It is equally enjoined to all those who have shut up their shops or warehouses, to re-open them immediately, and resume their commerce, of whatever nature it may be, thereby conforming themselves to the preceding dispositions, under the same penalty.

The magistrates of Brussels shall cause the present proclamation to be printed and published in the two languages, and shall also adopt the necessary measures for their execution.

(Signed)

LAURENT, GUYTON.

The

The magistrates of Brussels, foreseeing the dangers with which the public welfare is menaced if the markets be not provisioned, hereby order all whom it may concern, to bring provisions as usual to the markets of this city; declaring that all those who under pretext of assignats, or under any other pretext whatever, do not obey the same, shall be reputed enemies of the French Republic, and punished accordingly.

H. VAN LANGHENDONCK.

Published in presence of the magistrates, July 15, 1794.

General Orders to the French Soldiers of the Pyrenean Army.

DEVASTATION, pillage, and burning, committed without orders from the commander in chief, upon the Spanish territory, shall be punished with death.

Those who shall commit any outrage upon the defenceless inhabitants, men, women, or children, shall also be punished with death. The old, the women, and the children, are especially under the safeguard of French generosity.

Protection, succour, and safety are promised to all inhabitants of the Spanish territory who do not resist—those who take up arms against the soldiers of liberty shall be treated as enemies.

Those French found in the enemies territory are ordered to quit it in twenty-four hours, upon pain of being treated as emigrants.

The inhabitants of the conquered country to deliver up their arms within twenty-four hours, under pain of death. Assignats to be received, under the penalty of the laws upon that subject.

The taxes of each conquered province to continue as heretofore, for the benefit of the Republic.

Dated from the vanguard of the army, 30th Messidor, (18th July 1794).

(Signed)

BINET, GARREAU, CAVAIGNAC.

Department of Guadaloupe.—Liberty, Equality.

Address to the Republicans of the Sea and Land Forces of the Republic, now at Guadaloupe, from the Commissioner deputed by the National Convention to the Windward Isles.

CITIZENS,

THE Romans, reduced to their capitol, emerged to liberty more terrible than before. Freemen find resources in the most pressing extremities. See, brave *sans culottes* and intrepid
marines,

marines, what has been your situation! few in number, and without generals, you have vanquished armies: you were reserved to exhibit to the universe a spectacle the most astonishing.—Enjoy your triumph with exultation, even your enemies admire your virtue and your courage.

*****, Pitt, and their slaves, had sent, at a vast expense, land and sea forces to effect the conquest of the French possessions, an enterprize of no difficulty, because they then contained none but masters and their slaves. One republican battalion, two frigates, three transports, (a contrast how striking!) have defeated the savage Jervis, with six ships, twelve frigates, and eight small sloops of war; and the hypocrite Grey, with his twelve battalions and his horde of aristocrats: you have made them bite the dust; great numbers have fallen into our power, while, during a combat of forty days, not a single republican has been made a prisoner.

Your resolution in remaining at your post, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, in spite of the bombs and red-hot balls which they incessantly discharged upon us for thirty days; your exemplary conduct has even excited their admiration; not a complaint has been raised against you; you have respected property, though you were in a country conquered and taken by assault, and though immense wealth has been exposed to your view. You have thrown no person into mourning; you have caused no tears to flow; no mother has demanded of you her slaughtered son; no wife her butchered husband; no children their murdered father. But can our barbarous enemies say thus much? You have heard the cries of the wretched, from whom they have, by cruel massacre, torn fathers; husbands, and children.

You have treated your vanquished foes with generosity, even while the ferocious English generals have caused your wounded brethren to be assassinated on the field of battle, you have covered yourselves with glory. Humanity shall gratefully acknowledge, and transmit your names and your actions to posterity; your enemies have overwhelmed themselves in infamy, and shall remain an object of horror to future generations; such is the enthusiasm of liberty, which counts not her enemies, and which triumphs over numbers. Yes, citizens, fortune smiles propitious on the daring; and victory rewards courage.

Republicans, let the grandeur of these ideas inflame your valour; “they who have fought for liberty, have ever been successful.” Call to your recollection the Swiss and the Americans.

Citizen colonists, who, ever firm in your principles, have been able to resist the perfidious insinuations of our enemies; and you, citizens of colour, who, enjoying the advantages of the French nation, have shared our successes, in combating for your liberty, imitate your brethren the *Jans culottes*; they will always shew you the road to victory, and consolidate with you your liberty, and that of your children.

Republicans, the commissioner seizes this opportunity to declare, in the name of the National Convention, that you have deserved well of your country ; and invites you to persevere in the sentiments which have animated you to the present moment. For himself, he will continue to merit your esteem, by exhibiting to you an example of civism and courage.

At Port de la Liberté, Island of Guadaloupe, heretofore Point Petre, the 1st day of Thermidor, (July 19, 1794) second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed, &c.)

VICTOR HUGHES.

Sealed with the seal of the commission, and signed by the commissioner, and by his secretary.

VIEL, Secretary to the Commissioner.

Barrere's Report on the Capture of Ostend, made in the Middle of July, 1794.

CITIZENS! the committee of Public Welfare can hardly follow the rapid march of our triumphant armies. Victory has assumed the boldest flight of fame. Our gallant troops, with whom triumphs are permanent, have increased the maritime force of the Republic : whilst the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse were re-conquering the department of Jemappe, the left wing of the northern army took a great port. Ostend is in the possession of the French. The port, the greatest part of the shipping, the artillery, ammunition, and magazines, are in the hands of the republicans. You have ordered the French armies not to allow any breathing time to the British and Imperial banditti, and your orders have been strictly obeyed. With those infamous hordes, terror and flight are now the order of the day. The French armies can scarce overtake the Imperial eagle in its flight ; and all Belgium has neither extent nor strong-holds enough to protect, or rather to hide the retreat of the allies.

Citizens, you know that Ostend is no common conquest ; it is a strong place, and a famous post : it is an important point, which cements the sea with the land, increases the resources of our navy, and strengthens the defence of the continent. Ostend is the covered way through which the ferocious English conveyed their poisons into France, their men and horses to the combined armies ; and where they heaped up provisions and ammunition for the troops of tyranny. Ostend was the barbarous staple of royal coalition ; the abundant granary, the completest arsenal of the troops of the tyrants, and the infernal support of the Court of London, which now in its turn shall feel that terror, under the deadly experience of which its satellites suffer. Ostend has vomited on shore, along with English horses, assassins instructed by
Pitt ;

Pitt; and the Duke of York has never wanted courage to enter towns that were subjected by treason, or bought with English guineas—that pretender to shattered crowns; that generous successor on a throne in ruins; that renowned warrior, who is known at Maubeuge by an ignominious flight, and on our frontiers by his cruelties committed in cool blood.

But all shall be expiated by the capture of Ostend, and its magazines and cannon shall make good a part of the mischief they have done to France. “The sea, monopolized by the savage English, will feel itself more free, since Ostend is in the hands of the French; and the firing of some of their vessels, and the taking of others, detained in the port by contrary winds, shall revenge us for the horrors perpetrated at Toulon.”

The noble Lords of the English parliament, and the disinterested orators of the House of Commons, may now, in loyal addresses, acknowledge the paternal care of George, and thank him for the successes at Ypres and Ostend; for the capture of Charleroi and Mons; not forgetting the battle of Fleurus, which, like that of Jemappe, has thrown Belgium into the hands of the French.

What then do they mean, those treacherous and ferocious men, who are slaves at home, despots on the continent, and pirates at sea? What fruits can they at present hope to reap from so many crimes? Do they still expect that the Seine shall stoop to the Thames? How long shall monarchical England provoke the indignation of republican France? No! Thou shalt be punished, venal and merchandizing London; thy fate is written on the walls of Ostend. Relate to the English families how many of the soldiers who have been transported to Ostend will see their homes again. Compute with thy merchants, how much of the provisions and merchandize that have been sent to Ostend, may return to thy ports. This is thy only care! In thy strong chests alone thou feelest thy misfortunes! It is by means of gold that thou flatterest thyself to conquer; but our iron has subdued thy gold, and the fortune of battle, pointing at the three-coloured standard planted on the ramparts of Ostend, foretels the fate of Europe and thy own.

But our victories are not confined to Ostend; another town in Belgium has also fallen into our power. While we were announcing to you the capture of the former place, an express arrived with the news of the taking of Tournay. That rising in a mass, which last month was called for at Turin, Madrid, Vienna, and Brussels, has, therefore, proved perfectly useless to the coalesced Kings; their proclamations have been like a voice preaching in the desert. People do not rise to rivet their chains. What could they possibly expect from this royal parody of republican courage?

A letter from Marchiennes-au-Pont, dated July 2, says, “the Emperor is in a violent passion against the Brabanters, on ac-

“ count of their joy at the arrival of the French ; and because
 “ they did not choose to grant him the reinforcements which he
 “ demanded.”

We are now masters of those impious garrisons, which but too long have defiled the soil of France, and sacrilegious villains shall be punished. Cast your eye on a map of our frontiers ; Mons renders us masters of Ath, and Tournay of the Scheldt : these two points of communication could alone afford the enemy's army any reasonable hope of a retreat or flight ; they were the only roads by which the strong places of Conde, Quesnoy, Landrecies and Valenciennes, could keep up any kind of intercourse with the confederate troops ; but in consequence of the victories obtained by our gallant troops, those four places are now completely surrounded. Within a few days those impure dregs of enslaved nations shall be swept away from the French soil ; within a few hours they shall be forced to surrender ; obstinacy on their side could only produce a shameful adjournment of a total defeat, or a well-deserved death. Our territory has but too long been polluted by those northern slaves ; but too long those fortresses, dishonoured by dastardly garrisons, have been torn from the French Republic ; the all-powerful spring of the national force is unbent, and shall bear down every obstacle in its way. The favourable moment is come : with the utmost difficulty the garrisons of the above places can hold any communication with the combined army between Brussels and Mons, and the republican army stands between those fortresses and the confederate troops.

Your committee has been of opinion, that the genius of the Republic, and the great examples which we owe to Europe, required that the French territory should be marked in a solemn, awful manner ; it is a sacred ground, inhabited by freemen, which profaning slaves must either quit, or dung with their blood. This dreadful decree is to be put in execution after a short delay that will be allowed them. The English, however, as you may easily suppose, are excepted from that momentaneous indulgence ; for the English we have only treaties of death. Your committee have thought proper, that all the troops of the coalesced tyrants, shut up in the strong places of Conde, Quesnoy, Landrecies, and Valenciennes, shall be put to the sword, unless they surrender at discretion within twenty-four hours from being summoned by our generals. We learn, that the inhabitants of Valenciennes have already risen against the Austrians and English, and that no aristocrat is suffered to quit the town. That measure alone, though adopted rather late, can save the inhabitants ; and by striking terror into the troops of the tyrants, you must teach them to respect the territory of the French Republic. The times of Dumourier are no more ; the French army is no longer assembled in the camp of Lune, where traitors, while they were usurping triumphal honours,

ours, sold the people to a band of crowned robbers, and granted leave to the ferocious Prussians to retreat undisturbed from our domains. The republican army no longer tolerates such agreements of retreat, nor favours such escapes as were then winked at by generals who called themselves Frenchmen. An immediate surrender within twenty-four hours, or death, is the general will of the nation. Should the slaves, heaped up within our walls, choose to make the least resistance, they are sure of being put to the sword. At that price the Republic will condescend to give them a lesson of the military art.

But far be it from us: far is the idea from brave republicans, that all is accomplished by the evacuation of the territory of the French Republic. Virtuous friends of peace! we have watched your exertions, and your sly endeavours to soften the courage, to weaken the armies, to estrange victory, and to cool the burning ardour of the republicans—but beware! liberty watches you closely, and points out the disastrous consequences of mirth ill-applied. Treat with them to-day, and to-morrow they will fall upon you with increased fury; let them lull you asleep on your laurels, and they will murder you without pity. No, no; all our enemies must perish: I have said it already in this tribune—“the dead alone do not return—tyrants are incorrigible—their ministers still worse—and their subjects slaves.” All their projects aim at the destruction of republicans, and the propagation of wretched royalty. We must, therefore, take advantage of our victories, utilize our courage, and immortalize this campaign.—Our northern frontier is the tomb of tyrants; if we know how to maintain ourselves at the height of the revolution, and hold to the royalists of Europe that dignified language which becomes the Republic. “Kings will no longer conspire against liberty when they are no more; and their existence is at an end, when their armies are annihilated; their money and their taxes spent, their power and their soldiers gone.” Let us, therefore, continue against them a vigorous, an exterminating war. Learn a new proof of the preportion which our forces bear to theirs. The representative of the people, in his letter dated Marchiennes au Pont, June 29, says, “The division of the right, commanded by General Duheim, in the engagement of the 26th, fell with their bayonets upon the enemy, and took from them a twelve-pounder. Terror and depression are the orders of the day with the slaves of tyrants. This morning a post of thirty Austrians, commanded by an officer, surrendered at discretion to one of our patrols, composed of four horse chasseurs and a serjeant.” Observe twelve millions of people of one and the same family, and turn an eye of pity towards those thousands of slaves whom the Emperor leads into battle with cudgels; whom the King of Prussia conducts to battle with sabre-blows; and whom the Duke of York intoxicates

intoxicates with rum and gin. But what need have I to acquaint you with the tactics and character of our enemies? Our armies judge of them better, and beat and exterminate them daily.

The following has been circulated as an exact Copy of Lord Moira's Address to his Army, when he departed from them at Antwerp, on Tuesday, July 22, 1794.

PARTICULAR circumstances calling Lord Moira immediately to England, he is to be relieved at this post by Lieutenant General Abercrombie.

Lord Moira cannot surrender his command without entreating the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the corps which accompanied him from Ostend, to accept his warmest and most grateful thanks for the kind and cheerful acquiescence he has experienced from them in the severe fatigues to which he was obliged to subject them.

He has the assurance, that he is still to have their support in the service to which they were originally destined! And that hope lessens his reluctance at ceasing, for the present, to share the honourable dangers of service!

He trusts they will believe, that no light consideration would have obliged him to quit them; as he persuades himself, they are sensible of his having endeavoured to repay the generous attachment they have shewn to him, by the most lively interest for their welfare!

For the present he bids them farewell, with the most fervent prayers for their honour and prosperity.

The following is a Copy of Lord Moira's Address to the Officers of his Army, on leaving it.

LORD Moira is so solicitous to possess the professional good opinion of officers whom he has had extraordinary reason to esteem, that he must beg leave to explain some circumstances relative to the march of his corps from Ostend.

The orders under which Lord Moira embarked, pointed out the restricted object of defending Ostend. From the known situation of that place, it appeared that the protection of it could not be insured by any reinforcement of the garrison, but must be effected by measures that would probably entail a battle.—That he might share the danger of such a contest with troops to whom he is unfeignedly attached, Lord Moira resolved to embark, notwithstanding he had before told his Majesty's

jeſty's miniſters "any orders for his ſerving in Flanders muſt occaſion his immediate reſignation."

Oſtend ſeemed ſecured by the debarkation of the troops, and the object of the miſſion was completed, had events been fortunate in other parts: the day, however, after the landing, Lord Moira heard ſo much about the ſtate of affairs in the country, that he thought he could not honeſtly confine his attention to the ſervice exactly aſſigned for him; he therefore took it upon himſelf to write to General Clairfait and to General Walmoden, propoſing a junction of their forces, in order that they might act from Bruges to Thielt, upon the left wing of the French. This meaſure would have covered Oſtend, at the ſame time that the conſequence of it, as to the lightening the preſſure on the Duke of York, could not but be very important. General Clairfait eagerly adopted the idea, but made it a condition, that Lord Moira ſhould ſingly poſſeſs himſelf of the city of Bruges, before he (General Clairfait) ſhould move. The condition was nice, becauſe Lord Moira had not time to get aſhore any heavy cannon, as the movement would be impracticable, were it not made before the French in that neighbourhood received a reinforcement, which they hourly expected; ſo that the corps already at Wingham, which had only fix miles to march to Bruges, whiſt Lord Moira had twelve, might, by throwing a thouſand men into the town, defeat the attempt of ſeizing it, and would thereby oblige Lord Moira to join the Auſtrians by Sluys and Sas de Gand, or return to Oſtend, and leave the reſt of Flanders to its fate.

The enterpriſe was, however, undertaken. On the road to Bruges, Lord Moira received, by an expreſs, a letter from the Duke of York, which had come round by Sluys, deſiring, "that Lord Moira would embark his whole army, "and join him by the way of Antwerp." The other object was too far advanced to leave room for the obedience of this order. Bruges was luckily ſecured; but, at the very gates of it, Lord Moira was overtaken by Captain Clinton, who came by way of Sluys, Blackenberg, and Oſtend, from the Duke of York and General Clairfait. The meſſage from the Duke of York was, to know "whether Lord Moira could not undertake to march by Sluys and Sas de Gand," (the other road appearing out of the queſtion to his Royal Highneſs) "ſo as "to join the Duke of York's army more rapidly than the "paſſage by ſea would allow." From General Clairfait there was a declaration, "that on account of Prince Cobourg's defeat, "he could not fulfil any engagement with Lord Moira, and "that he expected to leave Ghent in a few hours." From General Walmoden there were not any letters of information,

Lord Moira, from the urgent tenour of the Duke of York's message, and from apprehensions of possible difficulties to his Royal Highness's army, should General Clairfait be ordered by Prince Coburg to retire, resolved to push forward by the route of Ecloo and Ghent, notwithstanding he had no longer assurance of co-operation; and with this intent he passed through Bruges to the camp of Malles.

This variation from the original purpose overturned all the plans which had been arranged for the support and convenience of the corps; for it had been settled with Colonel Vize that the baggage should be forwarded by the canal from Ostend to Bruges; the latter being destined to be made the store and magazine for the army, as long as it should act in the direction intended. The case seemed to leave no room for hesitation. Under all the impending inconveniences, from privation of baggage, and the obvious danger from the want of reserved ammunition, the embarrassments which threatened the army of the Duke of York demanded that an immediate junction should be attempted.

The evacuation of Ostend, and the transmission of the baggage to Sas de Gand, were therefore instantly determined with Colonel Vize. From Malles, Lord Moira sent to General Walmoden, to apprise him that he should continue his march next day by way of Ecloo, requesting such movements on the part of that general as could be made without hazard, to impress the enemy with a suspicion of a projected attack; and he took every possible means to circulate an exaggerated account of his own force, and to obtain accurate intelligence of the approach of the enemy. The exertions of General Walmoden upon this occasion cannot be too gratefully remembered, as he was not in any manner pledged to give the assistance which he furnished. The march was undertaken without any confidence of support. Lord Moira was greatly encouraged to run the risque, by the consideration, that, should he find himself overpowered, Sluys would still be open for him to retire upon when he had once reached Malderghem. The rapidity of the march fortunately exposed nothing to chance; though Lord Moira has since been informed, that the enemy's general had orders to strike at the corps at all events, and had taken every preliminary measure for that purpose.

Whether any service was rendered to the army of the Duke of York by the movement and expeditious junction, is not now the consideration; Lord Moira's sole object being to explain the circumstances and persuasion under which he acted, so that the fatigue and inconvenience which the corps suffered in consequence of that march may not appear to have been lightly or unnecessarily imposed.

Exhortation

Exhortation of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg.

GERMAN BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

OUR valourous armies have just quitted the fertile plains, in which they have sustained the most severe combats during three bloody campaigns, for the preservation of your property, the repose of your lives, the security of your fields, the maintenance of your religion, the happiness of your children, the riches of your flourishing provinces, and to save those provinces from ruin and complete annihilation—plains in which they maintained, at the expense of their blood, which has flowed for three successive years, the glory of their arms, by the generous sacrifice of their lives and of their means; while they sacrificed those dearest ties which attach men of distant nations, not less than yourselves, to their homes and to their country; and while they voluntarily renounced all the domestic happiness they had a right to expect.

The inexhaustible resources of a nation in a state of furor, which sports with the life and happiness of man, with religion, with the duties, with the bands of civil society; its innumerable cohorts which are led to slaughter by their tyrants, and who, by lavishing their blood, purchase the fleeting shadow of an imaginary liberty; the inactivity of a blinded people, who would not listen to the approach of danger any more than to the paternal voice of their good prince; the secret practices, which we hardly know by what name to call, of several of their ambitious representatives, men in whom this very people see, now too late, and abhor, the authors of their unbounded and unceasing misery.—All these causes have forced our armies to retreat to your frontiers.

It is there that they are now posted, weakened, but not vanquished; fatigued by an unequal contest, but not humbled by discouragement, nor subdued by despair. It is there that they form, as it were, an advanced wall of defence for the Germanic liberty; to act as a rampart for your religion, your laws, and your families. The Meuse is the line of separation between the total loss and the preservation, between the overthrow and the maintenance of all these; between misery and happiness. Rise then, German brothers and friends! On you will depend the making it possible for your deliverers to live or die for your defence. I myself, a German prince, full of solicitude, not less for the safety of my country, than the preservation of my warriors, I call upon you. Procure us subsistence, bring us provisions from your magazines. Think that in forwarding to us these painful succours, you secure at the same time your approaching harvest—Share with us your

savings—To obtain what we want, employ the treasures of your churches. Give your utensils and vases of silver to the Emperor, for the pay of your defenders. You will receive receipts for the payment in due form, and you will be paid interest for the pecuniary aids you have thus procured. Replace the resources of Belgium, which have been cut off from us, and now flow for our enemies. Nurse and relieve, with a solicitude full of charity, our sick and wounded.

Rise, courageous inhabitants of the fair countries of the Rhine and the Moselle! Arm yourselves, ye valorous men! Line your rivers and your defiles! Accompany our convoys! Watch over our magazines! Rise by thousands, and fight with us for your altars, for your habitations, for your Emperor, for your liberty! We will not lead you beyond the rivers of your country! We will not depopulate your provinces; but you will secure the positions at our backs, and you will guard your own confines. Assuredly, German citizens, we are not deceived with respect to you; we have reposed our confidence in the good sense of Germans; we trust to the hearts and the blood of the German nation. For three years your Emperor has borne the heavy burden, and distant nations have fought for your defence. You yourselves must see, that your turn to take arms is now come. Then I, as commander in chief of a faithful, approved, and courageous army, promise in the name of my troops—To spare you, we will observe a rigorous discipline; for your happiness, we will shed the last drop of our blood; as we have fought for you, we will die for you; and never shall the free, the happy Germany, bow down the head beneath the steel of the guillotine.—Never shall her peaceful habitations exchange their generous morals, their tranquil simplicity, their guardian laws of property, their consoling religion, for the licentiousness, the calumniating spirit, the legalized system of spoil, the incredulity imposed by force, of the French.

But if, on the other hand, you should be so unfortunate, like those inhabitants of the Belgic provinces, who now groan in the bosom of calamity, deprived of their property, of their liberty, of their altars, as to suffer yourselves to be misled by secret seducers, we shall find ourselves obliged to pass the Rhine, to leave you a prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among you for their subsistence.

Done at our head quarters, at Fourn-le-Compte, July
30th, 1794.

(Signed) The PRINCE of COBOURG, Field-marshal.

French Proclamation to the Army of the Western Pyrenees and the Spaniards of the Frontier, published in the End of July, 1794.

BRAVE SOLDIERS,

THE moment of victory has at length arrived, which proves that this army is the worthy sister of those of the North and South. That, by their example, you will also avenge your country, overturn the despots, and sacrifice their satellites; that, like them, after purifying the land of liberty, sullied by the presence of slaves, you will bear the triumphant arms of the Republic into the territory of the enemy, and there display the tri-coloured standard of freedom.—In penetrating into the enemy's territory, brave soldiers, we need not stimulate your courage—you are always eager to combat and to conquer; but we recommend to your consideration what the French people have proclaimed every where—war to the palace—peace to the cottage—war against tyrants and their satellites—peace to the peaceable citizen—to the humble shed of the indigent—to the abode of the useful labourer, and industrious artisan. This conduct, as it arises from our feeling, is also dictated by our interest.

The Spanish territory, upon which we now enter, must become part of the French Republic. Let, therefore, devastation, pillage, and incendiary be far from us—let the fearful inhabitant behold his asylum respected, and learn at length, to esteem a people, the avengers of the violated rights of human nature, whom kings and priests have represented to them as a people of Anthropophagi. And you, inhabitants of the Spanish fields and towns, useful labourers, industrious artisans, fly not the Republican legions. Throw yourselves into our arms, without weapons, without defence, and you will find in them protection and safety for yourselves, your families, and your property. The French soldier has sworn to exterminate the men armed for tyrants; but the sword, so dreadful to such, will respect always him, who defenceless, shall implore his assistance and his clemency. He will equally respect opinions, manners, customs, and usages. Remain, therefore, in your peaceful dwellings, cultivate your fields, gather in your harvests, work at your occupations, and liberty, growing in the midst of you, will soon make you feel the immense distance between the avengers of the rights of men, and the slaves who move within the verge of despotism. The French soldier would conquer you to freedom, not by the terror of his arms, but by gaining your hearts and illuminating your minds.

(Signed)

PINLT, the elder,
GARRAU, CAVAIGNAC.

On the 17th Thermidor, (Sunday, August 3, 1794) Cambon caused the following Decree to be adopted by the National Convention of France.

Commercial Regulations.

ART. I. **S**UMS due in foreign money to the inhabitants of countries at war with the Republic, by workmen, manufacturers, or merchants, for merchandize subject to the maximum, shall not be calculated more than a third above the current exchange, which shall be determined by commissioners from the national treasury, and approved by the committee of finance.

ART. II. Sums due to the inhabitants of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzic, Bremen, and Augsbourgh, shall be exempt from the *dépot ordonnée*.

ART. III. The manufacturers, &c. debtors and creditors to countries at war, shall be admitted to the compensation, provided their credits originated after the 1st of April, 1792, the epoch of the first declaration of war—arising also out of merchandize of their own fabric or accustomed sale.

The Prince Stadtholder having assisted at the Assembly of the States General, on the 4th and 5th of August, made the following Proposition.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

ON the 14th of last month, I laid before the assembly of your High Mightinesses my true sentiments on the present situation of the affairs of this republic, relative to the approach of the enemy towards our frontiers. I protested, from the bottom of my heart, that I was ready to sacrifice all for its defence. I considered saving the state as very possible, if, redoubling courage and firmness, and relying on the Divine Assistance, we employed the means in our hands. Finally, I considered the neglect of those means, and all unseasonable fears, as what would most readily lead to the ruin of our country. Your High Mightinesses, and the states of some Provinces, have already made a public declaration that these sentiments are your own, and protested the most zealous good will to assist in taking efficacious measures in support of the common cause; I am well assured that the states of all the Provinces will manifest the same promptitude as soon as their convocation shall enable them to come to resolutions on the subject.

In

In the mean time, your High Mightinesses, and all the colleagues and departments that could contribute to the means of defence, have not been idle. There has been much activity in providing the fortresses, in filling the magazines, and in hastening the equipment of vessels for the protection of our rivers. But however necessary, however useful, all these measures may be in themselves, it appears to me that there are two principal objects besides, belonging to a complete defence, and for which provision cannot be made, but by grand measures employed in concert; viz. by money and by troops.

War, I own, is expensive; the present is more so than any hitherto waged: but it differs also in its nature from all preceding wars, because we have to deal with an enemy who have recourse to means hitherto unknown, and who reckon as nothing the loss of their colonies, of their commerce, their agriculture, and all national prosperity, provided that, by compelling all the resources of their own country, they can reduce other nations to the same exhausted state. Such an enemy is not to be combated with parsimonious finances.—The force that must be opposed to them requires great efforts, doubtless, but yet not too great, if we consider what would be the consequence of their succeeding in their designs. I cannot, therefore, enough recommend it to your High Mightinesses, and to the respective Provinces, to employ all the means possible, in order that the finances may be put into a state to supply with promptitude the expenses which the protection of the Republic necessarily requires.—The other object I mentioned is neither less necessary nor less urgent. To what end would be the state of the fortifications, of the inundations, of the vessels, if men were wanting to defend them?

It has appeared to me that this defence may be considered as of two kinds—the foreign defence, and the internal defence. The former relates to the army of the state, which must act in the field, or in the strong places, out of the provinces; the latter which must act in concert with the army, to cover the provinces themselves, or afford an opportunity to employ the regular troops out of the provinces.

No person can doubt but that the army of the state has suffered much loss in the many bloody battles, by disease, by the ordinary course of nature, or other misfortunes; and experience has shewn that recruiting in the ordinary way has been extremely difficult, so that the army is far short of being complete. This deficiency, in my opinion, ought to be supplied as soon as possible; and for this purpose, I have found no means more prompt than a general recruiting out of the country, for all the corps of the army without distinction, so that the levies made in this way may be delivered to the captains of
companies

companies which are not complete, at the price they have cost the public, or at some price agreed upon. This measure, if your High Mightinesses should approve of it, will not cost the state much beyond the provisional advance of the money, which, as well as the payment of the officers employed in this general recruiting out of the country, will be repaid.

The reason for which I propose this recruiting out of the country is, that it may not clash with another measure, which I think of the highest necessity, viz. the levying a considerable body of the inhabitants of the country, for the protection of the several provinces. I should think that the manner in which this levy or enrolment might be made, ought to be regulated by the different situation of the provinces. But I cannot sufficiently express my satisfaction at what I have already often recollected, that there is a very great number of citizens, friends of their country, who have manifested the most ardent desire for such an enrolment, and who have given assurances at the same time, that they will willingly contribute by way of subscription to support the expense of the men who may be more directly employed in the protection of their persons and property.

However, although the mode of enrolment ought to be left to the several provinces, some preliminary points, I think, should be settled, to be observed as general rules in this operation, viz. that these levies must be united in corps, formed, with such changes as their composition may require, on the model of regular troops; that they must be exercised, as far as possible, by military officers and non-commissioned officers, and commanded by military officers in the service of the state; that they must take the same oath as the other troops of the Republic; that they must be assured of not being employed in the field, or out of the country, without their consent; that, as far as the circumstances of the defence of the country will permit, they shall be employed in the province in which they were enrolled; that their engagement shall last only for the remaining months of the present year; and that being, in several respects, on a different footing from military forces, they must have more ample pay.

I again submit these propositions to your High Mightinesses. It is unnecessary to press you farther on the subject. Your High Mightinesses know the urgency of the circumstances, and will take, in your wisdom, such resolutions as the interest of the state, and the safety of us all require.

Done at the Hague, August 4, 1794.

(Signed)

W. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

Brussels,

Brussels, Thermidor 23, (August 5, 1794.)

Second year of the Republic, one, indivisible, and imperishable.

THE Representatives of the people with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, considering that amongst the persons absent from the evacuated country, there are a great number devoted to tyranny, who quitted their home to join the enemies of the Republic, and who equally deserve the rigour of the revolutionary laws, as the French emigrants, decrees as follows :

- I. All those who have quitted or shall quit the country evacuated by the enemy, in order to carry arms against the Republic, or in any manner favour counter-revolutionary projects, shall not re-enter it under the penalty of death.
- II. Judgment shall be pronounced by the commission established in the armies for the trial of emigrants, and shall be executed in 24 hours.
- III. All the effects, moveable, and immoveable of those who are absent, are hereby forfeited to the Republic. It is, therefore, enjoined to every possessor, farmer, depository or guardian, who may have their titles to property and trusts, to make a declaration of the same within eight days after the publication of the present decree, under the penalty of being treated as accomplices of their emigration, and punished as such.
- IV. The same punishment shall be inflicted on all those who, knowing of any deposits made by those that are absent, shall not give information of them within the time specified, or shall in any way evade the provisions of this decree.
- V. The depositaries of the funds, and the debtors of those that are absent, shall not deliver up or make payment but to the use of the Republic. They shall make their declaration to the paymasters of the army nearest to their residence ; shall give up to them the funds with which they were entrusted, and pay into their hands whatever debts may at the time be owing.
- VI. The declaration of the jewels and other property of the absent, the deposits of their titles, plate and valuable assets for Brussels, its quarters, shall be made at the office, and delivered into the hands of citizen Chupiet, the commissary nominated for that purpose. He is empowered to nominate his agents for the same purpose to the other towns of the evacuated country, with respect to which the final term (of eight days) before mentioned shall commence on the day when such nomination shall be made public.

VII. The

VII. The citizen Chupiet, the paymaster of the army, and the other commissaries nominated for the reception of declarations and depots, shall also receive denunciations against such as may contravene the present decree, and shall make the necessary search after the accused; for this purpose they are empowered to call in the assistance of the armed force.

VIII. They shall be assisted by a citizen of each town, to obtain local intelligence, and by their advice shall determine the number of agents necessary to be employed. They shall give an account of their proceedings to the representatives of the people, and to the national treasury and commission of commerce, respectively on the objects that concern them.

IX. The present decree shall be printed and published in the two languages, pasted up and distributed where it may be necessary, so as that no person may plead ignorance of it.

(Signed)

LAURENT.

On the 18th Thermidor, (5th August, 1794,) the Convention passed the following Decree.

I. **T**HE committee of Public Safety shall assume the name of "The Central Committee of Government." It shall be composed of twelve members, its powers to be renewed every month.

II. This committee shall have under its direct inspection the "commission of foreign affairs," but cannot dispose of any of the public funds except for the secret services of government. For this purpose it shall have upon the national treasury a credit of ten millions. The credit which it had formerly, and is hitherto unemployed, is hereby withdrawn.

III. The committee of Surety and Superintendence shall take the name of "The Committee of the General Police of the Republic." It shall consist of fifteen members: it shall, independently of the Convention, have alone the power of arresting citizens. For issuing warrants of arrest against public functionaries, it shall act in concert with the committee charged with the superintendence of the administration to which such functionary may belong.

IV. It shall neither send to trial those who have been arrested, nor liberate those sentenced by the popular commissions without being in concert with the central committee of government.

V. The commission of civil affairs, of police, and the tribunals, shall make to it a daily report of the police and interior security of the Republic.

VI. It shall have, under its immediate inspection, the police and armed force of Paris, the revolutionary tribunal, the com-

mittee

mittee of the superintendence of the Republic and the popular commissions.

VII. The national treasury shall credit it for nine hundred thousand livres for extraordinary and secret expenses.

VIII. A fifth part of the members of the committee shall be changed every month, and not re-eligible till after the interval of one month.

IX. All other committees, or commissions of the Convention, now in existence, are abolished.

X. The following twelve committees shall be established :

1. One to superintend the commission of agriculture and arts, composed of five members.

2. One to superintend the commission of public instruction, to consist of five members.

3. To superintend the commission of commerce and provisions—five members.

4. To superintend the commission of transports, post-offices, and post-houses—five members.

5. To superintend the commission of arms and powder—six members.

6. To superintend the commission of the movement of the armies—six members.

7. To superintend the commission of the marine and colonies—five members.

8. To superintend the committee of public succour—five members.

9. To superintend the committee of public works—five members.

10. For the superintendence of the public expenses and revenues, there shall be four sections—The first consisting of five members, shall superintend the commission of the public treasury ; the second of ten members, the national revenues ; the third of ten members, the general liquidation ; and the fourth of ten members, the office of accounts.

11. A committee of legislation, composed of fifteen members, which shall have the superintendence of the commission of civil administrations, the police, and the tribunals, according to the report of the tribunals and administrative bodies, shall be charged with the revision and classification of the laws, and the details respecting the territorial divisions of the Republic.

12. A committee of inspectors of the Proces-Verbaux, consisting of fifteen members, is charged with superintending the transcription of the acts of the Convention in its offices and archives, the national press, and the commission of civil administration.

XI. There shall also be a committee of inspectors of the hall, composed of fifteen members, exclusively charged with the police within the limits of the Convention, the committees, and

the national garden. It shall regulate the expenses of the National Convention, and its archives, as well as those of the committees ; also the travelling expenses of the representatives of the people sent to the departments of the armies.

XII. It shall verify and adjust the accounts relative to the aforesaid expenses : and the resolutions of that committee, declaring its verification of the expenses of the representatives of the people, amounting to such a sum, shall be allowed as admission of that account.

XIII. The national treasury shall give it credit for three millions, to be employed in such expenses in the aforesaid payments ; and all former credit hitherto unemployed is withdrawn.

XIV. Every executive commission shall give a daily account of its proceedings to the committee charged with its inspection, and shall propose to it the difficulties to be surmounted, and the means of removing them. It shall also submit, for the approbation of the committee, the agents nominated for the execution of its order.

XV. The commissioners shall every day lay before the committee for inspecting the public expenditure and revenue, a detailed account of the expenses incurred in the course of the day.

XVI. The committee shall directly propose to the convention all legislative objects, after having previously communicated them to the central committee of government. They shall concert with that committee, through the medium of one of its members, who shall be charged to report the executive objects discussed in the committee.

XVII. All executive objects shall be definitively settled by the central committee of government, which shall be responsible for the resolutions it may take.

These resolutions shall be signed by at least six members of the central committee, and by the commissioner of the committee, who shall make the report.

The resolutions shall be sent to be executed by the commissions, and an account of them shall then be laid before the convention.

XVIII. In cases of urgency where expedition is required, the central committee of government may call upon one or more of the committee charged with the superintendence of the matter in question, and the result of their deliberation shall be carried into execution ; but the members who shall assist in such deliberation, shall make an immediate report of it to the general committee.

XX. The Convention shall itself nominate the representatives of the people to be sent on any commission ; the generals, the members of the executive commission, the members of the revolutionary tribunal, and popular commissions, on the proposition

tion of the central committee of government, united with the committee charged with what relates to that particular object.

XXI. The National Convention alone has power to recal the representatives of the people sent upon commissions.

The central committee of government, in concert with the committee charged with that particular affair, may remove the generals, the members of the executive commissions, and other public functionaries, of which a report is to be made to the convention.

XXII. All the committees shall have a fifth of their members changed every month.

XXIII. All the committees and commissions within the convention shall continue to exercise their functions till the committees that are to replace them are perfectly organized.

The Progress of the French Arms having rendered the Levy of the National Militia of Spain a Measure of absolute Necessity, General Colomera, Commander in Chief of the Armies of Navarre and Guipuzcoa, published the following Address to the General Assembly of the States of Biscay.

THE enemy having received large reinforcements, and having penetrated to Irun, I was obliged to retire with the troops under my orders as far as the village of Hernani, and thence to Touloufa, where I received the news that Fontarabia and St. Sebastian had surrendered without making any resistance. I am assured that the Alcaides (bailiffs) and inhabitants of these places even contributed to the success of the enemy, and I even entertain the same suspicions of the deputies of the provinces of Guipuzcoa, since there are proofs that they drew off such of the inhabitants as were armed, and besides, furnished no intelligence of the movements of the enemy; but if it be true that they have submitted to them, they cannot fail of experiencing the destruction of their property, and the ranks which they enjoy, but also the destruction of the wisest laws and of the religion of their ancestors.

These circumstances, which are in truth of the greatest import, require a speedy remedy and extraordinary exertions.

Loyalty and love for our august and beneficent sovereign are equally interested, and on that account I have no doubt that you will, with your accustomed fidelity, remedy such great evils by uniting all your force for the defence of the frontiers, and by succouring me with such troops as you can send (mine scarcely exceeding 4000 men) in order to enable me to maintain my present position, to check the enemy, and to prevent them from any further progress.

(Signed)

Touloufa, August 6.

THE COUNT de COLOMERA.

Reply of the General Assembly of the States of Biscay.

THE States, animated with a determination to shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of religion, of his Majesty, and of the noble and faithful provinces of Biscay, decree, that the inhabitants requested for the military service shall be divided into three corps. The first shall assemble at Toulousa, and join the troops under the command of General Colomera, and the troops which the province of Aluba has destined for the same place, in order to prevent the progress of the enemy, and to repulse them, in such a manner as shall be agreed upon by the general and the commissioners appointed for this purpose.

The second corps shall be stationed on the frontier of Biscay, and the third shall remain as a *corps de reserve*, in order to watch the current of events. The States observe, that the corps which shall be at Toulousa, shall be relieved after a month's effective service; the *corps de reserve* shall then take the place of the first corps, and in like manner shall be relieved after a month's service. The recruits shall consist of persons between the age of 17 and 70. The States have determined that the service shall be personal, and that every person on whom the lot may fall, shall be required to attend, without being permitted to send a subsidy.

They have also determined that they will take the most efficacious measures for procuring the return of such of the natives of the provinces as are now absent, by levying, in case of necessity, upon their property the expenses of the necessary requisitions, in order to oblige them to return. In future, no person will be permitted to leave the province under the penalty established by the General Assembly of the 6th of May of this year.

Finally, they have resolved, that as far as relates to the sea-ports, an exception shall be made in favour of persons employed in the marine service, according to the enumeration made in the last General Assemblies.

Report made by Barrere, on the 8th of August, 1794, in the National Convention of France, relative to the Victories over the Spaniards.

YOU have formerly beheld at your bar, the standards of the slaves of London, Amsterdam, Vienna, and Berlin. To-day, the courage of the army of the West presents you with the colours of the tyrant of Madrid.

It is but a few days since the army of the Eastern Pyrenees obliged 7000 Spaniards, who submitted to a shameful capitulation, worthy of slaves alone, to lay down their arms. The army
of

of the Western Pyrenees has in its turn vanquished the Spanish hordes ; a handful of Republicans has obliged a garrison of thrice their number, surrounded and secured by fortifications, celebrated on account of their strength and importance, to capitulate to the Republic.

Thus while the armies of the commonwealth subdue Flanders, seize Belgium, humble Holland, contract the territories of the *Kingling* (*Roitelet*) of Sardinia, make Italy tremble, take the soldiers of Austria prisoners, seize on the Palatinate, and the borders of the Rhine, ruin the Electors of the Empire, and menace England—an army, whose tardy organization no longer prevents it from rivalling the best troops of the commonwealth, has signalled itself by the most hardy enterprise, struck a blow against Spain, in the part where she feels it most, in that part, too, best fortified both by nature and art.

You cannot forget, citizens, that the tyrant of Castile, within the short space of a single year, menaced Perpignan and Bayonne at one and the same time ; the first of which places was betrayed, and the second undefended. Armies either disorganized or incomplete, formed our sole stay in that quarter ; but the conquerors of Toulon appeared, and the army of the Eastern Pyrenees elevated itself to the height of glory obtained by the other armies of the Republic.

That of the Western Pyrenees was formed in silence, was organized amidst engagements, and became electrified by the example of its rivals in fame : it had difficult positions to maintain ; nearly insurmountable obstacles to conquer ; troops to furnish for La Vendee and Perpignan ; multiplied redoubts to get possession of ; a broad and difficult river to cross ; rocks and cannon to oppose ; and fortified cities in the midst of barren mountains to take by assault.

None of these obstacles could stop its progress ; it heard the voice of the National Convention, publishing the exploits of the other armies, and exclaimed—We, we also, shall vanquish the tyrants !

I now inform you, that it has vanquished them ; for part of the Spaniards lie breathless on the field of battle ! another part has entered into a shameful capitulation, and laid down its arms before the victorious republicans ; and a third has betaken itself to flight, abandoning all its magazines ! It is in vain that our troops now search for the Spanish army, for the wreck of it has fled to St. Sebastian, whither the French are in pursuit of them.

It is but two days since I made a report to you, relative to the military events of the army of the Western Pyrenees, on the 6th and 7th Thermidor. You recollect the conquest of the rich valley of Bastan, the capture of fort Maya, and the seizure of the
camp

camp of Berra ; these formed, as it were, but the prelude, as it were, of a far greater victory.

The plan of the attack was decisive, but the execution was equally difficult and dangerous. It was necessary, on the morning of the 14th, to assault a mountain covered with cannon and troops, a mountain which projected over the Bidossoua, and was defended by thirty formidable field-works, called the redoubts of Saint-Martial and d'Yrun.

It was audacious, it was a truly republican idea, to attack at one and the same time, this ample theatre of artillery, these redoubts, and a Spanish army of from 14 to 15,000 men.

Two columns received orders to file off by the mountain of Haya, and to form a junction behind another mountain called the Four Crowns ; but the intemperature of the season, which republicans no longer calculate as any thing, and a thick mist, prevented them from attaining the object of their march.

The Spaniards posted on a mountain bristling up with cannon, were about, it may be thought, to triumph ; for 6000 Frenchmen only were prepared to attack them, they had a deep river to cross, and a shower of bullets and bomb shells to pass through.

You are, perhaps, doubtful of the issue : but the destiny of the Republic is superior to the troops and the artillery of kings. Already, without waiting to know whether the two columns were ready to second the attack behind the mountain of the Four Crowns, eight companies of grenadiers, commanded by Grange, had forded the river, and assailed the soldiers of the Inquisition. The grenadiers performed prodigies of valour. Fregerille, who had learned the accident that occurred to the two columns, instead of being intimidated, became still more decided in his resolution to support the attack already commenced. He accordingly ordered his troops to cross, and storm the redoubts—the gunpowder was economised—the charge with bayonets was founded, and in less than two hours, the instrument invented at Bayonne made them masters of all the redoubts.

The Spaniards now beheld no other resource than flight : part perished by their own cannon, but the greater number threw down their arms, and ran away. By this brilliant retreat, immense magazines, 2000 musquets, tents for 25,000 men, iron ball, and an astonishing quantity of ammunition, were presented by them to the Republic. On the very same day they also abandoned to France, six stand of colours, 200 cannon and howitzers, mostly of brass. This magnificent present of artillery is accompanied by 2000 prisoners, among whom are two entire Spanish regiments, who grounded their arms.

Crowned robbers of Europe ! behold the brave defenders of royalty, and the gallant co-partners of conquered France ! When

will the nations who permit themselves to be sold and devoured by you, awaken out of their slumber, and cease to moisten the earth with their blood, on account of five or six families who scarcely know how to govern themselves?

The history of this war will not prove useless to Europe, if it should but afford a lesson for the people, and exhibit the condemnation of kings. Spain especially, whose government displayed some wisdom, on account of its slowness and nullity, will undoubtedly learn from the two extremities of the Pyrenees, how much it has lost by its unprincipled attack on a powerful Republic, and its alliance with perfidious England.

While you are now celebrating the triumph gained by the army of the Western Pyrenees, learn, that on the evening of the battle, the representatives of the people read to the victorious troops the details of that political victory which you yourselves had achieved over the three tyrants (Robespierre, Couthon, and Lebas) who dared to attempt your overthrow. The soldiers joined with the legislators in applauding this new success of the Republic.—*Loud plaudits.*

“An army of Frenchmen,” exclaimed they, “can belong to the commonwealth alone!”

That army which combats and hates tyrants, that army which possesses a profound attachment for the National Convention, shall never obey a dictator.

Every soldier is the sworn magistrate of his country, and he will poniard any tyrant, whatever may be his talents, and his services!

If Rome, while mistress of a subject world, had possessed such republicans in her legions, Julius dared not to have crossed the Rubicon, and the twelve tyrants (the Cæsars) would not have dishonoured history by their crimes.

The following is a letter from the representatives of the people stationed with the army :

*Representatives of the People with the Army of the Western Pyrenees,
to the Representatives of the People composing the Committee of
Public Safety.*

*“Fontarabia, a Spanish city, 15th Thermidor,
Second year of the Republic, one and indivisible.*

“WE received yesterday, at four o’clock, dear colleagues, your letter of the 10th instant, informing us that Robespierre, his brother, St. Just, and Lebas, had placed themselves in the rank of conspirators, and meditated the ruin of the people, over whom they wished to tyrannise.

“Be tranquil, dear colleagues, respecting the brave army of the Western Pyrenees; it does not belong to any individual; it is entirely devoted to liberty and the republic. The only sentiments which

which animate it, are the love of one's country, the hatred of tyrants, and respect and attachment to the convention.

“Such an army can never belong to a dictator, whatever his talents, or even his services may be; and so far from combating for, it would poniard him.

“Its wishes and our own are, that prompt punishment may be inflicted on all the traitors; it is necessary that the land of liberty be purged.

“The generals and officers think the same as the soldiers—were any one to endeavour to profit by this event, and occasion troubles, speedy justice should overtake him. You may rest assured that the enemy will be unable to have any advantage from this event, whatever hopes it may afford.

“Health and fraternity,

“CAVIGNAC, GARRAU.”

Barrere.—How glorious is this language in a victorious army, and how worthy of the Convention to print and transmit it to the departments, and the troops of the Republic! It will confirm every thing that the citizens expect from their courage and fidelity; they will thus teach to the tyrants, and to the Duke of York, what they are to expect from a nation of tyrannicides, and of armies, who on the field of battle dictate their testimonies of attachment to the national representation.

But I have not as yet recounted all the successes of the army of the Western Pyrenees, for I have not informed you that a city, famous on account of the siege it sustained in the time of the 14th Capet, that a city whose fortifications have been strengthened and augmented since that epoch, and which cost (the Marechal Duke of) Berwick 8000 men, and a long attack, was taken almost instantaneously, and that, too, by a detachment of the army. Fontarabia then, with fortifications to defend its numerous inhabitants, and casemates to shelter its garrison—Fontarabia, which guards the entrance into Spain, is at this moment in the possession of the Republic.

The particulars of this signal success are too singular to be omitted here:

On the evening of the same day, (14th Thermidor) Garrau, representative of the people, marched against Fontarabia, with 300 men, all brave soldiers. Lamarque, assistant to the etat-major, and captain of grenadiers—in short, the citizen whom you see at your bar, with the Spanish colours in his hand, led on this republican band. He assumed a position above Fontarabia, after having experienced a shower of grape shot, which killed three soldiers by the side of Garrau. On being master of the height, he instantly summoned the city to surrender, and Lamarque,

marque, who entered with a flag, threatened an immediate assault in case of refusal.

The council of war immediately assembled ; it was composed of two capuchins, one priest, the commandant, the town major, the principal engineer, and some other officers.

The capuchins at first insisted on defending the city : they invoked God and all his holy saints, and asked the inhabitants if they would abandon so much property to the enemies of religion ? They then insisted on twenty-four hours time, in order to deliberate.

Lamarque, on this, produced the following summons, and observed, that by the law of war, the French had a right to put all the capuchins to death, on account of their intermeddling in civil affairs, if the surrender did not take place within the period fixed by the representative of the people.

Copy of the Summons sent by the Representative of the People, Garrau, to the Commandant of Fontarabia.

“ THE commandant of Fontarabia is hereby summoned to deliver it up to the army of the Republic : the space of six minutes only is allowed him for deliberation. That period elapsed, no capitulation can be granted, but he and the whole garrison shall be put to death.

“ From the redoubt of the capuchins, this 14th Thermidor, second year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

“ The Representative of the People,

“ GARRAU.”

There were 800 Spaniards in the town. Fear presided in their council. The capuchins did not wish to risque the laws of war, and Fontarabia surrendered at half an hour after six o'clock the same evening. The capitulation was drawn up in these terms :

“ In the name of the French Republic,

“ WE, the representatives of the French people, and general in chief of the army of the Western Pyrenees, on the demand of the commandant of Fontarabia to have twenty-four hours, in order to decide as to the delivering up the same to the armies of the Republic, reply, that the army, which in consequence of its victories, finds itself able to give the law to the city, the care of which is confided to him, will not grant him any longer time than until five o'clock, in order to accede to the following terms :

Article I. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war, ground their arms before the army of the Republic, and surrender themselves prisoners of war.

II. All the magazines, artillery, &c. &c. shall be delivered up to the French nation, in the same state they are in at this present moment.

III. No covered waggon shall be allowed.

“ Given at Fontarabia, this 1st day of August, 1794.

“ VINCENT DE LOS REVER,
Commandant of the place.

“ MULLER, General in chief of the
army of the Republic.

“ PINET, sen. CAVIGNAC, GARRAU,
Representatives of the people with the army of the
Western Pyrenees.”

Barrere.—Let us not remain insensible of this exploit ; let us recompense the capture of Fontarabia by a vote of thanks ; and let our annals no longer talk of this city, so boastful of its situation and its inviolability, but only to remind us of the glory of the army of the Western Pyrenees.

It belongs to it to separate Spain from the coalition, to dictate laws to the Capet who yet reigns over a superstitious people, and to make the inquisitors and monsters of Madrid tremble.

Eighty republicans only fell upon this occasion ; thus audacity abridges danger ; and courage preserves armies ; in political and military revolutions, death is always the lot of the coward and the slave.

What think you were the expressions of the soldiers, in the midst of their victories ?

“ They will now talk of us in the Convention !”

“ They will, perhaps, order a report on our conduct !” This is truly republican, and they shall experience the reward they so justly merit.

Barrere concluded with proposing a decree, declaring they had deserved well of their country.

This was instantly agreed to, amidst long, reiterated, and unanimous plaudits.

On the 24th Thermidor, (August 11, 1794) Barrere, in the Name of the Committee of Public Safety of France, reported to the National Convention as follows.

CITIZENS, yesterday the colours of Fontarabia adorned the finest festival that nations can celebrate in honour of liberty. On one side were to be seen inscriptions of the numerous victories of the Republic ; and on the other the generous defenders of the rights of the people, whom the fortune of battle has spared. There were honoured the civic wounds which our country is charged to heal ; and the only authority distinguished in the assembly of the people was the wounded, but unvanquished soldiers. I leave to the few journals who are not sold to aristocracy, or to those factions that are the foes of true republicans, the task of narrating

narrating this affecting scene, in which the citizens of the sections of Paris deposited, with mingled respect and tenderness, the honourable victims of war, the brave defenders of their country, mutilated in its defence. The flames kindled by the base insignia of royalty, federalism, and conspiracy, emitted light that suddenly exposed the disgrace of Spain and the triumphs of our armies, when the wounded soldier received the reward of national gratitude, and the majestic assembly of the people applauded this ever-memorable conflagration. One day later, and we might have adorned this civic festival with new triumphs, adding to the colours of proud Fontarabia those of the useful fortrefs, St. Sebastian. Such is the splendid destiny of the Republic! To a conspiracy punished succeeds a magnificent festival; to the new intrigues of aristocracy, and its auxiliary, false patriotism, are opposed new victories. The seditious banners of political knaves are routed by ensigns taken from the slaves of kings; and France, more potent than all its enemies, foreign and domestic, each day enumerates towns taken from the tyrants, garrisons made prisoners, and capitulations shameful to the allied robbers, imposed upon them. The Republic is an organised volcano, which at once overthrows imperial cities and guilty individuals; which alternately destroys the partisans of foreign powers, and the accomplices of tyranny; which sweeps away petty cabals, and towering ambition; and which knows how to vanquish the armies of kings, and the agents of dictators. Its irruption is no less violent within than without; the heat of the lava is equally great, from the center to its utmost limits. This volcano has its mountain also, launching new terrors on insolent aristocracy, venal intrigue, ambitious hypocrites, and the passions of individuals: it is a purifying fire, which the real love of our country only can abide.—Confirmed by these reflections in the domestic safety of the Republic, let us take a transient view of one of the armies commissioned to defend the Western Pyrenees, and we shall see them executing their duty with that gay impetuosity which forms the national character, and which the army calls “the happy decade.” On the 14th Thermidor, (August 1) in the morning, 6000 of these brave men, commanded by Fregeville, carried the thirty redoubts of St. Michael and Irun. On the evening 300 men obliged 800 Spaniards to surrender, and took Fontarabia. On the 15th, (August 2) a simple division, commanded by General Moncey, seized on the Port of the Passage. On the 16th, (August 3) the broken bridges under the walls of St. Sebastian, and the Spanish army advantageously drawn up on the heights of Ernani, could not withstand our republicans. This fortified post, defended by nature, is situated at the opening of the road of St. Sebastian and Madrid. Under Philip V. the Spaniard would have made a stand at this important place, and prevented the

siege of St. Sebastian, by easily throwing in succours, and by placing the French army between two batteries. But the Spaniards under Charles IV. or last, have good memories, and recollect the recent events of St. Elare, Vendre, and Collioure.—Neither could they so suddenly forget their hasty retreat from the redoubts of Irun, and faithful to their new tactics, though in battle array, on heights covered with troops, they thought more of retreating than fighting. At the sight of them thus drawn up, the republican army uttered shouts of joy: they hoped to come to action with the vapouring slaves; but scarcely did the light artillery begin to play, and our cavalry make its appearance, before they fled from the field, and were no more seen on their threatening heights. During their flight, the troops commanded by Moncey marched to the gates of St. Sebastian, with courage and with prudence worthy the defenders of freedom. The garrison, after a few customary ceremonies, capitulated; and on the 17th, (August 4) at two in the morning, the capitulation was signed: about noon, the keys of the town were brought in great pomp to the representatives of the people, by the alcaide of St. Sebastian. Two days ago I read here the capitulation of Fontarabia; I am now come to read you this new capitulation. The Spaniards shewed themselves equally docile and equally brave in both places. Two thousand men have laid down their arms, are prisoners of war, and have surrendered a numerous artillery to the protection of the army of the Western Pyrenees. More than 180 pieces of brass cannon will accelerate the providing our frontiers with cannon. The commission of stores, and that of the marine, have been aided by this expedition with the capture of immense magazines of ammunition and stores; and as if taking the fort and citadel of St. Sebastian, the Port of the Passage, and these stores, were insufficient, two Spanish ships have entered the Port of the Passage, laden with powder, ball, wine, and cod-fish. Such are the military events, which have happened so suddenly as scarcely to be credible, and which the army of the Western Pyrenees has named the happy decade. The capitulation of St. Sebastian is as follows:

Liberty, Equality.

War to Tyrants! Peace to the People!

In the Name of the French Republic.

Capitulation granted by the Commander of the Troops of the Republic to the Governor of the Town and Citadel of St. Sebastian, and its Magistrates.

ART. I. The governor shall deliver up the town and citadel of St. Sebastian to the troops of the Republic.

II. The garrison shall quit the citadel and the place with drums beating, and colours flying; shall form in order of battle

tle on the glacis, and there laying down their arms, shall surrender prisoners of war.

III. Six covered waggons shall be granted for the conveyance of the effects of the garrison only ; these effects to be verified on leaving the place by a commissary of war.

IV. The magistrates of the town shall deliver up the keys.

V. The ships of war, or other vessels actually in the road or port, with their cargoes, shall belong to the Republic, those excepted to which the inhabitants can justify their claim.

VI. The decrees of the National Convention having rendered the freedom of religious worship sacred, and the representatives of the people with the army having on the 30th of Messidor, (July 18) assured the inhabitants of the conquered countries the free exercise of it, the general imagines it would give birth to suspicions injurious to the probity of the Republic and of its representatives, were any express article stipulated on that subject.

VII. With respect to other demands that relate to the interests of individuals, the general informs the inhabitants that they have leave to address memorials on such subjects to the National Convention, and the representatives of the people with the army, who will immediately grant their claims, should they be just.

Given at the camp before St. Sebastian, Thermidor 16,
(August 3) the second year of the French Republic,
one and indivisible.

(Signed) GARRAU, CAVIGNAC, PINET the elder.

Barrere.—The advanced posts of this army have also their feats to recount. The representatives of the people inform us, that these advanced posts have driven the enemy to the gates of Toulouse, between that place and Ernani ; that they have found in those parts new magazines of corn and cartridges, and a fine manufactory of gun-carriages for the Republic. The postscript of their letter further adds : “ Our vanguard has just seized on the town of Toulouse.” Thus France, free herself, possesses the two Toulouses, and is absolutely mistress of the Gulph of Gascony by the capture of St. Sebastian, and the Port of the Passage. Behold, then, the Republic, of whose stability kings and aristocrats have so often doubted ! Contemplate this nation, denominated barbarous, because determined to be free, and whose territory was to have been parcelled out among crowned robbers, because she had punished her own. Alas, the geographers of kings and emperors have not yet discovered the scale of admeasurement for democratic and impetuous republics, possessing an immense and fertile country, a prodigious population, the knowledge of ages, the genius of the arts,

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the favours of victory, and the burning love of their country ! Let them learn, then, that in a month, the signal being given by the National Convention, the dangerous tools of tyranny, the allied hypocrites of kings, have perished ; and the territories of France are aggrandized on the north, by Belgium and West Flanders ; on the borders of the Rhine, by the Palatinate ; towards the south, by a part of Piedmont ; on the Alps, by vallies the most beautiful ; on the Pyrenees, by Cerdagne and the province of Guipuscoa ; on the German Ocean, by the ports of Neuport and Ostend ; and on the shores of Spain, by the Port of the Passage and St. Sebastian. Then let them vaunt of their troops, of their plans of attack, and above all, of their tender attachment to the good of their faithful subjects.— Amid this success, we must not forbear acquainting you with the address presented to the representatives of the people with the army of the Western Pyrenees, by the noble and loyal province of Guipuscoa. (Such are the titles written in their address, drawn up at St. Sebastian, August 4th, old style, Thermidor the 17th, by the noble town of Guetaria.) “ You have always distinguished the will of the people from the pretexts of their tyrants : you have unremittingly displayed a strict attention to the rights of men, regardless of their royal servitude, and you will no doubt commit these subjects to the consideration of the committee charged with political and military operations. This committee will concert with the representatives of the people, who are informed of local circumstances ; the principles of justice and the rights of nations were never disregarded by the French. The following are the official papers which I am ordered to read to you :

“ Citizens, the province of Guipuscoa, desiring to avoid the effusion of blood, and the inconvenience which a continuation of the war might occasion to its inhabitants, addresses itself with confidence to the generosity of the French people, and professes that it wishes the army of the Republic to suspend all hostilities from this moment, and to treat by commissioners of means that may lead to the establishment of tranquillity and harmony. This province hopes that the representatives of the French people will be induced to second it in these views.

“ Done in the assembly extraordinary of the noble city of Guetaria, August 4, 1794.

(Signed)

“ ECHAVE ANDROMIO,
For the noble and loyal province of Guipus-
cona Bebnabi-Antoie de Ecana.”

The Commander in Chief, Muller, to the Committee of Public Safety.

“ St. Sebastian, August 5.

“ ORDERS having been transmitted to Moncey, the general of the division, to advance against Port au Passage, the general not only rendered himself master of the port, but profited in the most admirable manner of the defeat of the slaves: he forced the garrison of St. Sebastian, consisting of between 1500 and 2000 troops of the line, to lay down their arms. One hundred and eighty pieces of cannon are in our possession, immense magazines, a great many ships, together with the key of the Gulph of Gascony (the French appellation for the Bay of Biscay). The national representatives pervaded every operation—This, citizens, is what I call a glorious decade. In fact, since this expedition, which no other than republicans could have undertaken, we have taken between 4 and 5000 prisoners, between 350 and 400 pieces of cannon, immense magazines, Fontarabia, St. Sebastian with its fort, and the Port au Passage. The representatives of the people will inform you more at length. Too much occupied in re-organizing our forces, you will excuse me from entering into details. I ask of you troops and engineers. Health and Fraternity.

“ MULLER.”

The Representatives of the People with the Army of the Western Pyrenees to the Committee of Public Safety.

“ St. Sebastian, August 5.

“ CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

“ AT length our promises to you are fulfilled. We promised to give Port au Passage and St. Sebastian to the Republic. Both are now in our power.—The victorious army of the Western Pyrenees has taken possession of them in the name of the French people. On the 2d of August the division of the army commanded by General Moncey, marched and took possession of the Passage. Thence it advanced next day to the walls of St. Sebastian, where it found the bridges broke down. On the same day, the generals of division, Fregeville and Laborde, at the head of their columns, marched to take the advantageous position of Ernani. This position, formidable by the nature of the ground, was of the utmost importance both to us and the enemy. Placed at the opening of the roads to Madrid and St. Sebastian, it renders whoever occupies it absolutely masters of both. While the Spaniards possessed it, the siege of St. Sebastian was impossible, because, being only a league distant from that place, they might easily throw succours into it, and place us between two fires. If, on the other hand, the troops of the republic were masters of Ernani, the enemy's army could
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have no communication with St. Sebastian, but by Bilboa, which is twenty-five leagues distant. From the importance of the post, we judged that the enemy would make every effort to preserve it. We marched against it with considerable force, expecting a vigorous resistance. On approaching Ernani, we discovered the enemy before us in order of battle, and the heights defended by their troops.—This sight filled our soldiers with joy, who hoped that they should once more come to action with the enemy. But scarcely had our cavalry formed, and our light artillery opened, when the Spaniards, recollecting their former defeats, abandoned the field of battle with all their positions, and disappeared with extreme quickness. At the same time the small number of the inhabitants of St. Sebastian, who had had the courage not to quit their homes, entered into a parley with General Moncey, the commandant of the division before that place. He displayed on this occasion not only the courage, the talents, the prudence, and the wisdom, of which he had before given so many proofs, but also all the grandeur, the majesty, and the spirit of a republican. The propositions he made, and his answers to the propositions made to him, are worthy of the cause which he defends, the army he commands, and the people for whom he fights. The garrison was for some time obstinate; but the inhabitants, who dreaded bombardment and escalade, particularly the alcaide, and a small number of citizens who seemed to love the French revolution, declared aloud their intention to surrender: the garrison followed their example. Yesterday at two in the morning, the capitulation was agreed to, and at noon the keys of the city were brought to us in great pomp by the alcaide. Three regiments of which the garrison consisted, amounting to between 1500 and 2000 men, came to lay down their arms at the feet of the courageous soldiers of liberty, and to surrender themselves prisoners on the terms of the capitulation. In the city of St. Sebastian, the citadel, and at Passage, we found from 180 to 200 cannon, considerable magazines of ammunition, provisions, &c. and in the two ports between twenty-five and thirty ships, several of which have valuable cargoes. Since we were in possession of Passage, two ships, one laden with powder and lead, the other with wine, fell into our hands. Recapitulate, citizens, our conquests within ten days, and with us you will exclaim—Oh, the happy decade!—On the 24th of July the piece commenced, the invasion of the valley of Bajan formed the first act. It was filled up successively by the capture of Commisari, Bera, St. Barbe, Ethallar, the mountain of Haya, Irun, St. Martial, Fort Figuier, Fontarabia, Port Passage, and finally, the capture of St. Sebastian, on the 4th of August, formed the most happy catastrophe. The blow given
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by the army of the Western Pyrenees to the tyrant of Madrid, is terrible; and we venture to predict that he will never recover it. Long live the Republic. Long live, a thousand and a thousand times repeated, Liberty, Equality, and the immortal Defenders of their country.

“ We have pushed our advanced posts to the gates of Toulouse; between that place and Ernani, we have found immense magazines of corn and warlike stores. The province of Guipuscoa, of which we occupy a good part, has written, by one of its deputies, to offer itself to the French Republic. We transmit you a copy of the letter: inform us how we are to act. In the mean time we will hear the commissioners, but conclude nothing till we receive your answer. Health and Fraternity.”

“ GARRAU, CAVIGNAC, PINET the elder.”

“ P. S. Our advanced guard has just taken possession of the city of Toulouse.”

Barrere—After communicating to you the wish of the province of Guipuscoa, we cannot pass unnoticed the demand more clearly expressed by the province of Cerdagne, formerly Spanish, impelled by its unanimous wish, and its topographical position, to form one of the frontiers of the French Republic. You will, doubtless, refer the petition of the inhabitants of Cerdagne, with respect to its principle, to the profound examination of the committee of Public Safety; but in the mean time you will pronounce the suppression of a tribute superstitious and destructive to agriculture. You will call the people of Cerdagne to the territorial right of not paying the heavy imposts of tithes, and by that benefit, make them feel that they border on the sacred land of liberty. The Republic ought to have an atmosphere of political beneficence, the happy influence of which its neighbours may feel.

The following is the copy of the letter of Milhaud and Soubrani, representatives of the people with the army of the Eastern Pyrenees:

“ *Head-Quarters at Boulon, August 2.*

“ Death to Tyrants! Peace to the People!”

“ CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

“ While the victorious armies of the Republic are going to strike the tyrants on their tottering thrones, it is matter of justice and of wise policy to make the people, who desire to be united to the Republic, enjoy all the advantages of popular government. The *cà-devant* Spanish Cerdagne, called by its wish and its position to make a part of the Republic, is still subject to the monstrous feudal system. Tithes have been levied in it this very year. Let us release the inhabitants from a

feudal impost, which they support with difficulty, the suppression of which will draw close the bonds which unite them to us, and separate them for ever from their ancient tyrants.— At present they are governed like the people of a conquered country. Pronounce, and let a fraternal administration make the traces of a detested system disappear for ever. Health and Fraternity.

“ SOUVERAIN, MILHAUD.”

Barrere.—What an odious contrast have I now to offer to the representatives of the French people! While the inhabitants of Cerdagne desire to become republicans, the conductors of those Spanish slaves debase their character, sully their renown, and shamefully put themselves on a level with the heirs to Punic faith. Europe was astonished to see the monstrous alliance between England and Spain: this astonishment must cease when I make known the violation of treaties made under the empire of the law of nations; the want of faith in engagements the most respected among nations the most barbarous; the insolent infraction of the laws of war; and proud baseness substituted for military generosity. Such then is the word of kings so vaunted of by the mercenary orators! Capitulations, entered into in the midst of bloody victories, are unexecuted by the chiefs of the Spanish army. What else had we to expect from tyrants? What we may expect is, that they will soon unmask themselves to the conviction of their people; that they will soon shew themselves on their thrones and in their armies, deceivers unpunished, and violators disgraced; and by their baseness they will teach nations the necessity of dethroning them, substituting national justice for royal honour, and the solemn will of a people for the caprices of a despot. You remember our successes in the Eastern Pyrenees. All Europe knows that 7000 Spaniards laid down their arms, like cowards, before our Republicans, and that French bravery re-conquered what Spanish perfidy had taken by surprise. The capitulation was mild for those slaves: they were sent back to their despot on their parole: they deserved either to be guarded or to be punished. The slaves interred in a field of battle rise no more against liberty. But such is our national character; brave and generous, faithful and grand in treaties, it thinks that the valets of a court, and the military chiefs of a tyrant, have also faith and honour to guard. We must be undeceived; the capitulation of Collioure, favourable and indulgent as it was, has been openly violated by a leader of slaves, by a general in chief called the Count de l'Union. Brilliant and base slave of the court of Madrid! he has denied the oaths of his soldiers; he has disputed the engagements entered into by

by General Novarro ; he keeps the Spanish troops sent back on the faith of a treaty ; and he retains in bonds the republican soldiers, the sacred objects of an exchange agreed upon amid our victorious armies.—The correspondence of the commander in chief of the Spanish army on this subject is strange, not to say disgraceful ; and we must publish it for the interest of the Republic ; for the honour of the general of the French army ; and, above all, to teach nations enslaved what kings are, and the soldiers of monarchies what their generals are. This Count de l'Union complains, that we have sent him 7000 Spaniards, whom he is obliged to feed, although they are bound not to serve against France. Have then these wretched generals soldiers whom they value only as a farmer does his flocks, or a mechanic his tools ? He violates this capitulation, that he may still have it in his power to torture and kill the French patriots ; for it is the population of the Republic of which tyrants have sworn the destruction. The National Convention must express its contempt for the Spanish general, its indignation for a government as cruel as cowardly, and its resolution to punish this manifest violation of the law of nations. We know that we have hostages for the execution of the treaty. Spanish officers are our securities for the capitulation at Collioure : they are of the blood of those noble tricksters who command the Spanish armies. We might have made these men pay the forfeit of their lives ; but it appears to us more worthy of the Convention, more analogous to the principles of national justice, and more useful in point of policy, to put the Spaniards on the same situation with the English (to give no quarter) if they refuse instantly to fulfil the capitulation of Collioure. We propose to you to decree, that failing the execution of the treaty, no Spanish prisoners shall be taken either in battles or sieges : for it is useless to make treaties with those whom treaties cannot bind, or to require a public pledge of men who are destitute of faith.—We are of opinion that you should add to this measure an order to take Spanish priests and nobles as hostages, wherever the two armies of the Pyrenees shall carry their triumphs. The Spaniards have a mania for nobles and for priests, which makes them set a high value on monks and on counts. On their religious and their feudal superstitions, we shall levy at once a personal tax and a military capitulation. Since they will not restore French prisoners of war, we will take no more Spanish prisoners of war. The virtue of Regulus did honour to Rome, and astonished Carthage ; but it seems never to have been heard of by the Spaniards. The war of the Republic against the troops of Charles IV. must assume a new character : it is a necessary example to convince the soldiers of the combined armies what

little account their generals make of their blood and their lives. We shall not confine ourselves to this punishment inflicted on the satellites of the king of Spain. We must denounce the governors of Madrid, and the military tyrants of the Spanish armies, to public opinion, to Europe, and to humanity. If the Spanish nation has not forgotten its ancient renown and fidelity to engagements, it will disavow the infamous conduct of its government and its generals.

The decree proposed by Barrere was adopted unanimously in the following terms :

I. The army of the Western Pyrenees continues to deserve well of its country. The official account of the capture of Port-Passage, St. Sebastian, and Toulousa, shall be printed and sent to the other armies of the Republic.

II. The address of the province of Guipuscoa is referred to the examination of the committee of Public Safety.

III. The inhabitants of the *ci-devant* Spanish Cerdagne are released from the payment of tithes and feudal imposts of every kind.

IV. Honourable mention shall be made in the minutes of the patriotic gifts sent by the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, and the list of them inserted in the bulletin of the Convention.

V. In failure of the execution of the capitulation of Collioure, by the Spanish general refusing to restore the French prisoners, the National Convention decrees that no more Spanish prisoners shall be taken, and that the Spanish priests and nobles shall be seized as hostages in all places where the armies of the Pyrenees shall carry their arms.

VI. The National Convention denounces the Spanish general to the people of all nations, as a violator of the law of nations, and the faith of treaties.

The Convention also decreed, that Barrere's report on the addresses, official letters, and the correspondence between Dugommier, the general of the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, with the Spanish general, should be printed, sent to the armies, and translated into Spanish.

From the London Gazette.

Instructions to the Commanders of all Ships of War and Privateers, that have, or may have, Letters of Marque against France. Given at our Court, at St. James's, the 18th Day of August, 1794, in the 34th Year of our Reign.

George R. (L. S.)

WHEREAS by an article of our instructions to the commanders of our ships of war and privateers, having letters of marque against France, given at our court at St. James's, the 8th day of June, 1793, we thought fit to declare, that it should be lawful to stop and detain all ships laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour, might be purchased on behalf of our government, and the ships be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by our court of admiralty, should be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any power in amity with us. We not judging it expedient to continue for the present the purchase of the said cargoes on behalf of our government, are pleased to revoke the said article, until our further order therein; and to declare that the same shall no longer remain in force. But we strictly enjoin all our commanders of our ships of war and privateers to observe the remaining articles of the said instructions; and likewise all other instructions which we have issued, and which still continue in force.

The Discovery of such Quantities of false Assignats being in Circulation in the Netherlands, caused the following Address from the General Verifier of Assignats at Bruges, on the 21st of Aug. 1794.

Equality ! Liberty ! Fraternity ! or Death !

The General Verifier of Assignats to his Fellow Citizens.

REPUBLICANS,
THE enemies of our glorious revolution do not cease to attack it by the most vile and most criminal methods. The coalesced despots against it have not blushed to rank themselves among the forgers of assignats,

Crimes

Crimes cost nothing to tyrants in the war which they wage against a people who combats for the sacred rights of man. These royal robbers (brigands) have established fabrications of false assignats; and in this emulation of turpitude, the English government shews itself zealous of occupying the first rank. The proof of it results from the most exact information, which has been taken on account of this false paper, of which Liege, Flanders, Holland, and Germany are like so many magazines, destined at length to vomit the poison on the territories of the Republic.

But their criminal attempts have been baffled. Long since measures have been taken, which are crowned with success; and still further to exterminate the false assignats among us, the following ordinance is to be published and attended to, in all the conquered countries as well as in France; and that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, it is to be published in the two languages, and stuck up conspicuously as usual.

(Signed)

DEPEREZ,

The General Verifier of Assignats.

Proclamation.

1. It is hereby enjoined to all citizens of every rank and description whatever, who are in possession of assignats, either belonging to them, or to any other person or persons whatever, to bring them within the space of twenty-four hours to the verifiers to be verified at the Maison de France in all the different towns now possessed by the French Republic; otherwise they shall be treated as suspected persons, and imprisoned until a peace, in some town in the department of Pas de Calais.

2. Any person or persons knowing of a depot of false assignats, and not making an immediate declaration of the same, to be ranked as an accomplice, and punished as such.

3. All shipping, merchants, and others, are required daily to bring the assignats they receive, within twenty-four hours after the receipt of them, to be verified, or, in default of so doing, to be treated as suspected.

4. Every person, or persons, who shall be found endeavouring to pass false assignats, are immediately to be denounced by the party, or parties, to whom such assignats are offered, or those neglecting so to do, shall be brought before the criminal tribunal of the department de Pas de Calais.

Seen, and judged proper to be affixed in the usual manner, in my presence,

LAURENT, General.

AGEYMAS, Commandant Amovible.

(Signed)

BEYTS.

From the London Gazette, August 23, 1794.

Admiralty-Office, August 23.

THE lords commissioners of the admiralty having received repeated representations from the captains of his Majesty's ships employed as convoys, that the masters of merchant ships disobey their signals and instructions, and wilfully part company without leave, think it expedient to publish the following section of an act of parliament, passed in the 33d year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectual manning his Majesty's Navy;" and do hereby give notice, that the same will, upon any future representations of the nature above-mentioned, be rigorously put in force.

Section 8. "And be it further enacted, that if the captain of any merchant ship under convoy shall wilfully disobey signals or instructions, or any other lawful commands of the commander of the convoy, or shall desert the convoy without notice given, and leave obtained for that purpose, he shall be liable to be articted against in the High Court of Admiralty, at the suit of the crown, for disobedience to the orders of the convoy, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined at the discretion of the said court, in any sum not exceeding five hundred pounds, and shall further suffer imprisonment, not exceeding one year, as the said court shall adjudge."

And to the end that masters of merchant ships may not plead ignorance, a copy of the above section will be printed at the foot of the convoy instructions delivered to them.

By command of their Lordships,

PH. STEPHENS.

The Prince of Saxe Cobourg took leave of the Army by the following Address, on the 30th of August 1794.

HIS Majesty having vouchsafed to comply with my most humble representation, by accepting my resignation of the command in chief of the army, which my want of health, added to the weakness of my bodily frame, would not permit me any longer to hold; and this command having been immediately entrusted by his Majesty to his Excellency Monseigneur Count de Clairfayt, general of artillery, I take this mode to announce the above change in the army. At the same time, I avail myself of this opportunity to testify to all the generals and officers, as well as to the whole army in general, my strong
regret

regret at this separation. I beseech them to be convinced that my esteem for the troops who have manifested so much bravery, and my gratitude for their good will, their fidelity, and personal attachment, will be everlastingly and deeply impressed on my mind, as their recollection will be always dear to me.—My prayers for the success and glory of their arms will follow them every where; and though for the present I cease to be their chief and their guide, I shall never cease to admire their merits; to rejoice in their exploits, and to be proud of their friendship. I am persuaded that they will receive this expression of my sentiments, as the profusion of a heart deeply penetrated, and as the latest proof of my attachment and esteem.

THE PRINCE OF SAXE COBOURG.

A Royal Document was published at Naples, in August 1794, relative to the present Circumstances of the War, signifying that since all Italy, as well as the King's Dominions, is threatened with an Invasion, his Majesty having the Preservation of the Catholic Religion, the Lives and Properties of his Subjects, the Tranquillity of the State, and the Glory of the Army most at heart, has resolved and ordained as follows.

I. **T**HE Universities in the kingdom of Naples shall immediately furnish 16,000 men capable of bearing arms, from 20 to 45 years of age, to serve during the war.

II. All the Barons, Bishops, &c. shall be invited to exert their utmost diligence and influence to form 60 battalions of auxiliaries. These battalions are to consist of 300 men each, for the purpose of marching towards the Pontifical Estates, and are afterwards to enjoy several advantages.

III. Twenty squadrons of horse, of 260 men each, are to be formed in the provinces, consisting of volunteers, and to serve during the war.

IV. All other corps enlisted in 1792, must hold themselves in readiness to march towards the coasts, or to any part of the kingdom where they may be required.

The following Proclamation was published the 31st of August, 1794, at Brussels, under the authority of the Chief Magistrates.

YOU are aware that the punishment of death is ordered to be inflicted on those who shall impose on the public, by vending articles at different prices, refuse assignats in payment, depreciate their value, or in any other manner abridge their circulation.

culation. Comply, citizens, we conjure you, with those laws which will assuredly attach on offenders of every description.

We now admonish you for the last time. Contemn not our interference; the sword of the law is suspended over the heads of those who may fall victims to their criminal neglect. Should this admonition be disregarded, we shall not consider ourselves as responsible for the fatal, the unavoidable consequences which the obstinacy of the indolent and slothful shall have provoked.

A Proclamation of the Magistracy of Brussels, early in Sept. 1794.

THE magistracy of the free town of Brussels inform the public, that if our unfortunate fellow-citizens still remain in the unpleasant situation in France, as hostages for the contribution required by the French Republic, it can be attributed only to the base conduct of the regular clergy.

The clergy have been assessed, in consequence of the consent of the three members accepted by this town, and sanctioned by the council of Brabant, in the sum of 2,500,000 livres, nevertheless, they have now only furnished between seven and eight hundred thousand livres, whilst three millions six hundred thousand have been furnished by the laity, and that even in great part by the good citizens, who, not being subject to the contribution, have voluntarily advanced it through humanity for the unfortunate hostages, who can hope only to recover their liberty when the contributions of five millions shall be furnished; in consequence the magistracy, much affected by this unpardonable carelessness of the regular clergy, have taken the resolution to adopt measures the most rigorous towards those of the said clergy who have not furnished their quota in the contribution; and to effect which, the magistracy command the proper officers to compel in a military manner, the regular ecclesiastical bodies, who have not yet furnished their respective quotas, instantly to come forward with the same, declaring the said officers responsible for the least delay in the execution of the present.

Inspected and approved of,

(Signed)

LECLERE, Adjutant-General.

A Second Proclamation,

THE Magistracy of the free town of Brussels, considering that the scarcity of bread daily increases, from whence might result evils the most alarming, command, in order to prevent those misfortunes, every merchant and vender of flour to provide himself within 24 hours with all that shall be necessary

for the daily subsistence of the people, on pain of being arrested and punished with the utmost rigour.

The magistracy having also been informed that some of the bakers have refused to sell any more bread to the public, order all the bakers of this town and its district to bake and sell bread as usual to the people, under the above-mentioned penalty.

(Signed)

FERRAND, General of Division.

Extracts from the Madrid Gazette, dated Sept. 2, 1794.

With a view to the important Object of providing for the great and extraordinary Expences of the War, with the smallest possible Burthen to the People, his Majesty has been pleased to expedite the following Decrees:

First. **T**HE various events of war, having since the commencement of this second campaign, occasioned great expenses and losses which could not be foreseen when the calculation of the necessary funds to conduct it were made in the outset, and it having become indispensable to seek new means to secure the interest, and the considerable capital which will be wanted to provide with the same exactness as heretofore for the subsistence and maintenance of the armies and the fleet, my paternal feelings do not permit me to burthen afresh the poorer part of my subjects, who, on account of their greater number, contribute in a larger proportion to the exigencies of the State, and at the same time, with immense hazards and fatigues, expose their persons for the defence of all. I have thought justice and equity required, that the more easy classes—the most opulent, and those who receive more immediate benefits from the government—should contribute with their property towards its expense. Upon this principle, and by the unanimous opinion of my council of state, among other things, I have resolved, that, from the first of the ensuing month of September, a deduction shall be made in the respective pay-offices, from all salaries, pensions, grants, or other assignments, enjoyed by the persons employed in my royal service, be it in what department soever, (the military alone excepted,) either in Spain or in the Indies, of four per cent. on their gross amount, provided it exceeds 800 ducados, (about 160l.) per ann. and that the same be also deducted from the military enjoying the rank of Marechal de Camp inclusively, who are not in actual service, observing that the exemption I grant to the other officers of my army and navy, not serving the campaign, extends merely to their pay according to rank, and not to the pensions, salaries, or other grants they may have in any other, even should it be of a military nature; and the amount of all such deductions to continue not longer than

than two years after the termination of this war, shall be paid from the respective offices into my chief treasury; and moreover, my counsellors of state having represented to me, with the most ardent and patriotic zeal, that the deduction in their salaries might be 25 per cent. since, convinced of the justice and necessity of the war, they were ready to make, not only such a sacrifice, but to extend it even to their lives and fortunes.—I have thought expedient to accept this loyal and generous offer; and in consequence, the deduction of 25 per cent. shall be made from the salary of every individual counsellor of state, upon the same terms; and under the same restrictions and duration as the deduction of four per cent. aforementioned from the salaries of all other placemen and pensioners.

Second. With the advice of his council, &c. his most Catholic Majesty decrees—“That no minister, person or persons of any class or condition whatsoever, shall receive more than one salary or stipend, although they may possess various employments under the government; their salary, during the existence of the first decree, is left to their option.”

The decrees are six in number, dated in August last, all tending towards providing an adequate fund without the aid of new taxes on the poor, for the continuance of the war; the clergy (with leave of his holiness the Pope) are assessed seven millions of rials annually; a creation of paper money to the amount of 18,000,000 of dollars was to take place on the 15th of September, and the appropriation of a redeeming fund of two millions of dollars annually was to be applied in discharge of interest and principal of both the present and preceding issues of *Billets reales*.

Report of the Committees of Public and General Safety and of Legislation, on the State of France, presented to the Convention, Sept. 20, 1794.

ROBERT LINDET.—The representatives of the people have felt the necessity of laying before the public an account of the actual situation of France. They are desirous of making known the causes which have prepared or effected the great events of our revolution. Ever since government usurped the rights of the people, they have more or less coalesced to support their common tyranny. A nation cannot resume its rights and reform its government without neighbouring governments leaguings to oppress it. When a nation desires to be free, it is not enough that the people will be so; they must be strong enough to resist the coalition of despots, and to make their liberty be acknowledged and respected. One million two hundred thousand

citizens in arms, who form the advanced guard of the defenders of liberty, sweep the frontiers of Spain, the Palatinate and the Netherlands. Every thing yields to their courage ; our enemies, struck with terror, fly to the places of their retreat, accuse their chiefs and their tyrants, and murmur secret prayers for the success of their conquerors. Nations sacrificed to the pride of kings feel alone the calamities of war, and see in the French the avengers of the rights of man. The arts of siege and encampments is brought to perfection ; the prudence of those who command, the confidence of those who obey, order, harmony, and vigilance protect a race of heroes ; grand conceptions, the wisest and boldest plans, new means of war, assure to you, not only the preservation of the advantages you have obtained, but new and more brilliant successes, until your enemies shall be disarmed, and nations awakened from their present slumber. A formidable marine, united and wisely directed, renders impotent the fury of your enemies, prepares the ruin of their commerce, and promises you the freedom of the seas. The nations who have maintained peace, the governments who have been wise enough to resist the insinuations of the Courts of Vienna and London, hear and repeat the accounts of your victories. You have done every thing for liberty by inspiring so high an opinion of her defenders. You have conquered the opinion of nations. They no longer ask whether you have a government ; they know that to maintain the most numerous land armies, to cover the ocean with ships of war, to fight and vanquish by sea and land, to bring into your ports the commerce of the world, is to govern. This sentiment, with which you have inspired the people of the North, of Africa, America, and those bordering on your frontiers, is too evident to be disputed. Your enemies can neither veil nor obscure your glory. They cannot ravish from you the confidence and the esteem of other nations.

By what means has France attained to this height of glory and of power ? By what astonishing sacrifices has she destroyed so much, and erected on the ruins an edifice so prodigious ? When liberty and equality were solemnly proclaimed, every Frenchman felt that he had a country, and for that country was ready to sacrifice himself. Every citizen is become the defender and prop of the French Republic. You have recalled to the minds of men that they are all equal, that they are all brothers. They have flown to the assistance of each other ; they have looked upon themselves but as individuals of one family ; and France thus closely united has become the first and most powerful of nations. You desire us to recount to you what France has done and what she has suffered. You will give a sublime idea of the value to be attached to liberty, of the courage and the constancy of the French, by transmitting to posterity, and revealing to all nations, that France, abandoned to her own resources, created every

every thing for her own defence, understood and developed her own means of repelling attack ; that in dearth and penury she imposed upon herself the severest sacrifices ; and that old age replaced in the manufactories the youth who marched to battle. The arts of war have employed so many hands, have taken away so great a number of citizens from the other arts, that it was apprehended agriculture, commerce, and manufactures must be abandoned. The French found resources in their activity. Persevering labour preserved us from the evils which there was so much reason to fear. Never before was such an extent of land cultivated and sown. The soil of France was covered with productions the most various. No part was neglected. Some spots, cursed as it were with sterility, despoiled before the time of harvest, experienced the severest proof of the activity of the cultivator, and presented the spectacle of man subduing the obstacles of nature. These labours were crowned with corresponding success. But you will send to places where the soil has been ungrateful, or the climate unpropitious, aids in proportion to their wants. ~~How much~~ ^{How much} have useful professions been neglected ; ~~how much~~ ^{how much} have the workshops and manufactories been deserted ! And yet the labours and the efforts of a small number of citizens have been sufficient. We have had less reason to observe the diminution of articles of consumption than to admire a whole people in the activity that circumstances required, and a small number of industrious and laborious citizens doing what the majority of the nation had formerly been employed to do—supplying all the articles necessary to subsistence. That which ought particularly to fix attention is the sublime reason of the people, who imposed upon themselves so many privations, who established and maintained an economy so astonishing in the consumption of provisions. They were content to suffer that they might be free. What a spectacle for posterity is that of a people sacrificing every day to their country the price of their labour, their cloathing and their sustenance, regardless of themselves, and renewing to-day the sacrifices they had made yesterday—sacrifices which nothing but experience could induce us to believe within human power.

Representatives of the French nation, in such an epoch, what are your functions ?—You encourage the people, you sustain their hopes, you enlighten the French, you diffuse knowledge, you fix arts and talents, you employ genius and science in the defence of liberty, you give laws worthy of a free people, you hold with a firm hand all the links of a vast government, you prepare, you direct, those grand movements which draw upon you the attentions of nations, and change the aspect of Europe. While you are fulfilling with such splendour your
high

high destinies, let France, let all the nations of the earth, applaud your immense labours.

Yet the genius of faction is still reviving and putting the country in danger. Let us recollect events, the memory of which ought never to be effaced: they will be a useful lesson for us and for posterity. The representatives of the people ought not only to transmit their glory and their success, they ought also to transmit a knowledge of their dangers, their misfortunes, and their errors; thus the first navigators marked the rocks they had the good fortune to shun, and taught their successors to steer a safer course. The National Convention, by its decree of the 2d of June, destroyed a faction (the Brissotines) powerful by its talents and by its popularity, which not being able to conceive the plan of a government, had thrown itself into the arms of a principal minister, and opposed giving to France laws and a constitution; which spoke only of itself, and was on the point of delivering over to a foreign protector or her antient tyrants, a nation then ignorant of her misfortunes, her dangers, her means, her resources, and whom a criminal minister entertained only with opinions frivolous or destructive. Public opinion was divided, sensibility interested itself for men whose ambitious projects were then unknown, France was not soon enough instructed of them. The observer, who has studied the movements of the Republic at that period, is convinced, that all the French desired equally to be well informed, but that the same mode of information was not equally suitable to all. Vivacity of sentiment hurried away some, others expected to be convinced, and desired to have under their eyes the most methodical proofs. The people were divided, exasperated, flew to arms, and were going in the name of the Republic, one and indivisible, to rend the bosom of their country for which they had sworn to spill their blood. Amid so much disorder and calamity, the National Convention, surrounded with treason and with perfidy, gave to France a constitution and laws, opposed the efforts of the foreign powers, and enlightened the French with respect to former events. Knowledge was diffused, the mask torn from traitors, order re-established, all eyes fixed upon you, and all hearts attached to you. The enemies of the interior had profited of these violent agitations to augment the number of their secret or avowed partisans. They had a great example of the facility with which a people, honest, generous, and of quick feeling, may be agitated. It was necessary to put the people on their guard, and to associate the whole of them for the purpose of general vigilance. It was necessary to warn them against the insinuations and the intrigues of their enemies; to point out and characterise those, whose intentions, conduct, and connexions, they ought to suspect; to inspire them with the highest confidence

dence in the friends of liberty and equality ; and to make known those who aimed only at misleading them. The decree of the 17th September, regulated the functions and the duties of the committees of Vigilance. The citizens called to discharge those functions, executed them with zeal. The services they rendered to the Republic can never be forgotten ; they gave the last blow to aristocracy ; they repressed our internal enemies ; and they confirmed the public tranquillity. We ought not to conceal from France that several of these committees departed from the object of their institution ; but we ought to declare, that the faults of several arose from error not from intention. If it should be asked why the Convention organized a plan of vigilance, requiring such a prodigious number of functionaries that all Europe could not furnish a sufficient number of well informed men to fill all the places, the French will answer, that the plan was wise and necessary. Our enemies were so numerous, so widely spread, had so many modes and means of insinuating themselves into the administrations, the popular societies, and even into our families, that every citizen was obliged to consider himself as a sentinel stationed at a post. Our experience and the mischiefs we had suffered, had instructed us to know our enemies. If some of us have gone too far, that is no reason for blaming a grand institution, which was as necessary against our internal enemies, as our armies against the coalesced powers.

On the 8th Thermidor, the artful plan of a vast conspiracy was discovered in this very Hall. An attempt was made to divide the French, to inspire them with terror and despair, to weaken the sentiment of gratitude to the defenders of our country, and to spread doubts with respect to our victories. Next day the veil was rent away. It was not then your business to consult the public opinion, but to anticipate it ; and without regarding the danger, to aim at the glory of forming the public opinion. The voice of the people could not reach you. It was your duty to give the example of courage to free men. The soul rises upon great emergencies, and perils serve only to enlighten it. Your resolutions were prompt and grand. You extinguished the burning torches which were lighted to consume your country. The days of the 14th July, and 10th August, will attest the invincible courage of the French, as much as the defence of Lille, the re-capture of Toulon, raising the siege of Dunkirk, Maubeuge, and Landau, the battle of Fleurus, the conquest of Belgium, and all the military events that have given lustre to the French arms on the Alps and the Pyrenees. The day of the 31st May will attest the majestic countenance of a people rising to combat anarchy, passions, disorders of every kind, and demanding a government and laws. The day of the

9th Thermidor will teach posterity that the French nation had gone through all the periods of her revolution ; that she had arrived at that point, when attempts could only be made to mislead, by the brilliancy of a great reputation, the appearance of civism, of probity, and of all the virtues which had been made the order of the day. This last event has been useful to liberty in another point of view, because the national representation was shown grand and powerful enough to strike the traitors; and because the wise, grand, and sublime conduct of the people proved, that it was impossible to mislead them. The measures of general safety had assumed a character of force and severity which carried affright into the hearts of citizens, and deprived France of hands and resources. The traitors whom you have punished had changed the object and the direction of them. You wished to strike the enemies of the Republic ; they made use of your arms and your measures to strike the weak, and the useful ; they spared not the husbandman or the artisan ; they could not destroy you, or make you be hated, and therefore they wished to make you feared. You have applied your first cares to revive confidence and security ; you have restored the labourer to agriculture ; the artisan, to commerce and manufactures ; the aged and infirm, to liberty. Some unquiet spirits have conceived alarms ; some have been really alarmed ; others have feigned to be so, lest a retrograde motion should hurry over precipices, and replunge France into the abyss from whence she rose on the 31st of May. This sentiment seems to have inspired the petitions and addresses you have received from several constituted authorities, and a great number of popular societies. The situation of France, in this respect, exhibits a great nation, understanding her rights, her interests, the laws of nature, and of reason ; pursuing her safety and her happiness ; her eyes fixed upon you, meditating on your decrees, watching the government, desiring to establish internal peace, to obtain the necessary consideration among neutral and allied nations, and to carry terror beyond her frontiers among nations making war against her. This nation is grand and generous ! she gives a tear to calamity and misfortune ; she feels her own power and force ; she loves order and submission to the laws ; she has not shared in the troubles, the disquiets, and the agitations of some societies and public functionaries.

In the redress of abuses, she has seen only a return to rules and to principles. But it cannot be denied that unquiet spirits endeavour to propagate their opinions and their fears with extreme activity. They employ all the means in their power ; correspondence, resolutions, deputations ; they publish that the Government has no longer its proper force or energy ; that aristocrats, restored to liberty, are oppressing the citizens ; that the patriots are sacrificed

to the numerous enemies whom their courage has roused against them. Organs of the will of the French hasten to prevent the consequences of these new dissensions. Embittered hatreds, the inevitable consequence of the diversity of revolutionary opinions, of fears, real or imaginary, always produce pernicious consequences. Announce to France, that the government will be maintained in all its force; that in your hands it will preserve that character of power, and of severity, which represses all its enemies, and allows no faction to revive. The patriots, the public functionaries, the popular societies—can they be afraid that the services they have rendered will be forgotten? They have dared every thing, they have braved all dangers to save their country. The will of France now recalls to their labours, and their professions, a great number of citizens, who had relinquished them to fill public functions: they knew that those functions were temporary; that power too long retained in the same hands, becomes an object of political jealousy; that liberty takes the alarm; that it is a load which crushes him whose imprudent courage leads him to bear it too long. They ought not to fear that those who will be entrusted with the same powers, will not equal them in zeal, and make all the necessary sacrifices to their country. They ought not to fear that France will abandon them to the resentment or vengeance which the faithful discharge of their duty may have excited. They have defended the sacred cause of liberty, and in tempestuous times they have exerted the great power which necessity created. The nation wills not that those who have directed the thunder against her enemies, should be themselves consumed by it. Representatives of the people, you must not relax the cares which justice and humanity have imposed upon you. Restore liberty to all whom the private hatred, passions, or errors of public functionaries, or the fury of the late conspirators, have hurried to prison. Restore liberty to every citizen who has been, or may be useful. Let not age or infirmity call in vain for this blessing. You have passed through many a crisis, often accompanied with many dangers and much uncertainty; you have sometimes seen your atmosphere loaded with so many clouds, obscured by so much darkness, that you cannot impute it as a crime to your fellow-citizens, at a distance from this center of knowledge, that they have sometimes marched with uncertain and tottering steps, and that they have not foreseen events which no theory could enable them to calculate. Error is never to be confounded with treachery or guilt. Prove by the application of principles, and by your conduct, that all men are equal. Inquire not into the illusions that may have enveloped their birth, or to what prejudices of rank or profession they have sacrificed under despotism. If the revolution has enlightened them, if it has brought them back to the principles of equality, if they march constantly with you, if they accompany you faithfully in your revolutionary career, look not upon them

but as brothers and friends. When you have elevated yourselves to the sublime principles of equality, you ought not to re-descend to trace the line of demarcation which the prejudices of family or profession had marked out, and which the revolution has destroyed. You ought not to look back to the birth or former professions of your fellow-citizens; in order to form your opinion of them, weigh only their demeanour and their actions. You will not imitate the conduct of tyrants, whose policy is to destroy, while your's is to preserve. It is not for yourselves alone that you have founded a Republic, but for every Frenchman who wishes to be free. It is not allowable to exclude any but the bad citizen. The Frenchman who, after having sacrificed to ignorance and prejudices, opens his eyes to the light, expiates his errors, repairs his faults, or perhaps shews himself your rival in reclaiming the rights of nature and the principles of equality. You are too well informed with respect to your situation, not to know how many citizens have wandered from the paths of the revolution, and yet have returned on the call of the national representatives. Would you reject such men? How many faithful brothers and friends would you ruin? Is it not the same blood with your own, that circulates in the veins of the generous and valiant youth, who expect of you the liberty of their parents, as the best reward of their toils and their victories? Those young warriors who fall in the field console themselves with the hopes of bequeathing to their fathers and their mothers, the liberty they have so well defended; it is their last wish in death; it is for you to accomplish this wish.

The sciences and the arts have been persecuted, yet the arts and the sciences have contributed to your successes. By them we have been instructed to gather from under our feet, the elements of which the thunder is composed that strikes tyrants to the earth. By means of them it is that the improved art of Montgolfier raises into the air our generals and engineers, discovers the manœuvres of Cobourg, and decides the fate of battles. Who remembers not Fleurus? By them metals are prepared and purified; new riches, new means of war, new sources of prosperity and peace, are drawn from the bosom of the earth. By means of them skins are tanned, prepared, and made fit for use within eight days. To arts and sciences, even in a state of oppression, we owe these astonishing and useful wonders. If they have made such rapid progress, in spite of the fury of Robespierre, who never durst look an enlightened or useful man in the face, what will they not achieve when they shall enjoy the advantages of liberty and equality?—Arts and sciences were the first to proclaim the rights of man; and shall they not invoke the protection of those rights? You will not be truly happy, you will not enjoy the prosperity to which you have a right to aspire, till you shall restore public confidence, employ all talents and all knowledge; till the philosopher and the
artisan

artisan shall treat one another as brothers and friends, and enjoy the same right and the same liberty. Agriculture has made advances and incredible efforts, but it now calls for your aid. Encourage the proprietor and the cultivator. With how many evils has agriculture been afflicted? How many useful men have the emissaries of Robespierre torn from its service? We were long afraid that the lands would not be cultivated, that the meadows would not be covered with cattle, while the proprietors or the renters of lands and meadows were detained in houses of arrest. You have served agriculture by restoring to their labours the members of the committees of Vigilance of the country communes. We must, however, recal to their minds the love of labour, and excite the ardour of our fellow-citizens. Want of hands is complained of; but it is not to be denied that a great number of citizens are not so industrious as circumstances require. Restore security, extinguish hatred and discord, make your fellow-citizens forget the evils inseparable from a great revolution; tell them that the past is no longer our's, but belongs to posterity; tell them that they have fought, that they have suffered for equality; prove to them, and let them feel, that they are free and equal. Let your laws and your institutions call man to industry; let the useful and laborious be assured of their liberty and their independence; let labour be honoured, and idleness branded with shame. All the arts, all the professions call for your attention, and demand your encouragement. Their productions have surpassed expectation, but if we have proved what they are capable of doing, our efforts must not be remitted. Our necessities are augmenting, consumption is excessive, yet a great number of our cultivators do not bring their corn and other commodities into circulation. They store up their wool, and spinning is neglected. Restore activity throughout the fields, the workshops, and the manufactories.

The commerce of France exhibits only ruins and fragments. Commerce too has been persecuted by Robespierre; a destroying genius hovered over France, and committed devastations every where. Foreign nations send you their productions, and ask for your's in return; but you consume every thing yourselves. Will you offer them metals in exchange? What mines have you sufficient for the purpose? It is industry alone that can enable a nation to maintain the balance of trade with other nations. Preserve France from the misfortune of becoming tributary to other nations, by paying for their productions in money. Restore that vigour to commerce which error and ignorance have suspended! Declare solemnly that every citizen who employs his time usefully in agriculture, science, arts, or commerce, shall neither be molested nor treated as a suspected person. Restore to manufacturers all the commodities that are now under seals; put in circulation all the commodities that have been dispatched to different places, but stopped and detained in consequence of the

decree which orders the confiscation of every thing sent to places in a state of rebellion. Turn your attention to Lyons; put a stop to the demolition of buildings; make the citizens return to their manufactories: they were born to create, and not to destroy. It is not regulations that we require. Secure the freedom of exportation, and a sufficient number of citizens will soon appear to collect silk, to manufacture, and to sell it. Other manufactures will be resumed with the same success; and Lyons will yet rise from her ruins. Let Marseilles recollect the means which formed her glory and her prosperity; passion has made her forget the advantages of her situation, her interest, and her wants. This commune, whose commerce was so flourishing and so useful, who prided herself in supplying all her own wants, and contributing to those of the whole south of France, subsists at present on the aids granted by government. With difficulty could a few merchants be collected there, to form two agencies for the remnant of the commerce of the Levant, and the coast of Barbary. At Cette, merchants who were sacrificing their private fortunes in executing an order from the committee of Public Safety, were treated as counter-revolutionists, because they were exporting commodities to make good the engagements entered into by the Republic. Such is the result of so many declamations against commerce. Instead of restraining its errors, directing it to the public good, punishing the guilty, and encouraging those who were willing and able to serve their country, we have annihilated it. Such is always the effect of general proscriptions. Extinguish the flame of passions that consume the south. Let the inhabitants know that you form a proper estimate of their talents and their knowledge: that you have put both in requisition, to contribute to the safety of the country; that you desire to unite all Frenchmen, to put an end to all civil dissensions; and reviving commerce will provide for all your wants. Bourdeaux expects encouragement: it is preparing exportations of commodities, but great obstacles still retard all the necessary operations. The evils suffered by the commune of Nantes resound in every ear. What can commerce do amid such calamities and persecutions? This citadel of the west sustained a siege of more than fifteen months; it combated the rebels and the banditti; it preserved to the Republic an important place, and the navigation of the Loire. Its fidelity and its misfortunes call for a recompence. If the unfortunate inhabitants of Nantes unite, their city will soon become the greatest magazine of Europe, and assure the circulation of the commodities of the interior of France. To what a condition is the manufacture of Sedan reduced? They there ceased to manufacture stuffs of luxury; as soon as they were informed of the necessities of the armies, they at once prepared clothing for the troops, defended their town, fought and vanquished the enemy. You *will re-establish* their manufacture. The principal magazines are
just

just now at the disposal of the nation, and the commodities are under seals. You will restore to industrious hands those magazines and commodities which must feed their manufactures. You will allow a certain number of persons to be employed in the manufacture of stuffs of luxury for exportation.

We must tell France, that one of the greatest obstacles to the restoration of commerce and exports, is the excessive consumption of all the productions of the soil in the interior. For corn and provisions, we must give in exchange a part of our wines. Bourdeaux, in consequence of the great consumption, cannot obtain a sufficient quantity for the demand. It is for you, representatives of the people, to give great lessons of economy. The nations who have recovered or preserved their liberty, have been remarkable for their simplicity and frugality. Great consumers are in a constant state of dependence. Economy, frugality, labour, and industry are the sole guarantees of the stability of the Republic. We cannot too often repeat that the army and the navy, with the services requisite for them, take from agriculture and the useful professions more than 1,500,000 citizens, and that the maintenance of 6,000,000 of men dispersed over the various communes would cost less to the Republic. We have but a confused idea of the losses and consumption occasioned by great numbers collected into one place. The enemies of the Republic, private interest, and criminal avarice, have fomented divisions between the inhabitants of the cities, and the inhabitants of the country, between husbandmen and artisans, between the citizens of neighbouring departments, districts, and even communes. The seas, long shut, did not allow the government to replace, in some departments, the provisions it had been obliged to borrow for the use of the armies. Recal to the minds of Frenchmen those sentiments of fraternity that render it a sacred duty to share their provisions with their brothers of the armies, of the departments, of all conditions and professions, in whatever part of the Republic they may be. Let us engrave on every heart this maxim :—*Remember, Republican, that in whatever part of France you may be, you are among brothers and friends.* If it be difficult to talk on the subject of provisions, remember that it is also impossible not to talk upon it. Several departments have lost their harvest. Hail, rain, and tempests have done great damage in several places, although in a great majority of the departments there be the utmost abundance. The confidence of foreign states in our probity, will soon bring into our ports whatever we may want ; but in the meantime, we must take care that the markets be well supplied, and that all obstacles to relieving the wants of one place by the abundance of another be removed. The internal navigation is restored ; relays now establishing from the East to the West, and from the North to the South, will facilitate the conveyance of every article. A

levy of 44,000 horses and mules, within three or four months, has retarded the transport of provisions. You have great obstacles to surmount; but in fairly stating them we treat you as a free people ought to be treated. You have great efforts to make, but they are as far inferior to your power as your resources are superior to your wants.

What then is required of you, representatives of the people, to crown your own glory and assure the happiness of your country? — Union and confidence. Let us reproach one another neither with errors nor misfortunes. We are all set out in the same career. Some have combatted with courage and reflection; others, with impetuous and inconsiderate ardour. Each of us have contributed to found and to strengthen the Republic, to preserve the friends and destroy the enemies, of liberty and equality. Who would require of us an account of movements which it is impossible to foresee or to direct? The revolution is accomplished: it is the work of all. What generals, what soldiers have never done more than just what they ought, or have been able to stop at the precise point, where calm and cool reason would have directed? Were we not all in a state of warfare against the most numerous and the most formidable enemies? What reverse has not enflamed our courage; what has happened to us that has not happened to all men removed to an infinite distance from the ordinary course of life? Must not some of us display the charms of equality so as to make them beloved, while others carry terror and dismay into the midst of our enemies? The revolution has cost victims; fortunes have been lost and fortunes gained: will you now authorize inquiries into every particular event? When an edifice is completed, the architect pulls down the scaffolding, but destroys not his fellow-labourers. The navigator, overtaken by the tempest, relies upon his courage and his skill, which danger renders more active and fruitful of resources, to save the vessel entrusted to him. When arrived unshipwrecked in the port, no man requires of him an account of his manœuvres, no man asks if he has strictly followed his instructions. When there was such frequent occasion to hurl the thunder, could any man answer for its always reaching its true object? Reason, the safety of your country, allow you not to turn your eyes on the ruins you have passed. Fix them only on what remains to be done, and let this employ all your thoughts.

We must add to the picture we have laid before you an account of the disposition of men's minds, and an explanation of some secret and particular causes that may have had great influence on the late movements, and which it is necessary every Frenchman should know. While the revolution was so powerfully agitating our minds, while great passions, invincible courage, the moral qualities of natural man, the civic virtues, were raising

as above ourselves, vice too was making advances. Men were seen, who embraced the revolution only for the sake of the crimes they hoped to commit, and the private advantages they expected to derive from it. They wished not for equality of rights, they aimed only at the confounding of fortunes; they hoped to squander or accumulate the wealth of others. Some of them succeeded; for our revolution has not been free from spots. When the last conspirators were punished, these monsters attempted to rally; racked with fear and remorse, they called on all France to overturn the government; seeing no safety for themselves but in confusion and anarchy. They endeavoured to seduce or mislead their fellow citizens, the public functionaries and popular societies; they could not think themselves secure without persuading every body that their own dangers were those of all France. They usurped the title of patriots; they said, "We are discovered, we are going to be persecuted, to be called to account for all our frauds and robberies. Let us alarm the patriots, let us persuade them that they have a common cause with us, and that we must stand or fall together." Thus they misled some public functionaries, and some members of the popular societies, who feared that the severity of your justice would confound guilt with error, the accidental abuse of power with the crimes of fraud and avarice. No uneasiness or agitation would have appeared, if great criminals had not disseminated the fears which they alone had reason to feel. You will avail yourselves of this consideration. Continue to enlighten the nation, to give confidence to the patriots, and the efforts of the guilty will be fruitless. Errors, faults, abuses of power, arbitrary acts, are evils inseparable from a great revolution. But if there are crimes that call for a speedy expiation, you will not silence the courts of justice. The citizens who have shared the alarms of the guilty will soon abandon the cause of these impostors, and France will see guilt go a begging, for the support which it will not find. To fix public opinion in future, to confirm confidence and security, let France learn that her representatives, now collecting all the reins of government, will themselves and alone direct the revolutionary movements. The revolution has made some men unfortunate; but it will not abandon them to despair. In a republic of brothers, in which distinctions are abolished, where the pride of wealth is despised, where the useful and industrious citizen is every thing, and the idle man nothing, there is no room for despair. Equality, by bringing men back to nature, has given them the means of wiping away tears and repairing misfortunes. Our country will abandon none of her children; she will make them forget their losses; she will restore them to and guide them in the path of happiness.

Frenchmen,

Frenchmen, who have cause of complaint, read over the immortal pages of our history ; examine all the events which have signalized the courage, and eternized the glory of the nation. Inhabitants of the North, with what sentiments are you not penetrated, when you fix your eyes upon Lille ; what impression is not made upon you by the recollection of that memorable siege, during which the inhabitants of Lille displayed such firmness ? Constance is the true heroism of Frenchmen. The citizens of Thionville exhibited the same example, amid the same dangers. View that army of heroes, rushing into the fire of batteries, carrying redoubts, and gaining the bloody battle of Jemappe ; see it attack the enemy before Brussels, and make the first conquest of Belgium ! A new scene opens ; the French have to defend their own frontiers ; the English are beaten at D unkirk, the Austrians before Maubeuge. The army advances into West Flanders ; this country, full of fortresses, is covered by the whole force of the allied powers. All the fortresses fall into the hands of the French, and the capitulations of Ostend and Nieuport deprive the English of every communication with Belgium. Mark with what courage the defenders of their country prepared before Charleroi, the success which was to crown them next day in the plains of Fleurus. A proud Monarch published, by sound of trumpet, the capture of Namur. A new mode of tactics, which other nations will never appropriate, and which despotism will never introduce into its armies, restores Namur to the French. They pursue the Austrians, they force them to retreat. They enter Liege, where they make the most glorious and the most useful of conquests. They break the scepter of a priest, and the chains with which a despot bound his fellow men. The industrious inhabitants of Liege quit the land of bondage, and seek the soil of the Republic, to enjoy liberty, and establish new manufactures of arms, to complete the destruction of tyrants. Inhabitants of our Eastern countries, what transports have you not felt, when you were spectators of those encampments, marches, battles, and victories, which opened to your brothers the gates of Spire, Worms, and Mentz ! All the banks of the Rhine resound with the victories of our armies. The armies of the Moselle and the Rhine unite, put the Austrians and Prussians to flight ; restore the communication with Landau, and scour the Palatinate. Inhabitants of the South, you know whether the fruits of victory have been useful to France. The conquest of Savoy gave to the Republic the department of Mont Blanc. Mont Cenis now assures the conquest and the liberty of our brethren. Nice and Villefranche secure to us magazines which we could not do without. The capture of Saorgio guarantees the union of the Maritime Alps. Cravella has seen the Croats and Austrians flying before republicans, whose orders were to preserve the free countries of Italy from

from the yoke of a foreign domination. Collioure and Port Vendre were occupied by the Spaniards for a moment, only to give new éclat to the arms of the Republic, and exhibit the spectacle of the best troops of Spain compelled to renounce the honours of war, and lay down their arms. The vallies of Bassan and Lorain have supplied the army for several months. Fontarabla and St. Sebastian give us ports that secure the navigation of the Gulf. Spain has lost founderies and manufactories of arms, which would have been an eternal source of jealousy, if they had been preserved.

Such is this day the situation of France. Could it be grander, stronger, or more formidable? Have not your successes in the Pyrenees answered your hopes, although we still wait for the surrender of Bellegarde? Does not the Rhine protect the territory of the Republic? The Palatinate is open; Treves is in our hands. What plan of campaign could be better conceived, or better executed, than that which restored Valenciennes, recovered the whole frontier of the North, and made you masters of Belgium? If some citizens had conceived ambitious views, or thoughts of disturbing the public tranquillity, will they now dare to discover their intentions? Will the nation attend to fears, terrors, and vain alarms when her safety and her glory require that all private interests should unite in the general interest? Will she not repress and restrain those who would attempt to excite new internal troubles? Nation, be attentive to your destiny, which is accomplishing by so many prodigies.—Courage, force, intelligence! It is not the work of some citizens, it is the work of a whole people.—Popular societies, remember whatever you have done of grand or sublime when you were enlightening the French with respect to their rights, when you were inflaming their courage, and preparing them to combat despotism and tyranny. You taught men that they were not born for slavery, that they ought to break their chains on the heads of their tyrants. You taught men to be free and maintain freedom; they must be instructed in their rights and their duties. What lights have you not diffused over France! Continue your career. The people, as more instructed, call for new lights, for new information. Teach the people to preserve the deposit of their liberties; warn them against error, seduction, and the glitter of individual reputations. Teach them to make new advances in knowledge; observe attentively the proceedings of government; watch over the public functionaries, cherish the love of labour, encourage useful men, and by your care confirm national probity, and make it be respected.

What, it is asked, will be the issue of the war of la Vendee? Various battles have been fought, and the rebels destroyed, yet the war still exists. They no longer form armies or great bodies

of men, but they fatigue and harass the cultivators, they disturb and interrupt the harvest. They are attacked and pursued. Favourable occasions have often been overlooked, plans and instructions have not always been followed. The committee of Public Safety has concerted with the members who have local knowledge of the departments of the West, the means of speedily terminating this war. Some of the generals are recalled; representatives of the people are sent into the country deeply penetrated with the importance of their mission. Exact discipline, regular conduct, constant activity, are the only means of destroying the rebels, repressing suspected persons, and giving security to good citizens. Banditti, known by the name of Chouans, have infested the right bank of the Loire and the roads of ci-devant Brittany. Several couriers and travellers have been assassinated; and citizens, charged with requisitions, have perished by their hands. The representatives of the people in those parts will soon clear the roads, and preserve those departments from the evils that have afflicted la Vendee. The tranquillity which you will establish here, the grand principles you will sanction, and with which the representatives of the people and the generals will shew that they are impressed, will put an end to the calamities that desolate so fair a country. It is by knowledge, by the force of reason, by an army terrible to the rebels, and inspiring confidence into good citizens, that we shall accomplish the conquest of la Vendee to liberty. You will neglect no means of enlightening the people and attaching them to the revolution.

There is a powerful engine that has been too long neglected. Dispel the darkness of ignorance; diffuse the light of instruction, put into the hands of your fellow-citizens those works so long desired, in which they may learn their rights and their duties. Why is the temple of arts and sciences still shut? Ought not the means of instruction, like the means of labour, to be offered equally to every citizen? In the Valais, every inhabitant understands the cultivation of his field, the arts and the sciences; every house contains a collection of the best books and the most ingenious instruments of different arts, of which the possessor knows the use. At the camp of Sablons you have opened a school to instruct young citizens in the art of war. Why do you not order a course of study at Paris, to form teachers in all other branches of knowledge? In the mean time provisional measures must be adopted. It is necessary that you speak often to the people. Order your committee of Public Instruction to prepare an article for the leisure day of every decade. Let these papers of instruction contain an account of your labours, and the principal events, principles and rules of conduct. Let them breathe the love of labour,

bour, morals, and public honesty. You have lately been talked to of the liberty of the press. You have recalled the dispositions of the declaration of rights on that head, and the French have sworn to preserve the deposit entrusted to them. Your fellow-citizens now demand a guarantee for individual liberty; tell them that all citizens are equal, and that the law is the same to all. When you were informed that labourers were pining in idleness in houses of arrest, you ordered before harvest, that they should be set at liberty. Your committees now inform you that there are still a great number of industrious citizens detained in custody, to the prejudice of the Republic. Your committees are of opinion that to release such citizens, is as much an act of justice, as of national benefit. Liberty is the greatest encouragement that can be given to useful men; gratitude will induce them to render service to their country.

The measures which your committees now propose, appear to them such as circumstances require to be adopted. To restore liberty to all useful men, to impress the brand of humiliation on idleness, to recall institutions to their origin, and powers to their center; to honour, labour, encourage commerce, diffuse knowledge, establish frequent communication between the people and their representatives, to lay the foundations of public instruction, seem the only measures necessary to accomplish your views, sustain the splendour of the French nation, and secure its glory and prosperity.

He concluded with proposing the following decrees :

I.

1. The municipalities and committees of sections, who refuse certificates of civism, shall be bound to state the reasons of their refusal.

2. Citizens to whom the municipalities refuse certificates of civism, may apply to the directory of their district, which, after examining the reasons of refusal, may grant or refuse certificates.

II.

1. The committee of Public Instruction is ordered to draw up every decade a paper of instruction, the object of which shall be to re-animate the love of labour, to confirm the citizens in the principles of morals and attachment to their duties, to remind them of the grand events of the revolution, and to lay before them the advantages of the useful arts and sciences.

2. These papers shall be sent to all the communes to be ready every decade in the place of meeting of the general assembly, to which fathers, mothers, and their children shall be called and invited to repair.

3. The reading shall be followed by singing hymns of liberty, Children shall be accustomed to sing the civic virtues and the actions of warriors, the heroes of their country.

III.

The National Convention orders its committee of Commerce and Finance to report within three days on the petitions and memorials of merchants bound to pay into the national treasury the sums they are indebted to foreign nations with which the Republic is at war.

IV.

The National Convention orders its committees of Commerce and Finance to report, within three days, on the advantages or disadvantages that may arise from the indefinite liberty of exporting articles of luxury, on the single condition of bringing back to France the value of such articles in any way whatever; on the advantages and disadvantages of exporting the superfluity of articles of the first necessity, on condition of making good to the Republic the loss on exchange.

V.

The National Convention, desirous of accelerating the period, at which a uniform mode of instruction may be established over all the Republic, orders its committee of Public Instruction to present, within ten days, a plan of schools of rules, to which shall be called the best informed citizens of all the districts, in order to be taught by the ablest professors in all branches of human knowledge, the art of teaching others.

VI.

The National Convention orders its committees of Commerce and Finance to report, within three days, on the best means of restoring to free circulation and commerce all articles sent to Lyons, and other communes, declared in a state of rebellion, which may have been stopped on the way; on the advantages and disadvantages of the confiscations decreed on the 25th Pluviose.

These decrees were unanimously adopted, amid loud and warm applauses.

Report on Valenciennes, Conde, La Quesnoy, and Landrecies, read in the French Convention 22d Sept. 1794, by Carnot, in the Name of the Committee of Public Safety.

YOUR committee had resolved to surround the enemy, and to cut off their communication. Jourdan executed this determination on the banks of the Sambre, and Pichegru on the banks of the Scheldt. It was necessary to retake the fortresses of which the enemy had obtained possession, and in order that it

it might be done more speedily, it was resolved to adopt revolutionary means; the decree of the 16th Messidor ordered, that such of the garrisons should be put to the sword as refused to surrender within twenty-four hours after being summoned. Nevertheless, it was not forgotten that this law might become a terrible weapon against ourselves, by infusing despair into the minds of the foreign troops. The committee felt that the Convention did not mean to pass a decree of carnage, but to save the country: they, therefore, suffer the generals to use their own prudence, with respect to executing or not executing the decree. The four garrisons were restored to the Republic in less than four decades.

We found in Valenciennes three millions of florins in specie, about six millions and a half of livres. Landrecies did not chuse to wait till her fortifications should be injured. Le Quesnoy and Conde made still less resistance. The commandants of such of the places as did not obey the decree within the twenty-four hours prescribed, were arrested and rendered responsible for the non-execution of the decree. Despots are the only persons whom the Convention would punish, and not those who have the misfortune to be their slaves.—(*Loud Applauses.*)

Notwithstanding the perfidy of Robespierre, who gave it as his advice that each of the places should be assaulted, though he knew that each assault would have cost us at least 6000 men, notwithstanding the hopes of that monster, who only waited for a check on the part of our army for the purpose of accusing his colleagues, Valenciennes, Conde, Quesnoy, Landrecies, and Nieuport, cost little blood to the Republic ere they were restored.—The garrisons surrendered at discretion, and France triumphed equally by her generosity and courage.

In remembrance of these blissful events, Conde has received the name of Nord Libre; and under the walls of that fortress we found 190 waggons of stores, provision and ammunition of all kinds.

Thus fade away for ever all the chimerical hopes of all our enemies! and thus have the *ephemeral* successes of Europe produced only shame to her, and glory to us.

What, cannot all Europe conquer France!—that country which has been said to be “only a chasm in the map of Europe.” Wait, legislators, the combined powers have only deferred their formidable designs, and next year they are determined to march to Paris.—(*Laughter.*)

The Emigrants taken in the different garrisons have been delivered to the military tribunals.—The national representatives on missions have taken proper steps to restore to those four communes the usual activity in their commerce, primary schools, and constituted authorities.

Such

Such are the deeds which republicans have achieved amidst acclamations of long live the National Convention ! Those who fight for their liberties and for their cottages must be victorious. Our young warriors astonished the German legions by discipline and bravery equal to the courage and conduct of the ancient Spartans. What force can conquer France united by the ties of unanimity ? Will it be the force of new factions ? No, the people are invincible. Guardians of their power decree, that the sacred deposit shall never be violated ! Save the people ! Save the cause of liberty, and proscribe those black passions which sully your purity ! Punish vice, but punish only vice ! Fly to the assistance of the unfortunate, support the arm of agriculture, and rear the head of the arts ! Infuse into your navy energies as great as your armies possess ! Wrest from Great Britain the scepter of the sea, and let the liberty of France be only the prelude to the liberty of the world !

The report was received with great applause, and the Convention immediately decreed, that

I. It should be printed, and sent to the armies, the popular societies, and constituted authorities.

II. The Convention approve of the measures taken by the committee of Public Safety relative to the surrender of the four garrisons, and the decree of the 16th Messidor.

III. That six copies of the report should be delivered to each of the deputies.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York published a General Order on the 23d of September, 1794, at his Head Quarters at Groesbeck, of which the following are the contents.

IT is with the greatest regret that his Royal Highness thinks himself obliged once more to order the severest measures to be pursued, in order to put a stop to the most shameful acts of violence and plunder, which dishonour the army under his command. His Royal Highness is so strongly convinced of the necessity of this severity, since five men of the 38th regiment, discovered yesterday in the act of plundering, have actually been condemned to death by a court-martial, which sentence, out of humanity only, his Highness mitigated into a less severe punishment. His Highness, in order to prevent such dishonourable excesses for the future, orders, that hereafter, whenever a soldier should be detected in the act of plundering, the Provost Marshal, with his assistants, is charged to execute the offender upon the spot ; and, in case of the absence of the Provost, that the criminal, instead of being hanged, shall be shot.

Besides

Besides the publication of this resolution, his Royal Highness thinks it his duty to exhort the officers of the army under his command, and to request of them, as they value the national character, (it being their duty to unite their personal honour to that of his Majesty's service, as well as to that of their country) to prevent all violence and pilfering, of which unhappily they but too often have hitherto been the eye witnesses; and, to prevent which, nothing is so necessary as a strict military discipline.

His Highness wishes not to be under the necessity of taking any severe measures against the officers. His Highness will expect the above order punctually executed, particularly by the commanders of regiments, and will certainly give information to his Majesty, if, by their neglect, the depredations should continue, which, by this general order, his Royal Highness endeavours to put an end to.

Address to the Spaniards, published early in October, 1794.

Brave Spaniards,

AT a time when I only wish to declare to you certain truths, which may serve to quiet your minds, and when I only require of you to hear me, my unremitting attention to the concerns of the public entitles me to your attention, and your own interest in the public tranquillity assures me I shall obtain it.

I am well aware that venal and infected writers will employ themselves in describing the events of this war, in terms of desperation, and that slanderers and audacious people will represent the force of the enemy as irresistible. I know also that traitors to God, the King, and to the public, will neglect no means of spreading their detestable principles, and represent them to you as practicable ones. I know also that there will not want many corrupt spies, who will represent, (as things easy to be obtained) difficulties which are insuperable; but at the same time I am fully convinced of your loyalty, and the King is convinced of it too, and he relies on it as a defence against the impetuous torrent of their madness.

Do you know the real state of our forces? They are sufficient not only to repel, but to annihilate entirely the enemy as soon as all the reinforcements for the army are concentrated, which are now marching with the greatest dispatch, and are inspired with more ardour to meet the enemy than to remain inactive.

Spaniards, there are only 20,000 men, weak and undisciplined troops, who can maintain the war against us on the detestable frontiers of the French at Navarre and Biscay; nor can there possibly be more, owing to the present condition of their country.

The

The allied armies occupy particularly their attention, and in proportion as the French armies appear to increase, their effective force really decreases: The tyrants who govern France only obtain a forced obedience from the army; the ravages of death and the guillotine are the means by which they obtain it, but at the same time there are resources to spread amongst them terror and desperation. The French already are convinced that there exist no longer amongst them the sacred rights of property, and that justice has disappeared, and that under the pretext of the good of mankind, they perceive they are only enslaving them. Unfortunately, several of our unhappy countrymen are already in that situation. The enemy have not left one single inhabitant in possession of his freedom in all the places where they have penetrated; nor is that to be wondered at: such a licentiousness is the certain consequence of their shameless veracity; but understand this, and you will be convinced of the insufficiency of their arms.

Can you possibly imagine that 20,000 men can overturn our country, if we resolve to extirpate the enemy? Read our histories; and in them you will find an answer to that question in the innumerable deeds of valour performed by our glorious ancestors, who defended in all ages their country, in several situations more critical than the present. Their present invasion is not surprising, considering the openness of the country; but they can no longer promise themselves any farther progress, as the mountainous country now before them will necessarily stop them; besides, you may rely on the activity of our general, who will not suffer them to remain in possession of that tract of our country which they have usurped, any longer than he finds it convenient; but as soon as he shall resolve to destroy them, he will accomplish their destruction. Dissipate, therefore, all these fears which may even have affected you, but at the same time make one great effort to preserve your property. The cause of God and his holy law commands you to do it. Neither ought you to expect that your fields will produce any thing till you make these efforts in defence of God and his holy law. God will assist and he will fight for you. Implore sincerely his assistance, to obtain which I have already ordered public prayers to be made.

But notwithstanding all this, do not despair, nor believe we are in the last extremity; we do not want means to oppose the public enemy. The King will crush their pride at the head of his Catholic army. The Almighty will stretch forth his sword of vengeance against the violators of his holy name! Your Sovereign relies on the loyalty of Spaniards, which he endeavours to compensate by diminishing, as far as it is consistent with his royal splendour, the expenses of his court and household, to prevent the necessity of laying on more taxes.

This conduct of their Majesties, their paternal assiduity, and the King's unremitting attention to the dispatch of all public business, and particularly in the strict administration of justice, merit a very extraordinary recompense on your part. Let us imitate his indefatigable vigilance, let us follow his illustrious example in endeavouring to promote the public welfare, and let every one perform his respective duties, by which means we shall restore and re-establish the public happiness.

Let the upright intentions of their Majesties be propitious to your tranquillity, and there will not be a single subject who will not reap the greatest benefits.

I beg from you, my dear countrymen, to consider well what I have just said, and I hope you find my expressions equally sincere, intelligible, and true. My only object is to preserve your tranquillity, and to excite your indignation against a troop of banditti that attempt to disturb you: if I succeed in that, you will see in a few days the fruit of my dispositions. Co-operate with me, and you will very soon procure the recompense of your fatigues.

Our religion will contribute to our glorious triumph, God will protect his holy law, and I will not cease to invoke his assistance.

Done at Madrid.

ALCUDIA.

Address of the National Convention to the French People, decreed on the 9th of October 1794, and ordered to be printed.

FRENCHMEN, in the midst of your triumphs, your ruin is meditated. Certain perverse men would raise the tomb of liberty in the bosom of France. To be silent, we should betray ourselves, and the most sacred of duties is to enlighten you in the perils which surround you.

Your most dangerous foes are not those satellites of despotism, whom you are accustomed to vanquish, but their perfidious emissaries, who, mingling among you, combat your independence by imposition and by calumny.

The heirs of the crimes of Robespierre, and of all the conspirators whom you have overthrown, labour in every sense to mislead the republic; and covered with various masks, they seek to lead you to a counter-revolution through the disorders of anarchy.

Such is the character of those whom ambition pushes on to tyranny. They proclaim their principles; they decorate themselves with sentiments which they have not. They call themselves the friends of the people, and they aspire only to authority. They talk only of the rights of the people—they strive only to wrest them from their hands.

Frenchmen, you will suffer yourselves no longer to be deluded by these fallacious insinuations: instructed by experience you will be deceived no more. The evil has pointed out the remedy. You were on the point of falling into the snare of the wicked—the Republic was about to perish—you merely exclaimed “Vive la Convention!” the wicked were confounded and the Republic saved.

Remember, that so long as the people and the convention are one, the attempts of the enemies of liberty will expire at your feet, as the foam of the ocean breaks upon the rock.

Restored to your pristine energy, you will no more suffer a few individuals to impose on your reason, and you will not forget that the greatest misfortune of a people is a continual agitation. They know this well who would drive you from the slumber of death into the arms of tyranny.

Rally at the voice of your representatives. You will never lose sight of this truth, that the assurance of liberty is at once in the force of the people, and in its re-union to the government which has merited his confidence.

On our side, the Convention, constant in its course, supported by the will of the people, will maintain by reforming it, that government which has saved the Republic.

Yes, we swear—we will remain at our post until the consummation of the revolution; until that hour when the triumphant Republic giving the law to its enemies, shall be able to enjoy in the security of victory, those fruits of a constitution, as solid as the peace they shall have imposed.

We shall know how to spare error and to strike only at crime: Be inexorable to immorality. The immoral man ought to be rejected by society as a dangerous element, corruptible by his nature, and therefore always ready to rally around conspiracy.

Your representatives will not suffer the public functions to be exercised by others than the true friends of the people—they will banish far from them the perfidious who talk of the rights of the people only to engross them.

After having thus expressed its solicitude, manifested its thoughts and intentions, the National Convention states to the French people those sacred principles and eternal truths the central force of their union.

A nation cannot govern itself by the flexible decisions of caprice, the sport of the passions—it is by the authority only of the laws that it can do so.

The laws are the securities for our rights. This precious security is sought by man, when he enters political associations. This they afford him by the aid of government, which contains the citizen in the circle of his duties.

Every

Every thing which would violate those rights is a crime against the social organization. Individual liberty must have no bounds, except where it trenches upon the liberty of others. The law must ascertain, and mark those boundaries.

Property must be sacred. Far from us be those systems dictated by immorality and idleness, that erect into system the commission of theft, and diminish the salutary horror it inspires. Let the power of the law therefore secure our property, as it secures the other rights of the citizen.

But who should establish the law? The people alone, by the organ of those representatives to whom it has delegated this power. No particular authority—no re-union is the people—nor can it act, nor even speak in its name.

If any audacious hand should attempt to seize the rights of the people upon the altar of the country, the Convention will discover with greater eagerness their delegated power to the usurper, as they owe an account to the people of the attacks made upon its sovereignty.

In their firmness the National Convention will not depart from wisdom—they will attend to all remonstrance, but they will not suffer the right to enlighten and admonish, to become a means of oppression and debasement—nor that any voice shall be louder than that of the national representation.

Against the intriguers, and those who yet may regret royalty, they will preserve the most vigorous posture. They will maintain the measures of security, which the public safety demands; but they will never consent to their arbitrary extension, and that suspicion should be a source of calamity.

Frenchmen, consider as your enemies all those who attack, obliquely or directly, the liberty, the equality, the unity, and the indivisibility of the Republic.

Fly those who speak to you of blood and scaffolds incessantly, those exclusive patriots, enriched by the revolution, who dread the operation of justice, and who reckon upon finding their safety in confusion and anarchy.

Esteem and search out those laborious and modest men, those good and pure beings, who fly from public employments, and who practise incessantly, without ostentation, the republican virtues.

Never lose sight of this axiom, that if a rapid and violent movement is necessary to make a revolution, calmness and prudence must terminate it. Unite yourselves about one common center, the love and respect for the laws.

Behold your brave brethren in arms, they set you the example of that sublime obedience in their submission and devotion. Their glory is to attend to the voice of their leaders; they bless incessantly the decrees of the Convention; they suffer, and cast the

misfortune upon circumstance ; if they perish, their last exclamation is for the Republic.

And you, in the bosom of towns and villages, will you suffer yourselves to be agitated by vain debates? Will you throw into your assemblies obstacles which may retard the triumphant march of the revolution?

O Frenchmen! what grief will it be for you, what satisfaction for your enemies, to see France victorious without, and torn to pieces within! No, they shall not have that cruel pleasure.—What the Convention has done in the armies, they will do in the bosom of the Republic.

The warlike virtues produce the hero ; the domestic virtues form the citizen ; and they are these virtues, sustained and fortified by an invincible attachment to republican principles, which perpetuate in a generous nation that sacred fire, that grand character, which has made the French people the first in the universe.

Citizens, all the virtuous must concur in the establishment of a republic. You have exerted by turns, force, for the demolition of the Bastile and the throne—the patience to support the evils inseparable from a great revolution—the courage to repulse your barbarous invaders. The time is arrived to conquer your enemies again by firmness and wisdom. Calm must succeed to so many storms. The vessel of the republic, beaten so oft by the tempest, touches at length upon the shore. Beware how you repulse it once more among the breakers. Permit it to approach the port, pressing with a tranquil course an obedient ocean, in the midst of the transports of a people free, happy, and triumphant.

The French General on the Arrival of Part of his Troops at Ruremonde caused the following to be published.

Head-quarters at Ruremonde, 17th Vendemiaire, (Oct. 8, 1794) Third Year of the Republic.

In the name of the French Republic.

The Aid-de-camp Soullain, charged provisionally by General Compere with the police of Ruremonde, to the inhabitants of the said city.

GENERAL Compere's object in taking possession of your country has been to establish in it the order and intelligence that become republican conquerors. He has lamented the exactions of some individuals unworthy of the French name, and would have put a stop to them sooner, if obstacles had not retarded his march. He has made every other consideration give way to that of sending you a part of his troops, who habituated to conquer, are also habituated to obey, and to fraternise with the inhabitant

bitants of the countries they traverse. He reckons, therefore, on the grand police. Let confidence revive! I shall do every thing in my power to protect you from the ravages of war. Denounce to me courageously the disturbers of your repose, the violators of your persons or property. If any such be found, you shall have the most speedy justice upon them. Let us be united, and, amid the horrors of a war undertaken for the liberty of a nation that wars only against tyranny, you will see established the reign of that concord and quiet which the whole human race must one day enjoy.

SOULLAIN.

The following is another Proclamation of Compere, dated Straben, Oct. 15, 1794,

General Compere, commandant of the advanced guard of the right wing of the army of the North, to the inhabitants of the city of Gueldres and its dependencies.

THE French troops, in taking possession of your territory, bring with them no hostile intentions towards the inhabitants. They make war only upon tyrants and their satellites.— They know how to respect the opinions, political and religious, the morals, usages, ministers, and forms of worship of the countries they enter. Be tranquil, therefore; banish the alarms, fears, and gloomy colours which the perfidy of our enemies has mixed up, and calumny and falsehood disseminated respecting the French republicans. I say again, be tranquil; be confident; and assure yourselves that I shall neglect none of the means the law has put into my hands, for maintaining the best order, the most severe discipline, among the troops I command; and that they are disposed to live in the best and most perfect understanding with you.

The following Order was published by the French General, Lefevre, at Neufs.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Head-quarters at Neufs, 20th Vendemiaire (Oct. 11) Third Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE National Convention has passed a decree, by which the conquered countries are put under the special protection of the Republic, by ordering that property, persons, established usages and customs, public worship, and, in general, the mode of government, shall be respected and protected.

I therefore call upon you, warriors, to observe the duty which this order and mutual fraternity impose upon you. Treat the
peaceable

peaceable inhabitants of these countries as your representatives desire and order. Magnanimity and honour ought to be your guides in the glorious career you are pursuing, and the inhabitants of the countries into which you enter, will soon be your brothers and friends. Above all, disturb not their ecclesiastics and nobles who shall peaceably exercise their functions. I have a firm confidence, citizens, that each of you will be eager to observe punctually the law set forth in the present order; but, if contrary to all expectation, any person should violate it in any way whatever, he will infallibly, and without hope of pardon, incur the punishment of death.

(Signed)

The General commanding a division of the French army,
LEFEVRE.

Field Marshal Mollendorff, with the Army of his Prussian Majesty, received Orders from the King his Master to retreat with his Army beyond the Rhine. These Orders are to the following Effect, and are dated October, 1794.

THAT on the part of the Imperial troops, all offensive undertakings had been abandoned, in consequence of the Austrian army having crossed the Rhine. It was therefore deemed prudent not to persist in defence of a territory which is but of little extent, in comparison of the whole of the Empire; as by this defence of the left bank of the Rhine, the army of his Majesty may be exposed to a check, and that the Prussian army, after the example of that of the house of Austria, should likewise make their retreat across the Rhine,

The National Convention of France, after having heard the United Committees of Public and General Safety and Legislation, decreed, Oct. 15, 1794,

1. **A**LL affiliations, aggregations, federations, as well as all correspondences, in a collective name between societies, under whatever denomination they may exist, are prohibited, as subversive of the government, and contrary to the unity of the Republic.

2. No petitions or addresses can be made in a collective name; they ought to be individually signed.

3. The constituted authorities are prohibited from forming resolutions on addresses or petitions made in a collective name.

THAT

4. Those who, as presidents or secretaries, shall sign addresses or petitions made in a collective name, shall be apprehended and imprisoned as suspected persons.

5. Immediately after the publication of the present decree, each society shall make out a list of all the members of which it is composed. This list shall contain the names and surnames of the members, their age, the place of their birth, their professions and residences before and since the 14th of July, 1789; and the date of their admission into the society.

6. A copy of this list shall be addressed within two decades of the date of this decree, to the national agent of the district.

7. Another copy shall at the same time be transmitted to the national agent of the commune in which the society is established. It shall be pasted up in the place in which the municipality holds its sittings.

8. In Paris it shall be pasted up in the hall of the committee of Administrative Police.

9. This plan shall be followed every third month. And

10. All who shall contravene any disposition of this decree, shall be apprehended and imprisoned as suspected persons.

Proclamation of the Magistrates of Amsterdam.

THE magistrates of the city of Amsterdam having perceived that some evil-minded persons thought proper to spread different false reports, and to trouble the minds of the ignorant and timid inhabitants, from which it might easily result, that they would be persuaded to sign petitions or addresses to the regency of this city, with a view of presenting them to the burgo-masters, and which requests would have no other tendency than to incommode the lawful regency in its free deliberations on the present circumstances of affairs, and to make them lose entirely the confidence of the good burghers of this city:

The said magistrates therefore exhort before-hand, every one to be circumspect and prudent, and not to suffer himself to be misled by alarming speeches, nor to be persuaded into actions, of which they cannot sufficiently foresee the consequences; and farther, to prevent troubles, they warn and command every body, by these presents, not to join in making addresses calculated to interfere in the administration of public affairs, under pain that those who shall be found to transgress in this particular, shall be dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the law.

Resolved October 13, 1794.

The following Address from the Prince of Orange was printed and distributed in the Provinces of Holland and Guelderland, in the Middle of October, 1794.

To the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland.
MY illustrious father has empowered me to call upon every good citizen for their assistance in the defence of the confines, and to contend for the preservation of their religion and their country: I therefore call upon all the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland to unite and stand up for the defence of their houses and lands, their lives and properties. Here are arms, powder, and ball—take them with a good heart, and use them with a strong hand. Not a man of you, unless he chuses, shall go out of his province; but let each of you, in your respective districts, prevent the enemy from advancing any farther. Brave and faithful countrymen! let us fight one and all for our dear country. Soldiers, citizens, and peasants! let us all unanimously assemble under the same banner: I will fight with you for the salvation of the country, and may God give us the victory!

Petition of the Citizens of Amsterdam, of the Anti-Stadtholderian Party, to the Magistrates of that City, for delivering which the following Persons were imprisoned.

THE undersigned burghers and inhabitants of Amsterdam declare, with dutiful submission, that having hitherto had the greatest confidence in the wisdom and candour of their Great Mightinesses, the noble burgomasters and council of that city, that they should take all necessary measures for the protection and welfare of the inhabitants of the town; and as hitherto the undersigned have not yet undertaken any active step to shew any distrust or discontent against the conduct of your Great Mightinesses, they hope never to have any occasion to assume such a step.

The undersigned, however, think themselves well informed, that the liberty of your deliberations has lately been considerably encroached by the sudden and unexpected appearance, in this town, of his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the arrival of whom had no other object than to induce your Great Mightinesses to give your consent to resolutions, the execution of which cannot fail being highly detrimental and injurious to the interest of the inhabitants of this town, and of those of the whole province.

Without further venturing upon conjectures relative to the objects of the arrival of the above two high personages, we think it necessary to state that we have been informed of your Great Mightinesses, on their arrival, having taken into consideration the propositions made; that on the approach of the French troops to the town, that the latter should be put in the most complete footing of defence, and that your Great Mightinesses had come to a resolution to submit the town to all the inconveniencies of a siege: that you likewise have consented to form the grand inundation all around this city, by opening all the surrounding sluices, and by breaking different sea dykes.

And that farther your Great Mightinesses had also resolved to admit a great number of English troops into the heart of this city.

Undersigned think it their duty to declare that they shall in no manner consent to the above-mentioned measures; and that in case the above great personages, by their presence, should force your Great Mightinesses to such resolutions, we must assert that all the inhabitants of this town are averse to such measures, as being injurious to the general interest of this town and the whole country.

Undersigned expect a categorical answer from your Great Mightinesses upon the following questions:

1. What was the object of the arrival of the above high personage in this town?
2. Whether your Mightinesses have consented to expose the town to a formal siege, to garrison it with foreign troops, and to transform its interior civic government into a military government?

Undersigned further declare publicly, that they are discontented with such resolutions, and they are determined to resist and oppose themselves against all military defence of whatever name, and under whatever form it might be adopted.

That the undersigned, particularly, are determined to resist and oppose themselves against the quartering, in the town, of the English troops, whose bad conduct has not been improved by repeated orders and severities from their chief commander. The undersigned will look upon the approach of those troops as a signal given by your Great Mightinesses for a civil insurrection; the fatal consequences of which your Great Mightinesses will have alone to answer for.

In order to prevent such dreadful consequences the undersigned think it their duty, in the present critical urgency, once more submissively to apply to your Great Mightinesses to entreat you never to consent to the adoption of such measures, to ex-

pose this town to a military defence, or to suffer such undisciplined and pillaging troops to be quartered within its walls.

The wisest measures your Great Mightinesses can adopt, are only to have confidence in the patriotism and good will of the inhabitants, to direct their steps according to the course of the natural exigencies of the circumstances, and not by an audacious attempt of forming a military defence of the town, to precipitate its inhabitants into unavoidable misery and ruin, and you yourselves only will be answerable.

(Signed, &c. &c. &c.)

Amsterdam, Oct. 14, 1794.

Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!

Antwerp, 3 Brumaire (24 Oct. 1794) the third Year of the French one and indivisible Republic. The Representatives of the Armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Maes, being informed, that, notwithstanding the often repeated Warnings, the Inhabitants of Antwerp give the greatest Proofs of their Tardiness and Ill-will concerning the Payment of the Contributions,

Resolve,

I. **T**HE amount of the contribution laid on the town of Antwerp shall be estimated from the 5th inst. (26th October) and be augmented every day with one hundred thousand livres, ready money, till the day of the full payment of said contribution.

II. The general commander of Antwerp shall, besides the already-taken hostages, take a fresh ten each day, till the full payment of the contribution; the new hostages shall be taken and transported, to begin with the 5th instant.

The present resolutions shall be sent to the general commander and magistrates of Antwerp.

Report of the Committee of Public Safety on the Principles which the French Republic ought to adapt in her diplomatic System, made in the Convention in November, 1794, by Eschassieriaux the Elder.

WHILST a great nation is occupied in extinguishing despotism by the valour of her arms, and in establishing universal liberty by the wisdom of her laws, a duty of no slight importance is imposed upon us. We will proceed to inquire into the various principles which have been produced by the revolution, or adopted in consequence of it. We shall examine whether the diplomatic system ought to be acted upon, or whether it is

is not so repugnant to the genuine principles of a republican government, as to render their co-existence incompatible.

In absolute monarchies this system has obtained the appellation of "Policy," aided by "State Necessity." This policy, for three successive centuries, has kept Europe in a state of perpetual warfare, and extended its baneful effects to the remotest parts of the world. In France this system subjected the life, the liberty, and the property of the people to the will or caprice of their tyrants. By human ingenuity, and the corruption of courts, an intricate, though profound science, has been produced. It derives not its origin from the pure and simple ages of antiquity,—It would have been exiled from the ancient Republics. It is the offspring of despotism, and had its existence in monarchies of modern date. These monarchical governments uniformly endeavoured to enslave all mankind.—This science was not the production of philosophers; the subject of philosophy is the happiness of man. It is not an invention of the people; but it is their blood which has led tyrants to the discovery, and it became their political code. The science I allude to is the diplomatic system. Now that the French people have annihilated those prejudices which were so conducive to the existence of slavery—now that they have recognized in their laws those eternal maxims, which are founded in reason and nature, it is incumbent on them to regenerate their opinions with respect to the management of public affairs, and to come to a decision on a subject of the greatest magnitude and importance.

We now come to our purpose, namely, an investigation of what has hitherto been denominated "The Diplomatic System." We shall then observe upon its properties, and consider whether it be compatible with reason and justice.

In order to make apparent the conspiracies of despots against the liberties of mankind, we must take a survey of the interior of their cabinets. In these arcana will be found in embryo all those measures which decide the fate of nations. Now is the time for the friends of liberty to grapple with all the maxims and institutions which are hostile to the happiness of the people, and not to relinquish the conflict until they be exterminated. Nations in a state of barbarity have no diplomatic system. They preserve their existence and independence by force of arms; and this is the nature of their communications with foreign nations. Among the ancient Romans, the only treaties were in the nature of laws imposed by the conqueror on the conquered. A few treaties of alliance, still extant, are the only fragments whence we can collect any information respecting the principles on which the more ancient Republics acted, instead of the modern diplomatic system. Time has destroyed, or consigned to oblivion, the politics of ancient monarchies. They furnish us with little more than a detail of

revolutions and conquests. Every despot either oppressed and destroyed his subjects, or exhausted their substance in foreign conquests. In order to find the origin of "State Policy," we must revert to ages comparatively modern. It is only among the princes of Europe and their ministers that this perfidious art has been invented, which, by common consent, has been distinguished by the appellation of the "Diplomatic System."

Two epochs have been eminently distinguished for the reign of policy. The first was that in which the frantic ambition of the Popes threatened the subjugation of the world to papal tyranny. They founded their pretensions in the impious doctrine of Divine Rights, once the terror, but now the scorn of mankind. Trick and delusion were the weapons of the now despicable tyrants of Rome. Slavery and mental degradation, and moral turpitude, are the effects of their labours. It is the province of history to record the profligacy of the rulers, and the misfortunes of the people. Charles V. and Francis I. those rivals in profligacy and imbecility, distinguished the other æra. Ambition, which first induced the tyrant to carry the French arms into Italy, had previously introduced that spirit of craft, cunning, and intrigue, which influenced a horde of petty princes, who quarrelled about the partition of the Roman empire. Machiavel, whose disposition was originally republican, by an intercourse with his cotemporaries, who conspired against the liberties of mankind, soon became a proselyte to their system, and described in glowing colours the theory of the criminal policy in question.

The two despots, who, for a series of years, contrived to implicate in their fate that of all Europe, stamped on court policy that sort of consequence which a habitual course of infamy commonly produces in an enthusiastic imagination. These ambitious princes, these scourges of the earth, contrived to make the other despots parties in their quarrel, united for the first time the interests of the North and the South in favour of the houses of Austria and France, propagated this political mania, which suddenly infected both kings and their ministers. The Medicis, the Guises, and the Mazarins, educated from their infancy in all the chicanery of the Italian system of policy, unhappily for France, insinuated themselves into the favour of a profligate court, and, by the exercise of that execrable policy, eventually succeeded in establishing the diplomatic system throughout Europe. Before the crafty Mazarin, the sanguinary Richlieu, having completely gained the ascendancy over a weak and pusillanimous prince, contrived, by intrigue too, to carry the terror and infamy of his character into foreign courts. From a strange coincidence of minute circumstances during the war for the succession, the efficacy of court policy was ascertained and established. In that war, one of the finest kingdoms in Europe was exposed to the rapacity of tyrants; the
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real motives of politicians, and the jarring interests of the different courts, became apparent. The length of the struggle, and the uncertainty of its event, appalled the hopes, and pallied the efforts of the competitors ; and in these circumstances originated the diplomatic system.

Subsequent to that period this horrid science, the offspring of tyranny, has uniformly been the rule of action, and superseded the rights of nature, which are truly the rights of man, whether he remain in a state of nature, or live in a state of civilization. In conformity to this system peace is violated, war carried on, treaties entered into, revenge meditated, aggrandizement of territory projected, rivalry produced, the humiliation and destruction of a rival suggested, confederacies formed, lines of demarkation drawn. At one time universal monarchy is the object, at another the extinction of it, under pretext of preserving the balance of power, that inexhaustible source of evasion, interference, and hostility. A strict adherence to this principle, however disastrous the consequences to the people, is considered as a sufficient justification for the conduct of courts or ministers. Under the feudal system, the powerful took advantage of the impotent, and the ignorant forged chains for succeeding ages, and the subtle policy of courts rivetted those chains. It is the province of philosophy to investigate the causes of our misfortunes, to point out those causes which have conducted the people from one species of slavery to another, to avenge their lost rights, to repair the injuries incurred by time and revolutions, and, in a word, to expose a long train of evils produced by the policy of courts.

Let us take a review of the vast theatre of Europe, and consider the principal events of the last three centuries. What is the consequence ? In general we find the people dispirited, and ready to sink under the pressure of tyrannical governments, communities consisting of slaves and despots. In the other parts of the world a similar system is adopted, under different modifications. We observe war desolating and staining the very soil, and treaties no sooner made than violated ; craft, cunning, deception, intrigue, and usurpation reduced to a system in every cabinet ; perfidy carried on by the ministers of different courts on all occasions ; discord and revenge instilled into the minds of the people, in order to make them subservient ; men, taught by nature to esteem one another, fighting and shedding each other's blood to gratify the caprice of their rulers ; territories invaded, plundered, and partitioned ; inhabitants torn from their peaceful fire-sides, and marched some thousands of miles to make aggressions on distant possessions, merely to promote the ambitious projects of their chiefs ; the blood and treasure of those very people, perhaps sacrificed in turn to the ambition of individuals, whose object is conquest and extermination ; and finally, we observe dissimulation and circumven-

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tion reduced to the precision of a science. Such is the picture which history furnishes for the contemplation of the philosopher. What can be the cause of all those calamities? It is because men have hitherto held their rights by a very slender tenure. The only security they had for their peace and liberty, was the caprice and plighted faith of men who had an interest in keeping them in bondage. To such men, the custody and disposal of all that is valuable in life were confided; because either a policy founded on delusion and compulsion superseded the exercise of their imprescriptible rights, or the law of nature and of nations lay dormant in books, or was only known to men of learning, and because tyranny has in all ages been anxious to perpetuate its reign; because despicable authors sold their labours to despots, and recognized the principles of slavery; because, when prejudice and age have crept upon people, no human exertion can extricate them. Ten successive centuries of slavery have just completed their course. Where is the man who, during that iron age, ventured to vindicate the rights of man? What monument, erected in that period, bears the smallest inscription of liberty? Where are the records and public acts which recognize or assert those rights? Where are the treaties which contain a stipulation on the part of the people for their inalienable rights? Where are the alliances which bear testimony of the union and harmony which subsisted between any two given nations? Those that have escaped the ravages of time, furnish us with a contrast between the insolence of power and the submission of imbecillity, a contrast between despotism and slavery, and the remote causes of all the wars upon the continent. They were a subterfuge for all the rancour and passions incident to crowned heads. Where is the treaty that remained sacred, after the party was confident he might violate it with impunity? War, destructive war, has drenched every country with human blood. There is no nation that has never waged war with a neighbouring people. Innumerable treaties prove the existence of the innumerable wars, which have almost desolated the earth. Ages of convulsion but too frequently succeed a short interval of tranquillity. What has then produced so many disasters and revolutions as this unjust, infatuated policy, which constantly referring to certain individuals the exclusive right of deciding the fate of nations and of rendering the world subservient to their wishes?

Study history, that faithful picture, which portrays the unseemly policy of courtiers.—Their latent springs of action are there exposed to public view. Read the voluminous correspondence with ambassadors at different courts. In these communications the art of deceiving is attempted to be concealed under the most fascinating garb that urbanity and formality of a court could furnish. Investigate the conduct of those ministers
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who disturbed the world to gratify the ambition of their master. Contemplate the cabinets which have been most in the habit of concluding treaties; what will you see there? The ambition and perfidy of an individual. The rapacious Charles V. almost the exclusive possessor of the New World, destroyed the liberties of his own country, and involved Europe in war to give independence to five or six petty States, his paternal inheritance. A minister afterwards threw all into confusion to divest his descendants of their possessions. Every court became apprehensive of danger. Ambassadors appeared in groupes.—Treaties accumulated, and became absolutely necessary to protract the danger. Twenty different armies were hurried into the field of battle. Not one half escaped with life, and the wounded were still more numerous. And what was the cause of all these calamities which harassed and deluged Europe with blood? The whole must be attributed to passion, to prejudice, to revenge, to a court favourite, and to the lust of conquest!

It is still that insatiable thirst for glory, which arrayed in all the trappings of diplomatic etiquette gave birth to those political alliances which till the present time were only a treaty of despot with a despot, a compact between pride and ambition, not intended to be adhered to longer than it served the purposes of the contracting parties. In such negotiations the private interests of individuals were consulted instead of the happiness and prosperity of the people. Treaties concluded by Kings never averted a single war, they have produced a thousand. The alliances entered into by despotic courts, are conspiracies against the liberty of the people. What torrents of blood have been shed in wars of aggrandizement, brought on by the ambition and jarring interests of courts! How often people have bled in wars of succession which not unfrequently terminated in placing an idiot upon the throne. For three centuries past, Europe has been distracted by disputes between the family of Bourbon and the tyrants of Austria. Twenty treaties, at least, have been concluded for the purpose of adjusting differences between the descendants of the Capets and the Princes of Germany, and twenty times have those solemn obligations been violated by ambition and hereditary pique. These unhappy alliances were all sealed with the blood, the treasure, the rights, and liberties of the people. In Europe the only classes of inhabitants were tyrants, slaves, and miserable victims.

The project of establishing universal monarchy aroused the indignation, and called forth the vigour of every power against Charles V. and Louis XIV. At two distinct periods the romantic system adopted by these monarchs cost Europe not less than a million of valuable lives, and treasure beyond all calculation.—Their rapacity and violence drove their opponents to
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the last extremity, and obliged them to adopt what is technically styled “the Balance of Power”—a system which has been productive of infinite mischief! It has produced the project of partitioning, and Europe has actually been formed into sections, one state opposed to another, national prejudices inculcated, and one of the finest countries in the world subjected to a state of perpetual warfare and political schism: and yet the courtier, the ambitious minister, the venal author, and the contemptible parasite distinguished this political equilibrium by the *chef-d’œuvre* of diplomatic negociation and sound policy. The philosopher contemplates this system with regret, because he considers it as productive of innumerable calamities.—Standing armies first introduced the system of taxation and a variety of other grievances. This practice, which exhausted the substance of the people, promoted the accumulating avidity and corruption of governments. It produced oppression, bondage, and despotism at home, disgust and jealousy among neighbours, prohibitions and restriction upon trade, sanctioned indeed by policy, but repugnant to reason; for nature designed commerce to be the inherent right of all nations.

This revolution, which recognized military governments, is become an almost insuperable obstacle to the restoration of liberty in Europe, and this is an effect of that policy which has hitherto influenced the conduct of the particular nations. To abandon these nations to convulsions, their liberty to oppression, their territory to the depredations of tyrants, are not the most afflicting evils that have been produced. What shall we say of those alliances? They are the effects of contention, jealousy, and the ambition and resentment of courts, which have so often threatened one part of Europe with slavery, and devastation from another. To defend such unnatural compacts would be to participate in these guilts; they resemble those visitations which are followed by death and devastation. A period is put to these scourges, when they have consumed what they preyed upon, and swept alike animals and vegetation from the face of the earth. These treaties furnish a monstrous assemblage of mischief, and their provisions are dissolved by the detestation they have excited in the minds of the people.

Having touched on the policy of former times, we now proceed to observe upon the conduct of the royal junto since the revolution. The treaty of Pilnitz is the first act of atrocity that strikes our attention. To us that Convention appears the most outrageous and abominable conspiracy against a free, sovereign and independent nation that ever was devised by the ingenuity of man. Posterity must view it with disgust and abhorrence. They will produce that act as a solemn charge of accusation against the coalesced despots. Their graves will be ransacked, and their dust trodden

trampled under the feet of liberty; and posterity will avenge the innocent blood that was shed in consequence of the convention of Pilnitz. There are, however, crimes so enormous and flagitious, that vengeance ought not to be deferred to posterity. If nature confer rewards on the virtuous, she will also inflict punishment on the vicious. Justice will then pursue the tyrants to their graves. No situation can secure oppressors from the just indignation of the oppressed. The friends of liberty will denounce them, and condign punishment must be the inevitable consequence. History has already recorded their atrocities and sanguinary aggressions on our peaceful territories; but this is unnecessary—they are their own accusers. They have described their conduct in indelible characters, their own actions rise up in judgment against them, and the measure of their iniquity is full. Such a confederacy against a generous nation, *willing* to be free, has no type or parallel in the annals of history. It is a desperate effort, not unworthy of despots struggling to perpetuate their reign, but liberty, rising triumphant, will crush their devices, and avenge her own cause. We emulate a people who like us entered the lists with tyranny. We emulate the brave cotemporaries of William Tell, who hurled from their rocks and fastnesses the oppressors of their country, and the slaves of Austria. The noble exertions of those republicans dissolved that confederacy which had long kept their ancestors in the most abject slavery. Brave Batavians! We would imitate you who vanquished the most powerful tyrant in the world, and formed the sacred basis of your government on the barbarities of the ferocious duke of Alba. Thrice happy should we be in seeing descendants worthy of you. Degenerate Batavians! you have become a party in the confederacy of kings. Let the heroes of the new world be likewise a stimulus to our exertions, and a pattern worthy our imitation. A seven years inveterate war, in vindication of your liberties, did not appal your courage, nor diminish your exertions, till the event established the justice of your cause.

In reciting the holy insurrections in favour of liberty against tyranny, we must not forget the brave Kosciuszko. What an acquisition to Poland! Go on—avenge your country—lay not down your arms until you have annihilated those hordes of barbarians who have invaded it. The eyes of the world are fixed on you, and every friend of liberty and humanity wishes success to your cause. Impartial posterity, confiding in a favourable issue, has already allotted you a place in the Pantheon among the saviours of your country. Reflect, that tyrants are contemptible opponents to a people determined to be free, or to perish in the attempt: but recollect, that revolutions ought to be for the people, and that the man who procures liberty for himself alone, who engages in a revolution from selfish and ambitious motives, is a

traitor to his country: Nature and justice, who sooner or later will avenge the rights of humanity, never designed the world for the exclusive possession of tyrants. The people have rights, and they are endowed with physical strength and energy to defend them.

From the period in which that formidable phalanx, which concentrated the remaining virtues of Greece, marched from the cities of Achaia in defence of their liberty against the kings of Macedon; from that period of heroism no less than six insurrections have happily succeeded against tyranny. The oppressors vanished, and liberty was established in those countries which had the courage to fight for it. The magnanimous defenders of liberty can never die; their memories will be revered by the latest posterity. While time is consigning successive generations to oblivion, they will become immortal in the eulogiums of the virtuous. The most lively sense of gratitude will be inseparable from their memory. It is on this earth, drenched with their blood, that the friends of liberty would desire to repose in silence from the painful and disgusting sight of countries struggling under slavery and despotism. It is therefore obvious from the order of political events, that every insurrection of the people, whether occasioned by a zeal for their country, or a desire to emancipate themselves from slavery, has invariably been successful. Insurrections produced by various motives have fortified liberty, regenerated the people for centuries, and instilled into the mind of man the utmost abhorrence of tyranny.

Let us for a moment compare these virtuous associations with the confederacies entered into by princes from wicked and ambitious motives. What is their invariable object? Power, conquest, aggrandizement, and the extirpation of liberty.

Let us, in the next place, compare with these insurrections the royal confederacies, whose roots extend to the Gothic ages, and derive sustenance from ignorance, prejudice, and superstition. These combinations have been matured by time, and now form a kind of constitutional despotism over twenty different nations which were anciently free and independent.

Contemplate Germany, that focus of intrigue, jealousy, and ambition; that theatre, perpetually distracted by a multiplicity of jarring interests, has been compelled to invest the supreme authority in an emperor. How absurd! What security had the people for their liberty? None; and they have no liberty.—What hopes can they have of recovering it by force in a country situated as Germany is? Despotism has powerful supporters. The constitution is the production of despotism and interwoven in its structure. The hereditary servitude of the people constitutes and perpetuates the independence of the petty tyrants of the Germanic body. From this coincidence of circumstances the people are in
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the feudal bondage of the twelfth century. Can you suppose that the people who live under the most tyrannical government are not in a less deplorable situation than in this country under a government which has only the semblance of freedom? A people under a despot, in order to obtain their rights, have only one scepter to break, one throne to pull down, and one court to destroy. In Germany, they have to destroy the iron yoke of a hundred princes in arms to guard their ancient usurpations. Before they can accomplish such a purpose, they must eradicate the prejudices which have been progressively forming for a thousand years. In other countries it is physical strength that keeps the people in slavery. In Germany it is the policy of their courts.

Such in general is the influence of the confederacies of princes over the independence of the people. Such for 300 years is the nature of that policy, on which every cabinet of Europe has acted for three hundred years. The same policy has pervaded the conduct of every sovereign in every succeeding treaty, alliance, or confederacy. Invariably acting upon the same principles, tyrants have at last established a system of slavery and oppression.

Under this system of affairs, it would be absurd to expect a happy and permanent peace, or the least security for the lives and liberty of the people. Some part of the world will always be at war, and harassed by the most violent convulsions. Yes, as long as Europe shall be governed by false principles; as long as public right shall rest on other bases than the immutable bases of reason, justice, and nature; as long as people shall not themselves assert and regulate their rights and actions by these eternal sentiments; as long as their interests shall be at the mercy of oppression; as long as a covetous, restless ambition shall dispose of people as a property, and shed their blood as if they were brutes; as long as men shall be oppressed in their cottages, or snatched from them to be thrown as the devoted victims of the passions and vengeance of despots, and of the caprice of their ministers.

We have thus completed the said outline of the policy of courts, and of those convulsive revolutions to which it has given birth; we have exposed the ancient usurpations of power; let us now examine the rights of the people, in order to fix the bases of the order which justice prescribes for the tranquillity of the earth, and to determine the nature of that system of policy which befits a republican nation. Ignorance and superstition, the weapons of tyrants, have wrested, and made men forget even the sentiment of their most sacred rights; but injustice which invades, and despotism which oppresses, do not constitute legal titles. Vainly have vile adulation and cowardice endeavoured to consecrate the usurpation; posterity convokes before her the acts of tyranny only to judge them, and reason and justice to confound them. Chance, incorporation, or conquest have settled each people in the territo-

ries which they possess; these titles are sacred and inviolable; not to acknowledge them would be to introduce confusion and destruction. The right of conquest, when it is not legalized by defence, is an unjust right, because it is the right of force; but the conquest effected, the crime remains attached to the usurper and to the conqueror; and his successors are not accountable for it. An invaded territory on which a nation has lived for ages, is become their inheritance. To deny this principle would be to plunge the world in a state of continual warfare. The world is a permanent revolution; every thing has changed by turns; one people have succeeded another; here one nation has been expelled—there it has been destroyed by the sword; here it has fallen under the yoke of a conqueror—there it has yielded to a foreign domination; from this spot, from the fall and wreck of a great people, have issued several nations which have been the lords of an immense territory; time brings the consent of generations, and the prescription of ages consecrates the alteration. To destroy or derange this order would be to produce alarming effects; each people, with arms in their hands, would reclaim the inheritance of their ancestors, and there would be no reason that would prevent the descendants of the people of the south, who, in the fifth century, were either expelled, or conquered, or plundered of the greater part of their territory by the people of Germany, from demanding the restoration of those rights and territories which had been wrested from their ancestors. Each people might exclaim against the divisions produced by the force of revolutions, by the changes, or the fall of dynasties, and by unjust and tyrannical treaties; and the descendants of tyrants might then insist upon reigning in these countries from which the hatred and courage of the oppressed people expelled their detested forefathers. We must, therefore, for the repose of the people, admit the silence of generations, and the prescription of time, as an incontestable right, and the prosperity and peace of the human race exact from us that this principle should be immutable and eternal. It is that which renders the territory which each people occupies, and the laws under which they live, inviolable. Their territory, their existence, their laws, are a species of property which cannot be invaded without injuring public faith. People in a state of peace ought to respect each other, because they live in a state of independence, because they constitute a separate civilization and society.

This maxim, which justice consecrates, will be an eternal accusation against conquerors and usurpers. The desire of civilizing a conquered people, of re-establishing, or of giving them a better form of government, can never justify the invasion of a foreign territory—every conqueror is an usurper whom no law can absolve; every alteration which he effects by force, is treason; and

and he violates all the laws of nature and nations. The conscience of nations and posterity will judge, with equal justice, the crime of the first robbers who invaded and destroyed the new world, under a pretence of annihilating idolatry, and of giving laws and religion to the unfortunate inhabitants ; the crime of these coallesed despots who have united to re-establish, under the name of good order, tyranny in France ; and these cowardly usurpers who ravage the territory of Poland, under a pretence of establishing peace.

The developement of these principles leads us to the establishment of the political rights of every republican people, to fix the true basis of the rights of people formed into separate societies. Nations, like men, by their reciprocal wants, by the communications which their physical positions have rendered necessary, by the nature even of their passions, are formed to live together ; people, living even in a state of barbarism, have interests to agitate and discuss with their neighbours. In whatever state of civilization chance or revolutions may have placed nations, they cannot be isolated from one another. The separation of one would be fatal to all ; and the secession of each society would be a misfortune to humanity. Knowledge, industry, and the arts, would be banished from the earth, and the world would soon be converted into a wide wilderness of solitude and sorrow. The nature, therefore, of man and things has rendered communication between different nations necessary ; and though the forms of governments have hitherto varied the nature of the communications, though they have been fixed on unjust foundations, though they have been forgotten or despised, a republican people ought not to disown them ; they ought to revenge the injustice, and to consecrate these communications in the most solemn manner. One of the first principles to which we have alluded is the inviolability of territory, and the property of a people in their laws. One of the most precious rights is to fix the nature of their political connections with foreign powers. One of their duties is to regulate the exercise of them in such a manner as to injure neither the laws, nor the security, nor the independence of a free people.

Treaties are the basis and the first rule of the social connection between different nations ; when they are made by pure men they constitute the happiness of the world : despotic ambition has rendered them the source of all great misfortunes. It is in these public acts that the will of a people is contained. It is in these acts that the republican ought constantly to consecrate the peace of nations. Obligated sacredly to fulfil his engagements, he ought neither to will nor to sign what is unjust. But there are sacred characters, by which we ought to know our transactions from those of other governments. Let the families of Kings make alliances, let their restless ambition, their dark despotism, seek for guarantees in treaties ; by a secret transaction let one house pre-
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pare the degradation or destruction of another house ; let tyranny display in courts the pride and pomp of embassies ; let one perfidious minister derive his glory from deceiving another ; let caprice break at once and destroy twenty treaties ; a republican people ought to look only to their power for their independence, and to their force for their sovereignty ; they ought not to be the sport of treaties, of the words of kings, or of the consent of any people. Their liberty will not be entire, unless it depends entirely upon themselves ; it is not a treaty, but the people alone which ought to be the rampart of the liberty of a people.

Their alliances.—It has already been said in the tribune of the National Convention, that their alliances ought to consist in the reciprocal defence and friendship of people, and in the advantages of commerce ; not in the pride of dynasties, and the pomp of courts.

Their league.—They are armed by nature against every tyrant who would invade or oppress them.

Their confederacy is with all people who are friends to liberty.

Their rivalry consists in loving liberty more than any people in the world.

Their universal monarchy is the liberty of the sea : the sea ought to have no master but industry.

Their political balance is to be equal to and the friends of all people.

Their projects of aggrandisement and conquest are to respect the territory, the rights and blood of a people.

Their foreign affairs.—To circulate every where the advantages of their industry, their arts, and the produce of their territory.

Their territory is open to the arts, and to persecuted men.

Their treaties.—They ought to be made by the people, and not by a few courtiers ; they ought to be public—secrecy befits only the crimes and hearts of tyrants.

Their diplomatic system.—Frankness, justice, and equality.

Their ministers.—Modest citizens, who give peace to free nations, and carry to the courts of kings the irrefragable will of twenty-five millions of men, if kings dare to attack their liberties.

Their means to preserve independence, and to repel injuries.—Respect for the public faith of treaties, the justice of their cause, and the force of their arms.

Such is the policy of a republican people ; such the principles upon which it is founded.

Hitherto the world has presented to the view only the sad spectacle of isolated nations, having, we may say, no other communication with each other but that of war ; always plunged, after a few years truce, into a state of hostility, surveying each other with distrust, and after dyeing one continent with their blood, carrying

carrying their hatred to other climates, and thus filling the whole world with misery ; often acknowledging no other termination to their differences but ruin and destruction, perishing even in success ; sometimes, fatigued by their ambitious passions, seeking a short and troubled repose ; finding always the seeds of war in those treaties even which had been made to affirm tranquillity, and incessantly punished by the violation or ignorance of principles, by convulsions and desolation ! Happy will the French people be, if, after having afforded to the world the model of a constitution which shall establish the rights of man and of the citizen, they shall offer to the view of all nations, the model of a policy in which the rights and liberty of every people shall be respected ; in which no other language shall be spoken but that of candour and freedom ; of a policy that shall extinguish in the hearts of leaders every idea and sentiment of ambition, aggrandisement, and conquest, and in the hearts of all people, national hatred ; of a policy which shall not sport with oaths ; which shall not reduce the violation of treaties to a habit ; which, respecting the limits that nature has placed, the laws which a people have established, and the transactions which public faith has rendered sacred, shall acknowledge no other communication but that of benevolence, generosity, and benefit. Oh ! let us indulge the idea that human nature may attain this sublime sentiment, and that many efforts are not necessary to arrive at such virtue ! But if the madness of ambition, if the thirst of power, render governments and people incapable of that political virtue of which we have just drawn the picture, let them see the contempt of ages fall upon their heads, and let them shudder at the inexorable judgment of posterity ; let them know that time, which destroys every thing, does not permit the criminal to die, but arrests him on the brink of the tomb ; and let them learn, that justice will punish vice, and reward virtue. The Carthaginians are no more ; but opinion which chastises perjury, has inscribed on the tomb of that people an immortal dishonour.

These are truths with which all governments ought to be acquainted ; the period of disgraceful ignorance is passed away ; the rights of the people are proclaimed ; the sovereign ideas of eternal justice have gone abroad to every part of the earth ; it is not by the sword that the leaders of nations must longer expect to govern mankind, obedience must flow from reason and just laws ; force, without justice, will no longer be obeyed ; courtiers, in the mysteries of the cabinets of kings, will no longer pronounce the fate of thirty nations, or discuss, and decide at will, the interests of the human race. Long enough has the ambition and the vengeance of kings abused the terrible right of war ; the blood of the people will no longer flow but in defence of liberty, and the hand of freedom will alone sign those treaties, in which the rights and
happiness

happiness of the people have hitherto been either forgotten or sacrificed. What is that treaty, or the interest of a house in which the name of King is twenty times impressed on every page, and in which the sacred name of the people is not once pronounced? Are twenty men to be always every thing in the universe; and are the rest of mankind to be considered as nothing? Yes, the diplomatic system, like history, has flattered tyrants; and the makers of treaties, like historians, have been the vile and venal instruments of power; a thousand writers have consecrated slavery, and the current of many ages offers to our view not one courageous writer who has dared to discuss the rights of man. The diplomatic system in the pay and power of despotism has not dared to reveal its crimes. A cowardly silence has betrayed the cause of truth, and flattery alone has been firm and audacious. The life and death of nations has been left to the will of tyrants. Policy of courts, such are the crimes of which philosophy accuses you! But the day, a day of consolation to humanity, will come, in which all people, awaking by turns from the long torpor of slavery, and regaining their rights, will break all the instruments which tyranny has invented to keep them in chains; that day in which men will be free, just, and happy, will be the last of that policy of despotic governments, which made nations, societies of slaves, inimicable to each other, and was an invincible obstacle to their union, and to their general welfare. Yes, the French Revolution, the work of the genius and courage of a great people, will produce that happy æra, which shall unite all nations in universal confraternity, founded upon just laws and a common morality; then perhaps shall we see descend among the people of Europe, and be released, that sublime project which has hitherto been considered as the dream of a good man, which existed only in the picture of the golden age, and which the deceitful policy of an impious smile has hitherto considered as a chimera.

Petit, one of the French Commissaries of War, early in November 1794, published the following to the Burgomasters and Sheriffs of Ruremonde.

HEREWITH I send you, Citizens, the ordinances, or representations to the armies and military tribunals. You will see in these the conduct which our armies are to practise in your territories. My country wages war with those who stiled themselves our masters, and not with the people. Our enemies during the short period that they remained in France, introduced murder, carnage, and violation of persons and property, we, on the contrary, in entering your walls, swear to maintain and defend them. You will behold this solemn declaration in the resolution of the committee

committee of Public Safety, of which I transmit you several copies, that you may preserve them ; it is confirmed in that of the representatives of the people to the armies, dated the 14th of August, of which I also send you a copy for the similar purpose.

Undoubtedly, in armies such as our's, some wretches, unworthy of the name of Frenchmen, have committed excesses, worthy only of our enemies. But the moment they were known, they were seized, as is proved by the sentences of the military criminal tribunals, which are subjoined.

Our enemies had spread a thousand absurd reports respecting our conduct in conquered countries : habituated to every crime, they imagined that the horrors which they occasioned in our country, would be retorted by us in your's ; you have witnessed the contrary : some misguided individuals, however, have fled, and abandoned their all. The eighth article of the ordinance of the 14th of August allows them 15 days to return, you will therefore do well in letting it be proclaimed to-morrow morning.

Ill-disposed persons have occasioned you to entertain apprehensions, respecting the due payment for those articles of which we may stand in need : you will see by the ordinance which I inclose to you, but which I must request you to return to me as soon as you have perused it, that every thing that is legally provided, will be punctually paid for. You will also see by the ordinance of the 8th of September, which you will likewise send back to me, that those who have in their possession merchandize and effects belonging to emigrants as our enemies, are immediately to declare so, under the severest penalties.—You will also find subjoined a proclamation for the suppression of stock-jobbers, our common enemies, who are making every effort for the discrediting of our money. You will be so good as to give these several documents all possible publicity, and to acknowledge the receipt of them.

ART. 8. Every inhabitant of a conquered country absent from his place of abode is permitted to return within a fortnight from the date of this arret ; after that period those who do not return will be considered as emigrants. This permission, however, is not to extend to those who have been guilty of any crime against the Republic, for which they will be pursued and treated as the enemies of the French people. It is not to extend to the inhabitants of the conquered countries, whose effects have been sequestered by laws anterior to this arret. The delay granted to the inhabitants of places actually blockaded shall be estimated from the day in which the blockade shall cease ; their effects, however, shall continue provisionally sequestered.

[Here follows the Proclamation of Richard and Chodieu, for which see page 112.]

Liberty, Fraternity, Agency of Commerce and Provisions, Equality, or Death.

Bois-le-duc, the 19th Brumaire, (9th November, 1794) the third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

AGENCY of Commerce.—In virtue of the resolution of the representatives of the people of the 3d Vendémiaire, desirous to secure as much as possible to the inhabitants of the town and circuit, the necessary subsistence, it is required—

ART. I. That all factors, merchants, in the wholesale and retail in any article whatever, shall furnish within four and twenty hours for all delay, an exact declaration of the goods which are in the warehouses, shops, &c.

II. All inhabitants who are acquainted with any private place where furniture or any other objects whatever are hidden, belonging to emigrants or absent people; also those who have the management of lands, dominions, or any other administration of the revenues of emigrants or absent people, shall give within the above-mentioned time a true and exact information and declaration of it.

III. All transgressors of the dispositions contained in the above-mentioned articles, shall be regarded as enemies of the Republic, and be punished according to the laws.

(Signed)

HONORE, VALLE.

DAUION, POTIER.

Reubell on the 20th Brumaire, (10th of November, 1794) reported to the National Convention of France, the turbulent and dangerous Conduct of the Friends to the Jacobin Society on the preceding day and concluded by proposing the following Decree.

I. **T**HE sittings of the Jacobins shall be suspended until they shall be otherwise ordered.

II. The committee of Legislation, Public Safety, and General Security, shall present, without delay, a plan of a law against calumniators.—*Applauses.*

The Decree was referred to the four Committees for their Report.—On the 22d Brumaire, (12th Nov. 1794) Lainglot reported,

That the committees of Public and General Safety, Military Committee and committee of Legislation, have ordered me to give an account of the reasons that induced them to come to the resolution they adopted yesterday. The committees resolved to suspend the sittings of the Jacobin Club, that the hall should

be instantly shut, and the keys deposited with the secretary to the committee of General Safety; that the administrative commission of Police should be charged with the execution of this order, and an account of it given to the Convention.

Passion had no share in this resolution; it was dictated by the interest of our country alone. We did justice to the good which the Jacobins have done; and in shutting up their hall, we have respected the principles which ought not to be infringed. We were of opinion, that popular societies ought to be permitted every where, because they are inherent in republican government; but the Jacobin Club we could not consider as a society truly and purely popular. We saw in it men scarcely known in the revolution, led by a few, perhaps, too well known in it, and whose influence it was time to check, because it might be fatal to the Republic. We thought that it was dangerous for France, that it was indecent, that it was disgraceful to the Convention, that a handful of men, without morals, who love not their country, who never embraced the cause of the people, but in order to betray it, should set up a power to rival the Convention—(*I, said Duquesnoy, am a Jacobin, and love my country.*)—The Jacobins were protected and supported, when they vied in virtue, and not in power, with legitimate authority. If they were now what they formerly were, the true friends of the people, would they attempt to vilify the Convention? Will it then be necessary to remind the representatives of the people of principles that ought to be engraven on their hearts? In what well ordered government have two rival powers been seen? In what Republic have we seen a government by the side of a government? In what country have we seen by the side of a legitimate authority a capricious authority which no man avows, and for whose acts no man is responsible? On the 27th, I say, the Jacobins were in open revolt: since that period, availing themselves of impunity; believing that the national representation had neither courage nor character, that it considered them as the sacred ark, which no unhallowed hand was permitted to touch, they have continued their plan of revolt. In that society they have dared to say, and the words were applauded by all the galleries, that the breach was open, and the contending armies in sight of one another. Ought there, I ask you, to be two parties in France? There is but one Republic, there ought to be but one Convention. The Jacobins are a faction, and whatever is a faction may be punished. The committees, who love their country, whatever may be said of them, who wish to prevent divisions, who wish to unite all the members of the Convention, have thought it useful for the public liberty to extinguish the flame of discord, of faction and dissension. The committees are of opinion that the whole people

will applaud the sublime measure they have taken : they are persuaded, that after the public opinion was so strongly pronounced as it was yesterday, it was their duty to yield obedience to that opinion, and to prevent the shedding of blood. It was never our intention to attack the popular societies. We said to ourselves, we have no right to shut the gates but where factions are engendered, and civil war preached up.—The societies of the sections are truly the societies of the people. We will maintain them, the committee will maintain them.—(*Yes, yes, exclaimed all the members.*)—"I move that the Convention approve the measures taken by the four committees to secure the public tranquillity, and confirm the public liberty."—This speech was interrupted almost at every sentence by loud and general applauses. The question was instantly called for, and several members, by way of insult to the Jacobin members, and to see if any of them would have the courage to vote against the motion, desired that the votes might be taken by name.

The question was put and carried almost unanimously.

The following Patent respecting the opening of a Loan in the Coin of Inferior Money, to the Treasury of his Prussian Majesty, has lately been published by his Government.

WE Frederick William, by the Grace of God, &c. It having been submissively proposed and represented to us, that the present considerable expenses in small money, which are occasioned by the emergencies of the war, are creating a pernicious increase of that sort of money in the country which, in becoming incommodious to the public, might produce an interruption of the commerce of the interior; and, therefore, in order to prevent the disadvantageous consequences of this circulation of the enormous quantity of the small money, and at the same time to procure means to proprietors of considerable quantities of that class of money, to dispose of it without difficulty or disadvantage, we, with our usual paternal care, have determined to open a loan, to be accepted from our Excise Officers in all provinces, in small money, at four per cent. interest per annum; the whole to be under the direction of our Minister of State, Count Struensee, and the bills to the bearer will consist of the sums of 25, 50, 100, to 1000 Rix Dollars.

Given at Potsdam, Nov. 18, 1794.

(Signed)

FREDERIC WILLIAM, Rex.

*General Orders of the Duke of York.**Head Quarters, Arnheim, Dec. 2, 1794.*

HIS Royal Highness the Commander in Chief having received his Majesty's commands to proceed without loss of time to England, the command of the allied army, during the absence of his Royal Highness, devolves on General Count Walmoden, as senior officer, whose orders the troops of the several nations will follow with the same alacrity, zeal, and spirit, which they have on all occasions shewn in obeying those of his Royal Highness.

His Royal Highness cannot let pass this opportunity of bearing his testimony to those qualities in the troops composing the army under his command, and of returning his best thanks to the officers and men for them.

His Royal Highness trusts that nothing will happen during his short absence, to cause any regret to his Royal Highness at his being under the necessity of leaving an army, which it is his Royal Highness's pride to hope will still be the instruments of stopping the successes of an enemy, formidable to it in no respect but in that of numbers.

On the 12th Frimaire, (2d December 1794) the National Convention of France passed the following Proclamation and Decree.

The National Convention to all those who have taken part in the Revolt, in the Departments of the West, the Coasts of Brest, and the Coasts of Cherbourg.

FOR two years your country has been a prey to the horrors of civil war. These fertile plains, which appeared designed by nature to be the abode of happiness, are become the residence of proscription and carnage. The courage of our countrymen is turned against themselves. The flames devour their habitations, and the earth, covered with ruins and with emblems of mourning, refuses even a subsistence to the survivors. Such are, Frenchmen, the wounds which have been inflicted on our country by pride and imposture. Wicked men have abused your inexperience: it was in the name of a righteous God that they furnished you with parricidal arms; it was in the name of humanity that they devoted to death thousands of victims; it was in the name of virtue that they drew together a band of wretches from every corner of France—that they made it the receptacle of monsters vomited out of every country. What blood has been sacrificed to the best of dominions! and you, whom they deluded, why did you reject the lights that were held out to you, to embrace a mischievous phantom? Why would you pre-

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fer masters to brothers, and the torches of fanaticism to the flambeau of reason? May your eyes at length be opened, and an end put to so many calamities! Weakened by repeated losses, disunited and scattered, without any other resource than despair, you still may have an asylum in the generosity of the nation: Yes, your brothers, the French people, are still inclined to think you more misled than culpable; their arms are stretched out to you, and the National Convention pardons you in their name, if you lay down your arms, and if repentance and a sincere attachment urges you to fraternize with them. Their word is sacred; and, if unfaithful delegates have abused their confidence and your's, justice shall be executed on them. Thus the Republic, equally terrible towards its enemies within, as without, are highly gratified by recalling its misguided children! take advantage of its clemency, and hasten to return into the bosom of your country. The authors of all your misfortunes are those who have seduced you.

It is time that the enemies of France should cease to be gratified by the spectacle of our internal dissensions; they alone smile at your misfortunes; they alone profit of it: it is necessary to defeat their impious plans. Turn against them those arms they have supplied you with for our destruction. Are the ties of nature dissolved; and has the blood of the English passed into your veins? Would you massacre the families of your brother-conquerors of Europe, rather than unite yourselves to them, and partake of their glory?—No: you are now enlightened by the voice of truth, and already many of you are returned, and find security the price of your confidence. Return all of you, and let the fire-side of each become secure and peaceful: let the lands be cultivated, and let plenty resume its reign! Let us join in avenging ourselves of the common enemy—of that implacable and jealous nation, which has thrown the brand of discord amongst us! Let all our republican energy be directed against those who have violated the rights of the people! Let the utmost vigour animate all throughout our ports; let the ocean be covered with our privateers; and let the war of extermination, with all its attendant horrors, be carried from the banks of the Loire to the banks of the Thames!—

Decreed,

1. That all persons in the departments of the East, the coasts of Brest and of Cherbourg, known under the name of the robbers of La Vendee and of Chouans, who shall lay down their arms in the course of a month after the publication of the present decree, shall not be molested or tried for the acts which they may have committed.

2. The arms shall be deposited in the municipalities and communes that shall be pointed out by the representatives of the people.

3. To superintend the execution of the present Decree, the Convention appointed the representatives of the people, Menou, Boudin, the official for the departments of the East, and two others for the coasts of Cherbourg, with the same powers as the representatives of the people in mission.

Merlin of Douai on the 14th Frimaire, (4th December, 1794) made the following Report from the Committee of Public Safety to the National Convention of France.

I COME to lay before you another intrigue of our enemies; but whatever success they may have promised themselves from it, to point it out is sufficient to render it abortive. You have observed with what rapidity rumours of peace are circulated; you have marked their source, and detected the contradictions with which news-writers, transformed into plenipotentiaries, make us conclude peace, sometimes with one of the allied powers, and sometimes with them all. Call to mind with what affectation they publish, that we will not accept of peace with any neighbouring nation, till that nation has formed itself into a Republic; call to mind all the writers who are paid here to circulate, and the orators to give countenance to this miserable opinion, and to represent you as violating every principle. Their principal objects is to alienate other nations from you, and to alarm them with respect to your intentions. But nations have been speedily informed respecting contrivances and insinuations, which never existed but in some heads that have fallen under the sword of the law. Our enemies have changed their system. They no longer represent us as the conquerors of the world, or the destroyers of all governments. To hear the cabinets of London and Vienna, we are become the most ardent idolaters of peace. Never was a people so easy at negotiation as we; never was the olive branch offered and accepted with more eagerness. All these rumours are invented to annihilate the ardour of our armies, arrest their progress, disorganize them, and stifle our energy. We must assure ourselves of the solidity of the ground on which we have consolidated the foundations of the glory and the happiness of the Republic. We must, therefore, examine it to a great depth, and not trust to deceitful appearances of a calm, which, perhaps, may be soon followed by the most fatal tempest. Our triumphs and our principles permit us at once to wield the sword, and to say aloud whatever we please: our justice shall be ever inseparable from our glory. Yes, we desire peace; but we desire it guaranteed by our proper force, and by the incapability of our enemies ever to hurt us.

With respect to the greater part of our enemies, if we may judge of them by the effect which the feeling of present evils
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ought to produce, and by the fears of the future with which they ought to be impressed, there is reason to believe that they desire a speedy peace. Assuredly the time cannot be far distant, when, enlightened by the republican thunder which has burst upon all of them at once, several of those governments excited against us by England may look upon, without fear, the abyss in which that odious power hoped to precipitate them. When Spain, for example, will open her eyes on its projects, when she will remark the persevering assiduity with which that government examines the South Sea; all the pains it takes to consolidate its power in India, thence to contrive by stealth a route towards America, fall in the rear upon Mexico and Peru, so long the objects of its insatiable cupidity, and make itself masters of them by open force as soon as it can do so without danger; when at length seeing her true interests, she will perceive that England was her true and only enemy, and that of all the dangers which threaten her, there is none more formidable than those which may spring from her confidence in so perfidious an ally.

This very moment ought to be that when, ungrateful towards the nation in which she owes her liberty, the state, perhaps, which ought the most to applaud the rearing of a great Republic on the ruin of a monarchy, whose treaty of 1756 gave such additional strength to the House of Austria; when unfaithful even to liberty itself, Holland lamenting, but perhaps too late, her fatal delusion, will dread seeing her treasures, her ships, her establishments, in both hemispheres, fall into the hands of those tyrants of the seas whose audacity she formerly restrained.

The King of Prussia, doubtless, will soon conclude, by perceiving that it is in a solid peace with France, and an intimate union with the neighbouring powers of the North, that he can find the only principles of his duration, the only force which, notwithstanding the politics of his cabinet, and the tactics of his armies, he can reasonably oppose to the devouring ambition of Russia.

With respect to our other enemies, whether voluntarily to the coalition by their vanity, or dragged into it against their will, in consequence of their weakness, they have all equally and long since shewn that they are weary of it by their regrets and their murmurs, and all pant for the moment when they may break its bonds. Several of them, justly terrified at the despair of the principal belligerent powers, seem at length to feel the necessity of uniting with one another to prevent the partition of their territories; a partition which they well know to be projected by their allies as a means of paying themselves in part for the expenses of the campaign.

If we are asked, in the mean time, What are the dispositions of the French people? Organs of their will, we will answer, that *always just, always magnanimous, always jealous of their honour*
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as of their liberty, they will distinguish their enemies and the motives of their aggression! that even in the law which their victories give them a right to dictate, they will not confound the ridiculous pretensions of weakness and of vanity, with the intractable pride and perfidious power of tyranny; that above all they will regard the situation of those whom fear and violence have compelled to march in the train of the chiefs of the league; and finally, that in tracing with their triumphant, but generous hand, the limits within which it will be proper to confine themselves, they will reject no offers compatible with their interests and their dignity, with their repose and security. Such is their policy. Their proceedings are open, like the glory of their arms. With their enemies they will treat, as they have fought, in the face of the universe, whom they call to be the witness of their justice, as it has been the witness of their victories. This is what may be published and believed of our intentions; for it is what we will always avow, and never change. Let us therefore speak it here, that the whole Republic may resound, and our brave armies in the North repeat it in emulation. No, Frenchmen, no, you will not forget the cause that induced you to take up arms, and the only conditions upon which you can lay them down. No, you have not advanced so rapidly in this glorious career, to stop at the moment when you are just at the goal; and when you are so near seizing the prize of your victories, you will not suffer it to escape you. Let not our enemies expect it. We will prove to them by new efforts and by new triumphs that we wish for peace, but peace worthy of our defenders, worthy of the French people; and, in a word, when the people shall consider war as no longer necessary to repair outrages offered to its dignity, or to preserve themselves from new insults, then only will they dictate peace.

This report was often interrupted by loud applauses.

On the 3d Nivose (23d December, 1794) Lecointre of Versailles presented to the French Convention a Report from the Committees concerning the MAXIMUM on Provisions, &c. and submitted the Formula of a Decree; the first Article of which was adopted, as follows:

“**T**HAT all the laws, fixing a *maximum* on provisions, shall be rescinded, and cease to have efficacy subsequent to promulgation of this decree.”

The discussion on the other articles was adjourned.

Five Days afterwards, 28th December, 1794, Johannot presented to the Convention the following Proclamation to the French People, to accompany the Decree of the Repeal of the Law of the Maximum, which was adopted accordingly.

Frenchmen,

REASON, equity, the interest of the Republic, reproved long ago the law of the maximum; the National Convention revokes it, and the more the salutary motives which dictated this decree shall be known, the more it will have a right to your confidence. In taking this measure, it does not mistake the circumstances which surround it; it foresees that bad faith will endeavour to persuade, that all the evils which were occupied by the maximum itself are the effects of its suppression. But your faithful representatives have forgot its dangers, and only looked for public utility.

The least enlightened minds know now, that the law of the maximum annihilated from day to day commerce and agriculture: the more that law was in force, the more it became impracticable. Oppression did in vain assume a thousand forms; it met with a thousand obstacles: it was constantly eluded, or it only took away, by odious and violent means, some precarious resources, which it was soon to exhaust.

It is then that law which became so disastrous, that conducted us to an exhausted state. Considerations which exist no more, justified it perhaps at first; had not the Convention, in repealing it, broken the chains of industry. It belongs to industry freed from her shackles; it belongs to regenerated commerce to multiply our wealth and our means of exchange. The supplies of the Republic are entrusted to concurrence and to liberty, the only bases of commerce and agriculture. But after so many calamities, their benefits will not be as speedy as our wants are urgent. Every sudden transition to a new order of things, every change, however useful it be, is never without a shock, and offers almost constantly some inconvenience. The impatience of the citizens wanted at this moment to supply itself, at any price, with the goods necessary for their consumption. This cause, added to the inclemency of the season, made them undergo a momentary rise in their price. A few days more, and we shall see the happy effects of a decree, which malevolence will doubtless calumniate, which was commanded by the welfare of the people. Let all fears vanish; the government watches day and night. Your representatives expect every thing from the character which distinguishes the French nation, and the provisions shall be secured. Fraternity shall be no more an empty name among us; it shall reject like the calculations of avarice and the false alarms, which are still

still more subservient to a variety of speculators, in creating a factitious want !

You will not compromise five years labours and sacrifices ; and the genius of liberty will triumph this day over all the passions, even of his wants, and of the rigour of the elements, as he has triumphed over all the tyrants of Europe.

Your enemies bestir themselves in darkness, and want to mislead the people ; but they shall be deaf to the insinuations of perfidy, and shall only rally at the voice of the country.

Yesterday royalty seemed to conspire from the bottom of its grave ; its blasphemies resounded to the gates of the sanctuary of liberty. But this last cry of royal fanaticism, striking all the republicans with indignation, unites to furnish them fresh energy. Justice and reason will bring back abundance by degrees. The most magnanimous nation will reap at last the fruit of her virtues ; and her representatives will find their reward in beholding their happiness.

Johannot on the 2d Nivose, (22d December 1794) in the Name of the Committees of Public Safety, General Security, Legislation, Commerce, and Finance, presented the following Report to the French Convention.

AFTER having dissipated the clouds which darkened the political horizon of France, you wish to ensure to the nation, whose destiny is in your hands, happiness, order, and tranquillity : you wish to know our situation, our means, and our resources, and to erect a just government on a firm and stable foundation.

But to execute a plan so worthy of you, it is not to detached and insulated parts, but to the great whole of this noble work that your attention must be directed. Laws of detail on the subject of finance, commerce, or agriculture, however excellent in themselves, will become absolutely null, if they do not form links of one general chain of reform and amelioration.

To direct towards one great and useful end the whole of the administration, we must place ourselves at that height, from which we can embrace at once all its parts, and follow out on every side its extensive ramifications.

The great movements of empires turn chiefly upon their finances : it is towards our finances, then, that our first views must be directed—agriculture, commerce, and public credit will next occupy our attention. The external relation of the Republic will not be forgotten. We shall also have to treat of the public spirit, of the necessity, and of the means of fixing its uncertainty. If we perceive in the feebleness and vacillation of the government

the chief causes of our evils, we must have recourse to energy and firmness as the remedies.

We do not come here to raise alarms, nor to discourage you in the pursuit of your generous plan—all our errors may easily be recalled; and it is for that reason that we do not fear to discover them.

Europe, leagued against us, flies before our triumphant armies, whilst we shall not fear to tell her even of the faults which we have committed: the confession announces the intention of repairing them. Let it be for us the prelude to new victories, and for our enemies the signal of new defeats.

The question of finance which most agitates the public mind at the present moment, is that relative to the augmentation which has every where taken place in the price of goods and merchandize. An opinion, which is rather general, ascribes solely to the too abundant circulation of assignats, the embarrassments of our present situation, the fall of the exchange, and all the evils which spring from it. It is thought that these evils may be remedied by retiring a certain quantity of assignats from circulation, and reducing the mass of paper-money as near as possible to the amount of the specie which formerly circulated in France.

This opinion is in some degree founded; for it cannot be denied that the too great emission of assignats must have a dangerous influence on the opinion which is entertained of their value; nor can it be contested that a real good would arise from their diminution, if effected with prudence, and by means which the most rigorous equity would not be ashamed to avow. But let us not deceive ourselves. This partial measure will only produce limited effects; it will only serve as a palliative to those deep wounds which we must probe to the bottom before we can apply a cure.

The assignats, whatever be their mass, are guaranteed by the very best of securities, whose value even augment in proportion as they are multiplied. It is to this constant and corresponding progression between the course of republican money, and the price of the national domains, that we owe those inexhaustible resources which have astonished Europe, and which have prepared the triumph of fourteen armies.

Prudence requires, that we should hazard nothing which may weaken the confidence due to our paper money, and to the value of the pledges which forms its security. Experience has too well proved, that even in the most peaceable times all tampering with the coin has produced the most fatal consequences. In this critical situation, we are bound to present to you, without delay, a free and equitable plan, by which the quantity of our assignats may be reduced without a breach of good faith, or a violation of public credit. But it is first necessary to destroy the prejudices of those who attribute all our evils solely to the mass of our assignats.

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The first year of the Republic furnishes a striking proof that it is not to their greater or smaller mass that their discredit is to be ascribed. When Dumourier finished with ignominy a campaign which he had commenced with so much glory, after his shameful retreat from Belgium our assignats lost more than they do at present, although the quantity in circulation was so much less. Where shall we find the causes of that depreciation? In the inquietude of the minds of men; in the storms which threatened the infant Republic; in the instability of public opinion, floating incessantly between different factions, without knowing where to fix itself; in short, in the absence of principles, without which there can exist neither security nor confidence. We shall see, that if such adventitious circumstances had not produced an effect more or less fatal on the credit of our assignats, no natural cause could have shaken it. The most certain and accurate calculations attest that their security exceeds in value fifteen milliards (six hundred millions sterling.) This valuation is made from the actual and effective revenues of the national domains, as they have been paid into the public treasury, viz.

In the month of Germinal	Livres	20,850,000
Floréal	-	24,189,000
Prairial	-	26,358,000
Thermidor	-	24,010,000
Fructidor	-	25,168,000
Messidor	-	26,888,000
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		Livres 147,463,000

From which it results, that the revenues of the unfold national domains amount for one year to 300 millions (12 millions sterling,) which at 40 years purchase, the rate at which they are generally sold, give us a real value of 12 millions (480 millions sterling.) It is true, that in the revenues above mentioned, there are certain sums arising from the sale of personal property; but they are more than balanced by the personal property which still remains to be sold. To these 12 millions we have to add two milliards for houses and other buildings unfold, and one milliard, which we calculate at the lowest, for the inheritances of emigrants which must fall to the nation. The final result is, that we can shew property amounting to 15 milliards as a mortgage for our assignats.

The season of dilapidation is past. Your expenses must be simplified, for it has been often said, and said truly, that œconomy is the first favour which a good government ought to bestow upon a nation. It will not be proposed to you to adopt a system of œconomy, miserable at once and impolitic, a system which destroys all national dignity, and which, by refusing or
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giving with reluctance the necessary encouragement, stops in every direction the energies of thought, and the flights of genius. No parsimony is perhaps more hurtful in its effects than the most lavish prodigality. Our reforms must be the great and useful in their objects, as well as their results.

Shew the general account of your revenue and your expenditure to the present day. Let all France know with accuracy the state of your assignats, and of every species of value which has entered into, or issued from the public treasury. Let a commission be appointed to draw up these accounts in conjunction with the committee of Finance. Publicity is the basis of confidence, as it is the safe-guard of liberty. It will result from such inquiries that, after creating in a moment a million of soldiers; after providing for them every thing requisite for carrying on a war the most terrible of which history speaks; that in the midst of disorder and dilapidation, inseparable from great revolutionary movements, our expenses, though immense, have been less than we had reason to expect, and that the resources which are left to us are still infinitely superior. You will see that our whole expenses do not exceed nine milliards (360 millions sterling;) that our receipts amount to three milliards (120 millions sterling.) Our expenses are therefore reduced to six milliards (240 millions sterling.) From this sum we must deduct the ordinary expenses of government, which at all times would have amounted to two milliards (about 80 millions sterling,) and there will remain a sum of four milliards (160 millions sterling,) which forms the expense of the revolution. We have made head against all Europe—we have established liberty upon a basis which cannot be shaken!—Compare these great results with those of the ancient government, which expended 1500 millions to support our allies in North America.

Whilst public credit will take root by a perfect knowledge of our resources, we shall be able, without shock and alarm, to diminish the mass of assignats. The rapid sale of the personal property of the clergy, and of the national buildings, which cost so much in repairs, or which go to ruin if they are neglected; the sums which will arise from the arrangements you will have to make with the families of the emigrants, for such parts of their inheritances as belong to the nation—from these you will draw considerable resources. Still these objects are not sufficient to fulfil your views, and your committees will present to you successively, different plans to effectuate that purpose. A report will be made to you, which will have for its object, to retire in one year from circulation, four milliards (160 millions sterling,) by free and voluntary means.

But, it is needless to dissemble, even this will not fulfil the great object you have in view. In fact, it is not solely the superabundance

perabundance of the sign, but also the scarcity of the articles to be procured with it, which raises their price. Remember that the produce of our colonies has sometimes tripled in price, although the quantity of representative signs continued the same; do not forget that, in bad seasons, wines often double in price, under the same circumstances. Although you may have diminished the quantity of assignats, you will not have augmented the quantity of goods of all kinds; this is the end which we must attain. How then are we attain it?

One of the first causes of our wants is the unfavourable balance of trade, which in the year 1788, was 80 millions in our favour. How much it is against us now we all have reason to know. The revenues of our colonies amounted in 1788 to 235 millions. This resource is for the present dried up. The manufacturers of Lyons brought to us about 90 millions. The commerce of the Levant, which produced a revenue of 30 millions, is suspended until the French flag shall fly triumphant in the Mediterranean. These causes have produced the *deficit* in the balance of trade; and it is not by diminishing the mass of your assignats that you will remedy the evil.

We have been incessantly told that France produces every thing we require. This has been belied by experience, but from this popular error has arisen the law of the *maximum*, which your committee of Commerce will soon propose to you to repeal. From this same error have sprung so many laws destructive of all commerce and industry. If we had not loaded our commerce with shackles; if we had abandoned it to itself; if the most innocent speculations had not become crimes in the eyes of the ignorant, the activity of our merchants would have supplied France with every thing she required, notwithstanding the calamities of war; but the government became merchant itself: and in destroying the industry of individuals, it destroyed the source of its own riches. If you wish to renew and to multiply your resources, you must give encouragement to commerce. The first thing to be done is to suppress the import duties on all those articles which we stand in need of.—Let there be raised only a small retribution, that we may know exactly the state of our importations, and the balance of our trade. Let your committee also present to you a list of those articles of which the exportation ought provisionally to be prohibited. In every other branch let exportation and importation be free, and let all those conditions be suppressed, which tend only to cramp and confine our commercial operations: let able commissioners visit the manufacturing communes and districts to give them that activity so necessary for the public prosperity.

The arts, under the direction of French genius, have provided France, as if by miracles, with muskets, cannon, powder
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and saltpetre. Let them produce with the same rapidity the means of exchange with foreign countries. The raw material is the real wealth of nations. The nations which possess it are richer than those which abound only in gold. With the creative genius of the French people, foreign nations will soon become tributaries of our industry.—Decree that specie may be exported—take but one precaution—let the exporter come under an engagement to bring back into France the value in articles of the first necessity—the committee of Public Safety, of Finance, and of Commerce, will offer to you the means of preventing all abuses in this particular.

You will still have to answer the general wishes of every commercial town, and of every friend to justice in the Republic, by repealing the decree by which the property of foreigners was sequestered. By the decree you chain down our merchants at the moment when you tell them to act: you break private contracts at the moment when you wish to revive commerce, which can only have private contracts for its basis.

It is now time to tell every truth; and if there is one which is more certain than another, it is, that no power upon earth has a right to enjoy that which probity revolts at. The conscience of the honest man is a sanctuary, into which no human power has access. Woe be to that government, which dares to violate it—it will not go long unpunished, it will find its tomb amidst the ruins of their first principles, which form the basis of the social compact!

In repealing the decrees of sequestration, you will suppress that inquisition which intercepts correspondences, and thereby give a free circulation to all articles of exchange.

You will re-establish your credit, and restore plenty to the Republic, by forming wise relations with neutral powers, and by scrupulously adhering to that good faith which they have a right to expect from you. There is one people above all, with whom our ties cannot be drawn too close, and that is the people of America. They gave us a great example; they expect from us a fraternal union; yet, with regard to them, we have followed the example of the perfidious English in their oppression. Let us hasten to decree that our treaty of commerce with the Americans shall be sacredly observed, and that all civil and military officers are prohibited from infringing it in any point.

But if it be urgent to renew these bonds of concord with the neutral powers, it is surely no less so to attach all individual interests to that of the Republic, and to extend the conquest of the revolution within ourselves. Far be it from us to propose imprudent and contradictory laws, which might give a retrograde motion to the public mind. Patriotism and prudence forbid them equally; but there are general measures which, in shutting
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out all criminal and chimerical hopes, would give a great example of justice, and would propagate the law of the Republic among all classes of its citizens. Such would be that of liquidating promptly, and in a mass, the whole debts of the emigrants, as you have done those of the clergy, by declaring their creditors the creditors of the state. This liquidation is at once politic and moral. The interest and the gratitude of 800,000 persons will add strength to that hatred which ought ever to pursue the emigrants, and will confirm, without return, the sentence of perpetual banishment, which they have deserved. This measure must be accompanied by another. We must settle with the relations of the emigrants for that portion of the inheritances which belongs to the nation. Let arbitrators be appointed, simple forms observed, and early periods fixed for payment: by this means the sequestrations will be taken off, and the families restored to their liberty.

As the nation is great and magnanimous towards its debtors, so let it be generous and indulgent towards its creditors. Let compensations be admitted, and let every faculty be given to the debtors for liberating themselves.

These means are great, but their efficacy will depend upon the impulse which you will give to the public mind, and the security which you will afford for their being followed out with constancy and effect. The government must now advance with a regular and steady pace. Present to the floating ideas of men a resting-place where they may fix themselves. Hitherto our government has been a prey to all the passions, which have reigned by turns, by means more or less violent, and under forms more or less popular. Let us not be afraid of avowing it: it is to this perpetual vacillation that we have to impute all our misfortunes. Scarcely do our republican annals embrace three years, and twenty ages seem to have filled their course. Revolutions have succeeded revolutions; men, things, events, ideas, every thing has changed, every thing changes still; and in this perpetual flux and reflux of contrary movements, it is in vain that the government expects that confidence which can only arise from a wise and steady system of conduct, and a strict adherence to true principles.

Commerce soon disappeared amidst this constant succession of contrarieties, in a country where individuals, being unable to calculate upon any thing as fixed, saw before them one continued prospect of changes succeeding each other without end. Credit is a tender plant, which requires a soft and regular temperature, and which will not grow in a rugged soil, nor flourish in a boisterous climate.

It is time to put an end to the reign of uncertainty, and to fix in an invariable manner the principles of justice and equity,

which ought to guide our conduct. When the government, advancing with a firm and steady step, will have shewn the true end to which it points, and will have laid down the system which it means to pursue; when the National Convention, throwing aside those unhappy dissensions which have too long clogged it in its progress, will occupy itself only with the happiness of the people; when it will not cease to repel, with indignation, all measures which may tend to infringe those principles of justice and good faith which actuate its conduct, then all alarms will disappear, and it will not be in vain that men will labour for the re-establishment of the finances, the credit, and the commerce of the Republic.

The following decree was then proposed :

I. A commission shall be appointed, composed of one member of each committee, which, in conjunction with the committee of Finances, shall draw up an account of the general condition of the flux and reflux of assignats, and of all receipts and expenses, either in metal, in assignats, or other articles of value, operated in the national treasury, since its first establishment to the 1st Nivose; and which account shall be laid before the Convention. This account must particularly specify the condition in which the public treasure was on the 21st of September, 1792, and on the 16th Thermidor last.

II. The committee of Finances is charged to present, as soon as possible, to the Convention, an account of the ordinary expenses of the government, and of the means to provide for them.

III. The committees of War, and of Public Safety, shall jointly propose the means of order and œconomy of which extraordinary expenses might be susceptible.

IV. From this day, the merchants and manufacturers shall lay in their provisions under the advantage of the liberty of trade. Government will confine its commercial operations merely to what concerns the providing for the wants of the army and navy. The raw articles of every description, not necessary for the army or navy, which may be found in the magazines of the Republic, or which are in requisition on its account, shall immediately be put up to public sale.

V. The decrees relative to the sequestration of the property belonging to subjects of the powers at war with the Republic, shall no longer be executed. The sums delivered up by French citizens to the national treasury, in consequence of those decrees, shall all be returned to them.

VI. Citizens possessing specie are permitted to export it, provided they import an equal value of articles of the first necessity. The committees of Public Safety, Finances, and Commerce, shall jointly take the necessary measures in order to regulate that exportation,

portation, point out the objects to be imported, and prevent the abuses which might be introduced by the lenity of this article.

VII. The decree of navigation remains suspended until the committees of the Navy and Commerce shall have presented to the Convention a plan of the means by which the execution of that decree may be rendered more certain and more useful.

VIII. The Convention orders all the agents of the Republic, all the commanders of the armed forces, and all the civil and military officers, to enforce the respect for, and adherence in every point to, all the articles contained in the treaties which unite France with the neutral powers of the old Continent, and with the United States of America : no attempt shall be made contrary to the spirit of those treaties, and all dispositions found contrary to them shall be annulled.

IX. All the creditors of the emigrants, and of other individuals, whose property is forfeited by means of lawful confiscation, are declared to be looked upon as direct creditors of the state ; from which are excepted the creditors of those who have been bankrupt, or notoriously insolvent at the time of their being condemned to a confiscation of their property.

X. In order speedily to put in a state of cultivation the estates of the emigrants, and those confiscated from convicts, the same committees shall, without delay, present to the Convention a plan to settle with the parents of the emigrants, with respect to the share in the inheritance which belongs to the Republic. The sequestration upon the property of the family shall be removed immediately after, and they themselves shall be discharged, if no other charge is found against them.

XI. All the moveable effects of emigrants, belonging to the Republic, shall be publicly sold without delay. The committee of Finances is to propose the means to collect these effects, and, without difficulty or great expense, to convey them to the place of public auction.

XII. A list shall be made out by the commissional revenue, of all the estates which it is necessary to sell immediately ; as also of all the buildings and houses unlet, which overburden the expenses of the Republic by the necessity of watching and repairing them.

The committee is also charged to propose means to accelerate the sale of the latter, and to dispose of them for at least the sum of one thousand millions in the course of the present year.

XIII. The committee of Finances shall, within a short time, present to the Convention a general report upon the laws which point out cases by which individuals forfeit their benefits from the public funds, in order that the Convention might repeal those articles which shall be found too rigorous.

XIV. The commission charged to examine into the actual organization of government, shall speedily make a report respecting

measures to insure its activity, and to give to it all the necessary strength and energy ; and also respecting measures of oeconomy and reform which may be necessary to be taken for the public interest, and the punctuality of the service, either in the administrative commissions, or the offices depending from them.

The Convention ordered the above report to be printed, and adjourned the discussion of the decree for three days.

The imperfect Manner in which the Proceedings of the French Convention reach this Country, prevents the Editor from ascertaining exactly what Parts of the above Decree were passed, and what rejected; but the following Extract shews that the most material Clauses have been adopted.

NATIONAL CONVENTION. 12 Nivose (January 1, 1795.)

Cambon.—You have been generous even towards nations which have been unjust to you. All Europe should be acquainted with the law which you passed for removing the sequestration from the effects of foreigners. I think that the fifth article which you decreed the other day, should be withdrawn from the decree which we are now to discuss, and be made a particular law. I think also that it should be preceded by a declaration, in which the unjust acts of the foreign powers should be stated, in which it should be solemnly asserted that Russia first commanded the seizure of effects belonging to the natives of France, and that Spain imitated the example of Russia ; that nevertheless France is eager to be generous, and to return to principles as soon as she commands to victory. Finally, I move, that a manifesto be drawn up, which shall be translated into all languages.—Decreed.

Johannot read the sixth article for the re-establishment of public credit, and the encouragement of commerce.

After a long debate it was decreed in the following terms :

The citizens are permitted to export specie, on condition of importing the value of such specie in articles of the first necessity. The united committees of Public Safety, Commerce, and Marine, are within two days to propose the necessary measures for regulating the mode of these exportations, for pointing out the articles to be imported, and for preventing abuses which may arise on the subject.

The seventh article, for suspending the act of navigation, until the committees shall present a measure calculated to give more certain execution to the act, was referred to the committees.

The eighth article was then read. The Convention orders all the agents of the Republic, all the commanders of the armed forces, and all the civil and military officers, to enforce the respect for, and adherence in every point to, all the articles contained in

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the treaties which unite France with the neutral powers of the old Continent, and with the United States of America : no attempt shall be made contrary to the spirit of those treaties, and all dispositions found contrary to them shall be annulled.

It was decreed without any debate.

After some debate, the ninth article was decreed.

All the creditors of the emigrants, and of other individuals, whose property is forfeited by means of lawful confiscation, are declared to be direct creditors of the States ; from which are excepted the creditors of those who have been bankrupt, or notoriously insolvent at the time of their being condemned to a confiscation of their property.

The committee of Legislature and Finance are immediately to propose means of accelerating this liquidation, and to state the nature of the titles which shall be admitted.

S U P P L E M E N T

TO THE

MANIFESTOES, DECREES, &c.

THE FOLLOWING PAPERS SHOULD HAVE APPEARED IN THE
FIRST VOLUME OF THIS WORK.

As the Authenticity of the Convention signed at Pilnitz has been disputed by some Persons, the Editor thinks it proper to insert the following Letter of Monsieur and of M. le Comte D'Artois to the French King, their Brother, which accompanied the first Publication of that Treaty, signed at Pilnitz, August 27, 1791, by the Emperor and the King of Prussia. See vol. i. p. 2.

Sire, our Brother and Lord,

WHEN the Assembly, which owes its existence to you, and which has used it only for the destruction of your power; believes itself to be upon the point of consummating its guilty enterprize; when, to the indignity of holding you a captive in the center of your capital, they add the perfidy of wishing you to degrade your throne by your own hand; when they even dare to present to you the option of subscribing the decrees which are to occasion the unhappiness of your people, or of ceasing to be King; we hasten to inform your Majesty, that the powers, whose assistance we have claimed for you, are determined to employ their forces, and that the Emperor, and the King of Prussia, have just contracted a mutual engagement to do so. The sage Leopold, immediately after having confirmed the tranquillity of his own states, and restored that of Europe, signed this engagement at Pilnitz, on the 27th of last month, conjointly with the worthy successor of the Great Frederick: they have given the original into our hands, and, for the purpose of forwarding it to you, we cause it to be printed at the end of this letter, publication being at present the only means of communication, of which your cruel oppressors have not been able to deprive us.

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The other courts have the same dispositions with those of Vienna and Berlin. The Princes and States of the Empire have already protested, in authentic acts, against the injuries done to their rights, which they have resolved to support with vigour. You cannot doubt, Sire, the lively interest which the Bourbon Kings take in your situation ; their Catholic and Sicilian Majesties have given unequivocal testimonies of it. The generous sentiments of the King of Sardinia, our father-in-law, cannot be uncertain. You may rely also upon those of the Swiss, the good and ancient friends of France. Even in the bosom of the North, a magnanimous King is ready to contribute to the re-establishment of your authority ; and the immortal Catherine, to whom glory of no sort is a stranger, will not miss that of defending the cause of all sovereigns.

It is not to be feared, that the British nation, too generous to oppose that which is just, and too enlightened not to desire that which interests its own tranquillity, will be inimical to the views of this noble and irresistible confederation.

Thus, in your misfortunes, Sire, you have the consolation to see all the powers conspire to end them, and your firmness in the present critical moment will have the support of all Europe.

Those who know that they can only shake your resolutions by touching your sensibility, will, no doubt, represent the aid of foreign powers as destructive to your subjects ; that, which is only meant in an auxiliary view, they will invest with purposes of hostility, and describe your kingdom to you as overflowed with blood, distracted in all quarters, and menaced with dismemberment. It is thus, that, after having always employed the most false alarms to cause real evils, they will use the same means to perpetuate them, It is thus that they hope to continue the wounds of their odious tyranny, by making it to be believed, that whatever opposes it would lead to a harder state of slavery.

But, Sire, the intentions of the powers, who will give you their assistance, are as direct, as pure as the zeal which has induced us to solicit it : they have nothing dreadful either for the state, or for your people. It is not to attack them ; it is to render them the most signal of all services, that they would snatch them from the despotism of demagogues and the calamities of anarchy. You are willing to confirm more than even the liberty of your subjects, when the seditious have seized upon your's ; what we may do to restore it to you, with the measure of authority which lawfully belongs to you, cannot be suspected of any oppressive wish. On the contrary, to repress licentiousness is to revenge liberty ; to re-establish the public force, without which no nation can be free, is to free the nation. These principles, Sire, are your's ; the same spirit of moderation and benevolence, which characterizes your actions, will be always the rule of our conduct, it is the soul of
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all our measures at foreign courts ; and, as the depositaries of those positive testimonies of views equally generous and equitable, we can guarantee, that they have no other desire than that of putting you in possession of the government of your states, that your people may enjoy in peace the blessings which you have destined them.

If rebels oppose to this desire a conceited and blind resistance, which may force foreign armies to enter your kingdom, they only will have brought them there ; to them alone let the guilty blood be imputed, which it may be necessary to shed ; the war will be their work, the end of the confederated powers is only to support the sound part of the nation against the delirious ; and to extinguish in the bosom of the kingdom that volcano of fanaticism, the propagated eruptions of which menace all empires.

Besides, Sire, there is no reason to believe that the French, whatever pains may be taken to inflame their natural bravery, by exalting and electrifying their heads with notions of patriotism and liberty, will long sacrifice their repose, their effects, and their blood, to support the extravagant innovation which has only made them unhappy. Intoxication has but a time ; the success of a crime has its bounds ; and men are soon weary of excess, when they are themselves the victims of it. Presently they will inquire, why they should fight ? and they will find that it is to serve the ambition of a factious troop, whom they despise, against a King, who has always shewn himself just and humane : Why they should be ruined ? and they will find that it is to gratify the avarice of those who possessed themselves of all the riches of the state, making the most detestable use of them, and, being charged to restore the public finances, have precipitated them into the most dreadful abyss : Why they should violate the most sacred duties ? and they will perceive, that it is to become poorer, more wretched, more harassed, more taxed than they have ever been. Why they should overturn the ancient government ? and they will perceive, that it is in the vain hope of introducing a system, which, if it was practicable, would be a thousand times more pregnant with abuse ; but of which the execution is absolutely impossible. Why they should persecute the ministers of God ? and they will perceive, that it is to favour the designs of a proud sect, which has resolved to destroy all religion, and consequently to give a loose to all crimes.

Even already all these truths are become perceptible ; already the veil of imposture is torn in all parts, and the murmurs against an assembly which has usurped all powers, and abolished all rights, are heard from one extremity of the kingdom to the other.

Judge not, Sire, of the disposition of the greater number by the movements of the turbulent; judge not of the public sentiments from the inaction of its fidelity, and its apparent indifference, when you were stopped at Varennes, and a troop of satellites re-conducted you to Paris; surprise froze all minds, and produced a deadly silence. What they conceal from you, what sufficiently denotes the change which is daily increasing of the public opinion, are the marks of discontent which appear in all the provinces, and which wait only for support to break out more clearly: it is the demand which many departments have made, that the assembly should give an account of the enormous sums wasted during their administration; it is the terror which the chiefs discover, and their reiterated attempts to enter into an accommodation; it is the distress of commerce, and the recent explosion of despair in our colonies; the absolute penury of specie; the refusal of the taxable to pay taxes; the expectation of an approaching bankruptcy; the defection of the troops, who, the victims of all sorts of seductions, begin to resent them; and the increasing progress of emigration. It is impossible to misinterpret such signals; and their notoriety is so great, that the audacity even of the seducers of the people cannot contest their truth.

Give no credit, Sire, to the exaggerations of danger by which they endeavour to alarm you. They know that regarding but little the danger which threatens only your own person, you are tremblingly alive to those that might fall on your people, or strike the objects dear to your heart; for these objects it is that they have the barbarity to keep you constantly in fear, while they have the effrontery to boast of your liberty. But they have abused this artifice too long, and the moment is now come for turning against the factious spirits who insult you, the weapon of terror, which has hitherto constituted all their force.

Great crimes are not to be apprehended when no interest can be promoted by committing them: and when, if committed, there is no means of avoiding a terrible punishment. All Paris knows, all Paris ought to know, that if a fanatical or suborned wickedness should dare to attempt your life, or that of the Queen, powerful armies, chasing before them a militia, feeble from want of discipline, and discouraged by remorse, would instantly fall on the impious city, which had drawn down on itself the vengeance of heaven, and the indignation of the universe. None of the guilty could then escape from the most rigorous punishment—none of them will expose themselves to such punishments.

But if the blindest fury should arm a parricide hand, you would see, Sire, be assured of it, millions of faithful citizens throw themselves round the royal family, cover you, if neces-

sary, with their bodies, and shed the last drop of their blood to preserve your's. Ah! why will you hesitate to confide in the affection of a people, whose happiness you have not ceased for a moment to desire?

Frenchmen easily suffer themselves to be misled; but with equal facility they return to the path of duty. Their manners are naturally too gentle for their actions to be long ferocious; and their love for their kings is too deeply rooted in their hearts for a fatal illusion to eradicate it entirely.

Who can be more powerfully induced than we to entertain alarms for the situation of a brother tenderly beloved? But by the accounts even of your most daring oppressors, the refusal of the constitutional resumption, which we understand to have been presented to you by the Assembly of the 3d of this month, will not expose you to the danger of being deprived of the royalty.

But of this there is no danger. Of what consequence is it that you cease to be king, in the eyes of the factious, when you will be so more solidly and more gloriously than ever in the eyes of all Europe, and in the hearts of all your faithful subjects? Of what consequence is it, that by a foolish enterprize, they presume to declare you deprived of the throne of your ancestors, whilst the combined forces of all the powers are prepared to support you on it, and punish those evil usurpers who have sullied its lustre?

The danger would be much greater, if in appearing to consent to the dissolution of the monarchy, you should appear to diminish your personal right to the assistance of all the monarchs; and if you seemed to withdraw yourself from the cause of sovereigns, by consecrating a doctrine which they are obliged to proscriber. The danger would augment in proportion as you should shew want of confidence in the means of protecting you; it would augment in proportion as the impression of that august character, which makes guilt shudder at the feet of royal majesty when worthily supported, would lose its force; it would augment as the appearance of abandoning the interests of religion might excite the most dreadful ferment. In fine, it would augment, if contenting yourself with the empty title of king, without power, you should appear in the opinion of the universe to abdicate the crown, the preservation of which every one knows is indispensably connected with those unalienable rights which are essentially inherent in it.

The most sacred of duties, Sire, as well as the most ardent attachment, induce us to lay before your eyes all the dangerous consequences of the smallest appearance of weakness, at the same time that we present that mass of overbearing force which ought to be the safeguard of your firmness.

We ought still to announce to you, and we even swear at your feet, that if motives which it is impossible for us to perceive, but which can originate only from the excess of that violence and constraint which is only more cruel by being disguised, should compel your hand to subscribe an acceptance which your heart rejects, which your own interest and that of your people condemn, and which your duty as king expressly prohibits; we will protest in the face of the whole world, and in the most solemn manner, against this illusive act, and all that may follow from it; we will shew that it is null of itself, null by defect of liberty, null from the radical vice of all the operations of the usurping assembly, which not being an assembly of the states general, is nothing. We are supported by the rights of the whole nation, in rejecting decrees diametrically opposite to their wishes, expressed by the unanimous tenour of instructions to their representatives; and we disavow, on behalf of the nation, those treacherous mandatories, who, in violating their orders, and departing from the mission entrusted to them, have ceased to be its representatives. We will maintain what is evident, that having acted contrary to their title, they have acted without power; and what they could not legally do, cannot be validly accepted.

Our protest, signed in conjunction with us by all the princes of your blood who are connected with us, should be common to all the house of Bourbon, whose eventual claims to the throne impose on them the duty of defending the august deposit. We will protest for you, Sire, in protesting for your people, for religion, for the fundamental maxims of monarchy, and for all the orders of the state.

We will protest for you, and in your name, against what can only bear its false impression. Your voice being stifled by oppression, we shall be its necessary organs; and we express your real sentiments, as they exist in the oath of your accession to the throne, as they have appeared in the actions of your whole life, as they have been displayed in the declaration which you made at the first moment that you believed yourself free. You neither can nor ought to have any other, and your will exists only in those acts where it breathes freely.

We will protest for your people, who, in their delirium, cannot perceive how destructive this phantom of a new constitution, which is made to dazzle their eyes, and before which they are vainly made to swear, must become to them. When these people, neither knowing their lawful chief, nor their dearest interests, suffer themselves to be misguided to their destruction; when blinded by deceitful promises, they see not those who excite them to destroy the pledges of their own security, the supporters of their repose, the principles of their subsistence, and

all the ties of their civil association, it becomes necessary to claim for them re-establishment of all these, it becomes necessary to save them from their own frenzy.

We will protest for the religion of our fathers, which is attacked in its dogmas and worship, as well as its ministers; and in order to supply your want of power at present to discharge, in your own person, your duties as eldest son of the church, we will assume in your name the defence of its rights; we will oppose those invasions of its property, which tend to degrade it; we will rise with indignation against acts which menace the kingdom with all the horrors of schism; and we loudly profess our unalterable attachment to the ecclesiastical rules admitted in the state, whose observance you have sworn to maintain.

We will protest for the fundamental maxims of the monarchy, from which, Sire, you are not permitted to depart; which the nation itself has declared inviolable; and which would be totally reversed by the decrees presented to you; especially by those, which, in excluding the king from all exercise of the legislative power, abolish royalty itself; by those which destroy all its supports, by suppressing all the intermediate ranks; by those, which, in levelling all states, annihilate even the principle of obedience; by those which deprive monarchy of the junctions most essential to the monarchical government, or which render it subordinate on those which remain; by those, in fine, which have armed the people, which have annulled the public force, and which, in confounding all powers, have introduced into France popular tyranny.

We will protest for all the orders of the state, because, independently of the intolerable and impossible suppression pronounced against the two first orders, all have been injured, harassed, despoiled; and we have all at once to reclaim the rights of the clergy, who have displayed a firm and generous resistance only for the interests of heaven, and the functions of the holy ministry; the rights of the noblesse, who, more sensible of the outrages committed on the throne, of which they are the support, than of the prosecution which they experience, sacrifice every thing to display by an illustrious zeal, that no obstacle can prevent a French gentleman from remaining faithful to his king, his country, his honour; the rights of the magistracy, who regret much more than the privation of their states, to see themselves reduced to lament in silence the absence of justice, the impunity of crimes, and the violation of laws, of which they are essentially depositaries; in fine, the rights of all possessors, since in France there is no property which has been respected, no honest citizens who have not suffered.

How can you, Sire, give a sincere and valid approbation to the pretended constitution, which has produced so many evils?

Depository and possessor for life of the throne which you have inherited from your ancestors, you can neither alienate its primordial rights, nor destroy the constitutive basis on which it is founded.

Born defender of the religion of your states, you can neither consent to what tends to its ruin, nor abandon its ministers to disgrace.

Owing to your subjects the discharge of justice, you cannot renounce the function essentially royal, to cause it to be conducted by tribunals, legally constituted, - and yourself to superintend the administration.

Protector of the rights of all the orders, and of the possessions of all individuals, you cannot allow them to be violated and annihilated by the most arbitrary oppressions.

In fine, father of your people, you cannot abandon them to disorder and anarchy.

If the quiet which encompasses you, and the violence which binds your hands, do not permit you to fulfil these sacred duties, they are not less impressed on your heart in characters that cannot be effaced; and we will accomplish your real will, in supplying, as much as possible, the impossibility in which you now are of exercising it; should you even prohibit us, and should you even be compelled to call yourself free in prohibiting us, these prohibitions, evidently contrary to your sentiments, as they would be to the first of your duties; these prohibitions, issued from the bosom of your captivity, which will not in reality cease, till your people have returned to their duty, and your troops to their obedience; these prohibitions, which can have no more value than all that you have done before your departure, and which afterwards you disavowed; these prohibitions, in fine, which would partake of the same nullity with the act of approbation, against which we shall be obliged to protest, cannot certainly induce us to betray our duty to sacrifice your interests, and prove wanting in what France has a right to expect from us in such circumstances. We shall obey, Sire, your real command, in resisting extorted prohibitions, and we shall be secure of your approbation in following the laws of honour. Our perfect submission is too well known to you ever to appear doubtful. May we soon arrive at that happy moment, when re-established in full liberty, you shall see us fly into your arms, there to renew the homage of your obedience, and set the example to all your subjects!

We are, Sire, our brother and lord,

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient brothers,
servants, and subjects,

LOUIS STANISLAS XAVIER. CHARLES PHILIPPE.

At the Castle of Schonburnolust, near Coblenz, Sept. 10, 1791.

[Here follows a copy of the Treaty, for which see Vol. I. p. 2.]

The

The Executive Council on the 22d of November, 1792, transmitted to the National Convention of France the following Extract, relative to the opening a free Navigation on the Scheldt and Maese, which was approved of.

EXTRACT OF THE REGISTERS OF THE PROVISIONARY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, OF THE 16th NOVEMBER, 1792.

THE executive council, deliberating on the conduct of the French armies in the countries which they occupy, especially in Belgia, one of its members observed,

1st, That the chains and trammels which, till now, navigation and commerce have suffered, as well upon the Scheldt as upon the Maese, are directly contrary to the fundamental principles of natural law, which the French have sworn to maintain.

2dly, That the course of rivers is the common and unalienable property of all the countries watered by their banks; that a nation cannot, without injustice, pretend to the right of occupying the channel of a river, and to prevent the neighbouring nations, who inhabit the upper banks, from enjoying the same advantage; that such a right is a remnant of feudal servitude, or at least an odious monopoly, which could only be established by force, and consented to by weakness; that consequently it is revocable every moment, and in spite of all conventions, because nature knows as little of privileged people as of privileged individuals, and the rights of man are always imprescriptible.

3dly, That the glory of the French Republic requires, that wherever the protection of her arms extends, liberty should be established, and tyranny overthrown.

4thly, That when to the advantages procured to the Belgian people by the French arms, shall be joined the free navigation of rivers, and the freedom of the commerce of these provinces, not only the people will have no farther ground of their own independence, or to doubt of the disinterestedness which directs the Republic, but even the nations of Europe cannot then refuse to acknowledge that the destruction of all tyrannies, and the triumphs of the rights of man, are the sole ambition of the French people.

The council, struck with these powerful considerations, decrees, that the general in chief commanding the French armies in the expedition of Belgia shall be enjoined to take the most precise measures, and to employ every method which is in his power to ensure the liberty of navigation and transport in the whole course of the Scheldt and the Maese.

The reading of this resolution was interrupted by numerous plaudits.

On the 27th of November, 1792, the National Convention of France decreed :

The National Convention declares, in the name of the French people, the union of what was formerly called Savoy with the French Republic.

Savoy shall form an eighty-fourth department, under the name of the department of Mont Blanc.

The primary and electoral assemblies of this department shall be immediately formed, for the appointment of deputies to the National Convention.

This department shall have provisionally a representation of ten deputies.

Four commissioners of the National Convention shall be sent to proceed to the provisional division and to the organization of this department into districts and cantons.

From the first of January next, the duties of the French Republic shall be levied upon the extreme frontier of Savoy.

The minister of the public contributions is charged to point out the places proper for the establishment of the new offices.

On the 19th of November, 1792, the National Convention of France passed the following Decree, and ordered it to be translated into all Languages and printed.

THE National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty, and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who have suffered, or are now suffering, in the cause of liberty.

On the 15th of December, 1792, Cambon said to the National Convention of France, in the name of the Military and Diplomatic Committees, that the progress of Liberty should no longer be checked. " You must," added he, freely declare our revolutionary Power in every Country which we enter. You must overturn established Constitutions, and convoke Primary Assemblies. This, instead of infringing on the Sovereignty of Nations, is establishing it. I now present a Decree for that purpose."

1. THE generals in all those countries, which are or may be occupied by our armies, shall immediately proclaim, in the name of the Republic, the abolition of the ancient contributions, nobility, taxes, feudal rights, real and personal servitude, the exclusive right of hunting and fishing, and all privileges.—They shall declare to the people, that they bring them peace, liberty, and fraternity.

2. They

2. They shall declare, at the same time, that the constituted authorities are suppressed; they shall proclaim the sovereignty of the people; they shall convoke the primary assemblies to elect judges and provisional administrators, and shall post up the proclamation annexed to this decree.

3. No one can be admitted into the primary assembly, nor be elected a judge or administrator, if he has not taken an oath to be faithful to liberty and equality; and if he has not renounced all the privileges which he enjoyed. The members of the existing administrations and judicial powers cannot be nominated in the first election.

4. The generals shall put under the safeguard of the Republic, all the landed and moveable property of the public treasury of the princes, their adherents and abettors, and the estates of all law and religious communities.

5. The provisory administration shall be charged with the objects put under the safeguard of the French Republic; they shall have power to raise taxes, so they do not bear heavy on the working class of the people.

6. The National Convention shall appoint commissioners chosen from their own body to go and fraternize with the people.

7. The executive council shall also appoint commissioners for the same end, and to regulate the sum due to the Republic for the expenses it may have incurred.

8. They shall give an account of their proceedings every fifteen days.

9. The provisory administration appointed by the people shall cease, when the latter shall have chosen a free and popular government.

10. The French Republic shall keep an account of the expenses it has been at, and shall make arrangements for the payment of these expenses.

11. The French nation declares, that it will consider as enemies those people, who, refusing liberty, shall enter into accommodation or negotiation with their tyrants.

12. The French nation swears never to lay down its arms until the countries into which they have entered shall be free, and their liberty secured.

The proclamation referred to above was then read. It was in substance the same as the above decree, and was ordered to be sent to the generals by extraordinary couriers.

On the 24th of December 1792, Barailon said in the National Convention of France,

WE do not mean to carry war to the distance of a thousand leagues from us, to grant fraternity and assistance to people
with

with whom we are not even acquainted. This decree has already procured us many enemies, and will still increase their number. The English ministry have already testified their displeasure on this account to our ministry, who have been obliged to interpret it in a reasonable manner. I move, therefore, that, in the decree of November 19, after these words, " the National Convention declares, in name of the French nation, that it will grant fraternity and assistance to all people, may be added, against all tyrants with whom they may be at war."

The previous question was called for on this question, and carried.

*In the National Convention of France, on the 13th of April, 1793,
Robespierre proposed,*

That no civil or military agents of the Republic should receive letters in future from the generals of the enemy, and that any person who should propose entering into a composition with the enemy respecting liberty and equality, which ought to be the basis of the French Republic, should be punished with death.

DANTON, *moved as an amendment,*

That the Convention should declare that they would not interfere with the government of foreign nations; but that they would rather bury themselves under the ruins of their country, than suffer foreign powers to interfere with the constitution which they wished to establish.

These motions were unanimously applauded and adopted.

The present constitution of France agreed to since the revolution of the 31st of May, 1793, also declares substantially the same as the above decree moved by Danton.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E,

Letter of General Dugomier, Commander in Chief of the Army in Italy, and of that before Toulon, to General O'Hara, an English Prisoner.

*Head Quarters at Ollioules, Dec. 10, 1793,
Second Year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.*

THE money which thou hadst destined to the volunteers of the Republic, to acknowledge the service which they had rendered to thee in the action of the 30th of November ultimo, has been presented to them: they refused it with the same generosity which induced thee to offer it.

I therefore send thee the sixty *Louis d'ors* which thou hadst given to be distributed among my brothers in arms: they are contented with the pleasure they felt in assisting unfortunate humanity.

It is thus, general, our Republic establishes itself upon all virtues; and thus it shall one day make blush the deluded nations who fight against it.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed)

DUGOMIER,
Commander in Chief.

After the relief of Landau M. Barrere read the following Letters in the National Convention of France.

Letter of Prince Hohenloe, to the General commanding the City and Fortrefs of Landau, dated 14th Dec. 1793.

MY GENERAL,

HAVING served France, and having been in garrison in Landau, I have always preserved a great attachment to that city, which makes me behold with pain the misfortunes to which you expose it by a resistance so long and useless; for there is not a man among you who does not feel the impossibility

bility of conducting troops and artillery by roads which are become impassable by bad weather, even if there were not two armies to guard the defiles which separate them at so great a distance from you. I invite you, in consequence, my General, to send persons worthy of your confidence, to treat with our General, who, far from wishing to molest or destroy your properties, is desirous only of securing to you the peaceable enjoyment of them, and of procuring the re-establishment of order, without which there can neither exist happiness nor true liberty. You know well, my General, that the period at which a capitulation is made, necessarily influences the conditions which the inhabitants of the garrison can hope for.

I intreat you to recognize, my General, in this overture, the frankness and honesty of a soldier, who knows not how to disguise the truth; who made his first essay in arms in your country, in which he received marks of consideration and esteem. He has not lost the remembrance of them, and he shall be as much flattered as he is eager to profit from all occasions in giving you proofs of the sentiments with which you have inspired him, and with which I have the honour to be, my General, your most humble, and most obedient servant,

THE PRINCE OF HOHENLOE.

Walsheim, 14th Dec. 1793.

Answer of General Laubadere, Commander in Chief at Landau, made on the 15th Dec. to the Letter of Prince Hohenloe, dated the 14th.

MR. GENERAL,

MY Aid-du-Camp did not fail to make known to me the last conversation which he had the honour to hold with you. It appeared to him that you were willing to consent to grant a passport to a person worthy of my confidence to go to the French army. I was so much the more convinced that it was my duty not to accept of this offer, as even from the report of one of your deserters, I am convinced that I did not deceive myself as to your motive; and which, while it made me reject it, relieved me also from all obligation of acknowledgment. I have the more reason to rejoice at not having profited from your offer, as all my brothers in arms have unanimously the same opinion as myself; and as the most recent news bring us, for several days successively, accounts of the triumph of our armies.

From your having begun your military career in France, and having been in garrison in Landau, you ought to have preserved such an opinion both of Frenchmen and of this place, as to be convinced before-hand of the long resistance we have

made. Among the brave defenders of this fortress, there is not one who is not assured in his heart that it is possible to conduct troops and artillery wherever the interests of the Republic shall demand them. You have, as well as ourselves, the means of hearing the noise of our approaching army.—Our conjectures are no longer doubtful—and we can to a certainty estimate the interval that separates us from them. This circumstance, I own, Mr. General, redoubles my astonishment, on the renewal of a demand which was mal-a-propos and useless, when even the certainty of the approach of our brave brothers in arms did not exist.

Do not deceive yourself, Mr. General, on the fate of Landau, and give credit to my frankness and honesty. Be certain, then, that in addition to its natural resources, when even exerted with languor, as I have no doubt but under the old system you have seen them, it now joins others which furnish to its brave defenders powerful means to weary out your persevering, but useless, ambition. Our ambition confines itself to demonstrate to the whole universe that we are worthy of national confidence. They have entrusted in our hands this precious deposit. Our resistance constitutes our glory—it ascertains to us not only the public, but your esteem.

Cease then, Mr. General, to speak to me of capitulation and treaty. There can exist no treaty between duty and dishonour. With a serene and tranquil eye, I contemplate the deceitful hopes in which you lull yourself: I defend the cause of all humankind; you defend that of kings only. My cause prepares the happiness of all the earth; your's has ever been its torment. Which of us two, Sir, has the greater right to success?

If you heretofore received marks of consideration and esteem from my country, grant me, as an acknowledgement, not to make, in your correspondence, any other proposal than is suitable to the honour of your profession, and you will thereby gain my esteem.

There are yet three Prussian prisoners in Landau, whom I could not send to you with the four others, because they were then very unwell in the hospital; but now that they are better, I propose to exchange them for the three French prisoners named in the margin. If you agree to the proposal for the exchange you will intimate to me their arrival, that it may immediately take place.

(A faithful copy.)

(Signed)

J. M. LAUBADERE,
Commander in Chief in Landau.

Copy of a Letter from M. Le. Baron de Knobelsdorf, General in Chief of the Prussian Army before Landau, to the French Soldiers of that Place.

Quarters-General at Bechingen, 18 Dec. 1793.

MESSIEURS,

HIS Highness the Prince of Hohenlohe communicates to me this instant, the letter that he has received from General Laubadere. This letter is conceived in terms, and contains expressions so extraordinary, so contrary to good manners, and to the usages received among polished nations, that I cannot suppose that the garrison of Landau has approved of it. I am therefore obliged, without any other explanation, to renounce all correspondence with the general. But as this conduct ought not, in my opinion, to influence the motives which induced us to agree to an exchange of prisoners, I entreat you to make choice of such persons as you may think worthy of your confidence, to whom I may from henceforth address myself for exchanges, and other indispensable relations, and to make known the same to me ; assuring you at the same time, that I shall know how to distinguish the proceedings of an individual from the conduct of a whole garrison, that I believe incapable of despising the regards which civility prescribes even among enemies.

(Signed) THE BARON DE KNOBELSDORFF,
General-in-Chief of the Prussian Corps before Landau.

Copy of the Letter of the French Republican Soldiers, the Defenders of Landau, to M. Le Baron de Knobelsdorff.

Landau, 19 Dec. 1793, &c.

MR. GENERAL,

THE French soldiers composing the garrison of Landau have too much confidence in General Laubadere, their chief, who in concert with the representative of the people, has not ceased to merit their esteem, to induce them to confide to others an employment which the laws give to them only.

For their country, and for liberty, they are always ready to sacrifice their dearest interests, and their chiefs shall not have the sorrow to find us deaf when they talk to us of the laws, of our country, of freedom, and of glory.

Cease then, Mr. General, to desire to hold with the soldiers, defenders of Landau, a correspondence that ought not, and cannot take place, as, by the intelligence which our chiefs have displayed, they have forced us to applaud all the measures which they have taken—It will be, besides, unpleasant for them to be obliged to return

return your letter unanswered, and yet their duty will force them to do so if you shall persist in writing to them.

We have the honour to be, Mr. General, &c.

THE REPUBLICAN SOLDIERS, DEFENDERS OF LANDAU.

Deputies from the Magistrates of the Town of Valenciennes, having been admitted to an Audience of his Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary, as also to that of his Serene Highness the Governor General at Brussels in December; 1793, one of them addressed his Royal Highness in the following Words:

SIR,

HAVING for four years fallen under the yoke of the factions, the town of Valenciennes could only form wishes, and its inhabitants kept concealed in their breasts their love for their lawful sovereign. Eternal thanks to the God of arms, to that God of whom the sovereigns of the earth are the image, the town of Valenciennes can now publicly declare, that the government which it had always preferred to every other, was the government of one only, or the government by a king. Fourteen centuries of experience, of abundance and prosperity, had justified its sentiments; Providence, after having given to France the best and the most just of kings, appears to have withdrawn its protection from that too flourishing kingdom; an impious and regicidal faction has started up, and has made an example of reproach to the whole earth. Valenciennes is one of the favourite spots which Providence has rescued from the most cruel anarchy. Valenciennes respire, and its first emotions are due to its deliverer: its magistrates present themselves, to lay at the feet of your Royal Highness the homage of their eternal gratitude; they acknowledge, with transport, that they owe every thing to his Imperial and Royal Majesty; their property, their tranquillity, their very existence.

Confident of the justice and paternal goodness of his Majesty; we come at the same time, Sir, to present to your Royal Highness the very humble and respectful representations of the town of Valenciennes on the establishment of two kinds of imposts—the one inquisitorial in the collection, and both of them odious in principle, incompatible with the present established order of things. We supplicate your Royal Highness, the descendant of the Cæsars, the hero of Aldenhoven, the idol of those who live under his government, to avert from an unhappy country, but distinguished by its love for their sovereigns, the disgrace of seeing survive, after the expulsion of the factious, imposts which they laid on, and which armed sacrilegious and parricidal hands—Forgive us, Sir, for recalling the most heart-rending recollections.

We

We are also ordered to present to you, Sir, the humble and respectful representations of the town of Valenciennes, that the revenues of the clergy, of which the factious deprived them, may be immediately restored: this appeared to the magistrates to be of the greatest importance, as justice is the best support of thrones; all parts of the system of the factious tended to the same end; it would be extremely dangerous to respect or modify any part thereof, and it is full time to destroy the credit which a faction has too long supported, that wished to inflame all Europe.

His Royal Highness and Count Metternich received the deputies most graciously; and promised that their representations should be laid before the Emperor.

Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Brunswick to the King of Prussia, first published in the Earl of Lauderdale's "Letters to the Peers of Scotland."

THE motives, Sire, which make me desire my recall from the army [are founded upon the unhappy experience, that the want of connection, the distrust, the egotism, the spirit of cabal, have disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns, and still disconcert the measures taken by the combined armies. Oppressed by the misfortune of being involved, by the errors of others, in the unfortunate situation wherein I find myself, I feel very sensibly that the world judges of military characters by their successes, without examining causes. Raising the siege or the blockade of Landau will make an epoch in the history of this unfortunate war; and I have the misfortune of being implicated in it. The reproach will fall upon me, and the innocent will be confounded with the guilty. Notwithstanding all misfortunes, I would not have given way to my inclination of laying at your Majesty's feet my desire of relinquishing a career which has been the principal study of my life: but when one has lost one's trouble, one's labour, and efforts; when the objects of the campaign are lost, and there is no hope that a third campaign may offer a more favourable issue, what part remains to be taken by the man the most attached to, the most zealous for, your Majesty's interests and your cause, but that of avoiding further disasters? The same reasons now divide the powers which have hitherto divided them: the movements of the armies will suffer from it, as they have hitherto done; their motions will be retarded and embarrassed, and the delay of re-establishing the Prussian army, politically necessary, will become, perhaps, the source of a train of misfortunes for next campaign; the consequences of which are not to be calculated. It is not war which I object to; it is not war which I wish to avoid; but it is dishonour which I fear in my situation, where the faults of other generals would fall upon me, and where

I could neither act according to my principles nor according to my prospects. Your Majesty will, perhaps, remember what I had the honour to represent to you the day you quitted Eschweiler : I exposed all my embarrassments, my troubles, and my misfortunes ; I exerted all my efforts to prevent any inconveniency : unfortunately the event has proved the insufficiency thereof ; it is therefore only the intimate persuasion I have of the impossibility I am in to effect what is right, which dictates to me the measure of requesting your Majesty to appoint a successor to me as soon as possible. This measure, however afflicting to me, is nevertheless a consequence of those sorrowful reflections I have made upon my situation. Prudence requires I should retire, and honour advises it.—When a great nation, like that of France, is conducted by the terror of punishments, and by enthusiasm, an unanimous sentiment, and the same principle, ought to prevail in the measure of the coalesced powers. But when, instead thereof, each army acts separately and alone of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at raising the blockade of Maubeuge, at the storming of Lyons, at the destruction of Toulon, and at the raising of the blockade of Landau. Heaven preserve your Majesty from great misfortunes ! but every thing is to be feared, if confidence, harmony, uniformity of sentiments, of principles, and of actions, do not take place of the opposite sentiments, which have been the source of all misfortunes for two years past. My best wishes always attend your Majesty, and your glory will be my happiness.

Oppenheim, Jan. 6, 1794.

The Duke of Brunswick to the Prince Royal of Prussia,

Mentz, January 12.

THE concern which your Royal Highness has been pleased to testify on account of my retreat from the army, inspires me with the most heart-felt gratitude. Nothing but a conjuncture of circumstances, as disastrous as uncommon, could have prevailed on me to adopt a measure which is so afflicting for myself.

I have been highly flattered by the opportunities I have now and then found to approach your Royal Highness, and to admire in you those talents which cannot fail to place you among the great men of our age. Europe stands truly in need of them at a time when near 400,000 combatants, and 80 line of battle ships, supported by an intestine war, have in vain endeavoured to crush that confederacy of crimes which is tyrannizing over France.

I am

I am eminently happy to find that my zeal in serving a good cause has not escaped your Royal Highness's notice. Very unfortunately, indeed, the movements of the army have been often checked at the very time when the greatest energy and exertion was required.

If, after the surrender of Mentz, Houchard had been attacked, forced back, and defeated, the reinforcements which strengthened the army of the North would not have reached it; and of course the check near Maubeuge would have been avoided. Saar Louis, ill provided with provisions, and destitute of all protection from bombs, would, in all probability, have been reduced within a fortnight. Alsace might then have been turned by the Saar. The possession of the Lauter would have afforded more solid advantages; and if, by all possible means, the junction of the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle had been prevented, and the point of Bouquenon gained, Strasburgh would have been threatened, and Landau very likely subdued.

I beg your Royal Highness's pardon for expressing my regrets. Complaints are useless, I know; but sometimes they afford a momentary relief: permit me only to add, that if you have any influence over my successor, I would wish you to prevail on him to employ all his credit to prevent the frittering of the army into too numerous detachments; the consequence of which is, that being every where too weak to act on an offensive plan, our troops are obliged to confine themselves to defensive measures with the enemy we have to combat, which is a fault productive of the most pernicious consequences.

It is with the sincerest regret I leave an army which has inspired me with the highest esteem, admiration, and attachment.

Copy of a Letter written by the King of Prussia to the Elector of Mentz.

Berlin, Jan. 31.

THE extraordinary urgency of the present circumstances induces me to write this letter to your Highness, in full assurance of your Highness's perfect knowledge of the situation of Germany, our country. The dangerous crisis in which this country is thrown by a war without example, with a formidable, furious, and destructive enemy, who already menaces the six frontier circles, to enter them with fire and sword: such a crisis is too well known to your Excellence, not to see the necessity of concurring with me and with every state animated with a patriotic zeal, in the most proper measures to ward off the danger.

Among all the measures which the empire can employ, there is none which appears to me more inefficacious against an enemy, whose numbers diminish not, and who oppose a fanatic fury in battle.

battle, the resources of tactics, and a numerous artillery ; nothing, I say, is more insufficient than the general armament of the inhabitants of the circles which has been proposed. This measure, so dangerous, and so singularly delicate in itself, is still more inadmissible, because it can in no ways accord with the defence of the empire by my troops; and their retreat must infallibly be the consequence.

As it is impossible for me to continue a war so far distant from the frontiers of my estates, and which is so expensive, I have, some months since, frankly opened myself on this head to the principal powers who take part in the war, and I have entered on negotiations with them, which cannot yet be terminated.

It is for this reason I now find myself obliged to demand of the empire to charge itself with the provisioning of my army.

In reality, the necessary measures on this subject have been lately made at the diet ; but your Highness will consider that it is impossible to wait its decision ; so that the only thing which remains to be done, is, for the six frontier circles, who have most need of defence, to assemble immediately, for the purpose of furnishing the said provisions provisionally, until the diet has made its *conclusum*.

In consequence, I beg of your Highness, in the most pressing manner, that your Highness, in virtue of your quality of arch-chancellor and director of the circle, would immediately convoke the said six circles.

The speedy convocation of the six circles, and their furnishing my army with provisions, is the only means of saving Germany at this grand crisis. Without this it will be impossible for me to make my troops maintain the field any longer against the enemy. I shall not fail, though with regret, to order them back into my states, for their own defence, and to abandon the empire to itself and to its fate.

It is in the hands, therefore, of your Highness, that I put the safety of the empire ; and, confident of your wisdom and patriotism, I expect you will employ the means which the laws of the empire give you, in such a manner that my views, directed to the good of the country, may be fulfilled, and that, by my troops being supplied with provisions, I may be able to assure the empire of the most efficacious protection and defence.

*Letter from the Elector of Mentz to the Elector of Cologne, as
Bishop of Munster.*

Aschepfenbourg, Feb. 12.

MOST SERENE ELECTOR,

YOUR Highness will see, by the copy of the letter I herewith send, the manner of thinking of his Majesty the King of Prussia, in the singularly dangerous circumstances of the present war, the demand he makes of the empire, and of the six frontier circles provisionally. His Majesty having solicited me, for this purpose, to proceed to a speedy convocation of the directories of the said circles, I cannot fail to pray your serene Highness, in conjunction with the other prince directors of the circles of the empire, to inform the high states of those circles of this matter as soon as possible; and at the same time to send, by the 1st of March, to Francfort on the Mayne, the co-directorial deputies, with full powers to deliberate, resolve, and decide, upon what may be judged convenient, with the ministers appointed by his Prussian Majesty.

*Copy of the Letter of Major James Grant, Commander of the British
Forces at the Mole in St. Domingo, to General Lavaux, Com-
mander of the French Troops in the same Island.*

Mole St. Nicholas, 12th Feb.

MR. GENERAL,

IHAVE the honour to forward to you inclosed a letter from Col. Whitlock, commander in chief of the British forces. I am informed that its contents are of the greatest importance, and that it may reach you in a safe and proper manner, I send you an English officer with a flag of truce, not doubting but you will procure to him an honourable protection. You will be so kind as to give him your answer, which he will deliver to me at Jean Rabel, where I shall have a sufficient number of men for the immediate execution of whatever plan you may do me the honour to propose.

Should you prefer to communicate with a ship of war, there will be one cruising in the canal that is between the land and la Tortue. In addition to what may be proposed in the letter from the colonel, I take this opportunity to assure you, on the honour of a British officer, that all possible care shall be taken to secure to you every thing belonging to you, and you surely do not doubt but the most honourable attention will be paid to your person.

The ship of war has orders to give you all the protection in her power.

Permit me also to assure you, that all the officers and troops of the line shall be immediately received into the pay of Great Britain, on the same footing as the troops of Dillon, and others serving in this garrison.

I have the honour to be,

Mr. General,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

JAMES GRANT.

Copy of a Letter from Colonel Whitlock, Commander in Chief in St. Domingo, to Lavaux, Commandant at Port de Paix,

Jeremie, 9th Feb. 1794.

SIR,

IF I am not misinformed, concerning your present situation, it is such that you will not be surprised at receiving this letter. You cannot but be fully acquainted with the intentions of his Britannic Majesty, to use the most vigorous efforts to take possession of the island of St. Domingo, or of that part of it which is not yet subdued by the arms of Spain.

I hourly expect considerable forces from England; the army under my command has lately been considerably reinforced.

I doubt not but you have also been informed, that all the members of that party of the National Convention of France, who had sanctioned the measure for sending to St. Domingo civil commissioners, who are looked upon as the cause of the total ruin of the island, have for that crime suffered an ignominious death.

Brissot, the leader of that party, was accused of three capital crimes, the first of which is, that he advised the measure of sending hither civil commissioners.

The unhappy state of France rendering it impracticable for that nation to send succours to this ill-fated country, several of the most respectable proprietors of St. Domingo were forced to apply to England for protection; which was accordingly granted to them.

I now, therefore, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, do hereby offer to you the same protection, on condition that you shall first deliver the town and forts of Port de Paix and its dependencies into the possession of the British government; which being complied with, the officers and soldiers serving under your command shall enjoy the same favours as have been granted to those of the Mole, leaving it to the bounty of his Majesty to grant to yourself the rank he shall judge you proper. I further add, that as a reward for the confidence which I demand of you in the name of the government which

I serve,

I serve, the sum of five thousand crowns (ecus) Tournois, shall be paid to you in person, or deposited in the bank of England, payable to your order, on your delivering the town of Port de Paix, with the forts, artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. &c. without any damage or devastation having been committed on them, into the hands of the officer whom I will appoint to receive them, as also the ships of war which may be in the same port. I shall be at Leogane next Wednesday, where any flag of truce you shall please to send me, shall be received and respected.

I have the honour to send you inclosed, the extract of an English gazette, which has been sent to all the English commanding officers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

WHITLOCK.

Answer of Lavaux, Governor General per Interim, to Major Grant.

*Port de Paix, Feb. 13, 1794, and 2d Year
of the French Republic.*

THE probity, the delicacy, which reign in the breast of a French republican, must ever have given you full assurance that we would respect your flag of truce. French generosity does not fluctuate with events. As amongst us no person is distinguished as a superior, we all doing the duty of a foldier, I looked upon your letter to me as addressed to the first soldier of the army, and as I conceal nothing from my comrades, it was opened and read publicly. We are animated by one and the same spirit of defence. You tell me that you will have at Jean Rabel a sufficient number of men for the execution of whatever plan I may do you the honour to propose. The whole army has no other plans but those necessary for a vigorous defence. You propose to send a ship of war into the canal; you may send her as soon as you please, we are ready to give her a manly reception.

You further informed me, that all possible care shall be taken to secure to me every thing belonging to me. You need not give yourself that trouble. My booty is that of the foldiers; we wear the same uniform; in this I glory: our food is the same, and hence I enjoy good health. You tell me, that most honourable attention will be paid to my person; I take you for a man of honour and sentiment, as such how could you honour a commander who had betrayed his country, and sold his brethren in arms?

We

We are not yet famishing, and we all swear to you that we will never betray our country; and if we cannot make you love us, at least we will force you to esteem us.

I greet you in the name of all the army.

(Signed)

ET. LAVAUX.

Answer of Lavaux.

Etienne Lavaux, Governor General, per interim, of the French Leeward Islands, to Colonel Whitlock, Commander in Chief of the British Troops.

Port de Paix, 19th Feb. 1794, 2d Year of the French Republic.

THE probity, the delicacy, which reign in the breast of a French republican, must ever have given you full assurance that we would respect your flag of truce. French generosity does not fluctuate with events. As amongst us no person is distinguished as a superior, we all doing the duty of a soldier, I looked upon your letter to me as addressed to the first soldier of the army, and as I conceal nothing from my comrades, it was opened and read publicly. We are animated by one and the same spirit of defence. Without enlarging on our situation, I can assure you, that we have learned to bear all the fatigues that are incident to warfare, and that, when matters come to a decision, we shall behave like true soldiers, and would punish them if they behaved otherwise.

Impressed with these sentiments, all the forces with which we are threatened cannot shake our courage. Like the three hundred Lacedemonians who all died at their post, after having slain a part of their enemies, we will defend our station to the last, and sell our lives as dearly as we can. If ever we are in your power you will take us in arms, and then you will treat us as prisoners of war.

These our sentiments are inspired by an ardent desire of meriting your esteem; we shall then be admired by our country and praised by you. What would you say, what would you think, if I proposed to you to surrender to me; if you, being much inferior in number, I imposed on you the hard condition of dishonour? You would answer, *I must die at my post*: this very answer then I make to you. You lay great stress on your information that the unhappy state of France renders it impracticable for her to send us succours; we will wait for them, and use the last arms of despair, and your nation shall learn what a republican is able to perform.

I ask my whole army to cut off my head if I prove a traitor. Permit me now to complain to yourself of the indignity you have

have offered me in thinking me so vile, so flagitious, so base, as not to resent an offer of 50,000 crowns Tournois. In this you have wronged yourself. I am a general; hitherto I have been worthy to command the army. You have endeavoured to dishonour me in the eyes of my comrades; this is an offence between you and me for which you owe me satisfaction; I demand it in the name of honour which must exist among all nations: therefore, previous to any general action, I offer you a single combat till either of us falls, leaving to you the choice of arms either on foot or horseback; then, if victorious, I shall have proved myself worthy to command republicans; if I fall gloriously, the republican army will have another leader still more formidable, and every individual in the army will imitate my example.

Your quality of enemy in the name of your nation did not give you a right to offer me a personal insult; as a private person I ask satisfaction for an injury done me by an individual.

I must tell you that the English papers you send me are not conformable to the news we receive from France. Our two nations have often made war with each other, but always with equal weapons, cease then to attack us by tenders of money. Let us be equally generous, let us contend in honourable hostility, and let us scorn the arts of seduction.

The enemy made prisoner of war with arms in his hands commands respect, as he merits esteem. The universe has its eyes upon us, the universe will say, there still exist men who preferred death to dishonour; we shall serve as examples to all military men, and your country itself will testify its approbation. We have always before our eyes the proverb which says, the treason pleases us well, but the traitor is detested.

The commander of the road, impressed with the same sentiments, will surrender the ships only to be swallowed up by the deep. A second flag of truce would be very needless, therefore do not give yourself the trouble to send one. I invite you to read my letter publicly, as it is written in public.

I greet you in the name of the whole army.

(Signed)

ET. LAVAUX,

In the Month of February, 1794, some French Commissioners arrived in great pomp at Francfort to treat with the Prussian Officers upon an Exchange of Prisoners: and in most of the foreign Accounts it was insinuated they were also secretly negotiating a Peace with his Prussian Majesty. The Leyden Gazette of March 17, 1794, says—

WE have received a letter from the magistrates at Francfort, desiring to contradict the paragraphs asserting, “that some of the people at Francfort had insulted the French commissioners: that it was true the sight of their arrival drew a number of spectators, but there was none behaved indecently, or even attempted any offensive act, and that the commissioners also were ready to give the lie to such paragraphs, being void of all truth.”

It is nevertheless true that their entry into Francfort was in a remarkably splendid carriage, on which were displayed all the diplomatique emblems; it appeared to have belonged to the royal stables, and where the fleur-de-lys had been painted, the red bonnet or cap of liberty was put on each of the pannels in the escutcheons of France.

The following Letter, addressed by the Magistracy of Francfort to the Editor of the Leyden Gazette, was inserted in that Paper of March 18, 1794.

THE arrival of the commissioners of the National Convention produced no other effect on the inhabitants and burghers of the city of Francfort, than that naturally occasioned by a spectacle in every respect novel: and we have the honour to assure you, that none of the burghers or inhabitants of this city, drawn together by this spectacle, attempted any act in the least offensive, or even contrary to public decorum.

As it follows, that the article dated Francfort, February 19, inserted in the supplement of your paper, No. 18, (which article can only have been dictated by the malevolent) is contrary to truth; and that military measures were never in any case employed against the burghers or inhabitants of this city, we flatter ourselves, that we may expect from your veracity, that you will revoke the purport of that erroneous article, which the above-mentioned commissioners can further most completely contradict.

Given the 7th of March, 1794.

The burgomasters and magistrates of the free Imperial city of Francfort on the Mayne.

Declaration

Declaration of the King of Prussia to the Diet of Ratisbon, made in the beginning of February, 1794.

THE electoral minister of Brandenburg notifies to the diet, now assembled, that the King his master, perceiving the indispensable necessity of continuing the war against the common enemy, is not adverse to the increase of his army on the Rhine to 80,000 fighting men; but as the hostilities on the part of the French are rather directed against the empire, than against his Majesty's own territories, nothing more can be required of him than his simple contingent. Being willing, however, to forego all these considerations, the King is ready to fulfil his engagements, provided the following demands are previously complied with:—

1. That each of the princes and states of the empire shall furnish immediately, and without delay, the contingents of men prescribed.

2. That the empire shall provide for the subsistence of the Prussian troops, by preserving for them 80,000 rations of bread, and 24,000 rations of hay and corn daily.

If the Germanic body should refuse to acquiesce in the just demands of his Majesty, so far from sending any future force to the succour of the empire, he will feel himself under the necessity of recalling his troops on the Rhine, and leave no more than the simple contingent prescribed by the terms of alliance between the states of Germany.

Memorial of M. de Dohm, the Prussian Minister, to the Circles of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, dated at Cologne, the 12th of February, 1794.

THE war without example, which his Majesty the King has maintained during two campaigns, against a furious nation, not upon the frontiers of his own dominions, but in countries very distant, and already almost entirely exhausted, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of difficulties of every species, without sparing the greatest sacrifices, and under the necessity of carrying out of his own states enormous sums in specie;—such a war must necessarily have undermined the strength of Prussia in a proportion much greater than that of the powers who are situated nearer to France. His Majesty, for this reason, finds himself absolutely incapable of co-operating, with his own resources alone, in a third campaign, with the same activity that he hitherto has done; he is, on the contrary, under the necessity of withdrawing, in a few weeks, his troops from the frontiers of the

German empire, which he has till now so well protected and defended, and of ordering them to retire to his own dominions, if some method or other is not found to provide for their pay and support. The King has, some months since, made a free overture on this subject to the coalesced powers, from which there have resulted negotiations, of which the issue will, no doubt, be satisfactory; but of which the result cannot be so immediate as the necessity of commencing a new campaign. In the uncertainty in which his Majesty is thus placed, whether he will take a further part in the war, and in the impossibility which arises from that circumstance, of making the necessary dispositions for the future support of the Prussian troops, he has commanded this state of things to be laid before the diet of the empire, and proposed at the same time, that the empire, in a body, should charge itself from the date of the 1st of February, with the pay of the army destined to act against the enemy; that a prompt decision should be taken on this subject, and that the re-partition of the quantum on the circles should be decreed. The urgency of the present conjuncture so strongly justifies and supports this proposition, that it is not to be doubted but the empire in general will acknowledge the injustice of expecting that his Prussian Majesty will any longer continue, with his own forces alone, to the great prejudice of his dominions, those sacrifices which he has hitherto made with so much disinterestedness and patriotism; but that, on the contrary, after so many Prussians have perished in the defence of the empire, and the sacred person of his Majesty, and those of the princes of his family have been exposed to such multiplied perils for the same object, it now is the duty of the states of the empire to concur seriously, by all the means in their power, after the example of his Majesty, to avert a danger with which they themselves are threatened. Although his Majesty is convinced that these undeniable truths will make a due impression on the diet, and that the decision of that body will be conformable to his expectations; yet, considering the nature of the deliberations of the diet, that decision will demand more time than the urgency of the danger permits; since if the King is to continue to defend and protect the empire in the campaign which is about to be opened, the empire must charge itself without delay, with the support of the Prussian army. In this state of things, the only expedient that remains, is, that the six anterior circles who are the most exposed to danger, and who have the most need of protection, namely, those of Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the electoral circle of the Upper Rhine, that of the Lower Rhine, and of Westphalia, should take upon themselves, provisionally, from the date of the 1st of February, under the reserve of the eventual decision of the diet, and until its full completion, the support of the Prussian army which acts against the enemy. The provisions to be delivered to it will comprehend

comprehend daily 41,966 rations, and 82,154 portions, with the necessary wood, straw, carriages, &c. and that after the decision of the diet shall have taken place, they shall receive from the other circles an indemnification in money, proportionate to their advances. That this measure, which circumstances render so indispensably necessary, may be as soon as possible carried into execution, the King has requested his Serene Highness the Elector of Mentz, as arch-chancellor and director of the empire, to convoke without delay, in an assembly at Francfort, the above-mentioned circles, with the reserve of what is due in such cases to his Imperial Majesty, as chief of the empire, that the collection and partition of the provisions, that measures may be taken in concert with the Prussian commissary, deputy to this assembly of the circles, the Baron de Herdenberg, without delay, and without observing the formalities useful in other cases, but in this destructive, to determine the place, the manner, and the time of delivering them. The undersigned is commanded at the same time, to give this information to the circles of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and to request of them to deliberate immediately upon an object so important and so urgent, and to send to Francfort a deputation which may co-operate towards it. The reasons which make the greatest celerity necessary, are too evident to require any further illustration: the tearing asunder all the bands of society; the subversion of all constitutions, political and ecclesiastical; the annihilation of all property, and the destruction of every species of happiness and prosperity, among all classes of men; such would be the melancholy fate of Germany, if our country were to be conquered by a nation which breathes only murder and pillage: and this conquest would be the almost inevitable consequence of the retreat of the Prussian army, to which his Majesty would, by different reasons, be infallibly compelled, though with regret, if the anterior circles did not resolve without delay, the provincial maintenance which is demanded of them, and did not immediately make the necessary dispositions to that effect. His Majesty, full of confidence in his co-estates of this circle, assures himself that, penetrated by the urgency of circumstances, they will conduct and accelerate this negotiation with all the zeal which is inspired by the defence of their own existence, as well as that of all Germany. At the same time that the undersigned has the honour to recommend with the greatest confidence, this affair to the patriotism of the two high co-directors, he must request that this proposition, made on the part of the King of Prussia, may be immediately communicated to the whole circle, and that the assembly of the circle, at present separated, may be called together, to take the affair into consideration, and to send a deputation to the assembly of Franconia, for which the letter of convocation of the Elector of Mentz will soon be issued,

and of which the opening will very probably be fixed for a very early period. The undersigned ventures to hope, from the sentiments of enlightened patriotism of the two high co-directors, that they will co-operate with all their efforts, for the attainment of so important an object; and it is in this hope that he will expect their declaration to be communicated to his court.

Verbal Declaration to the other Deputies from Baron de Hugel, Minister from Austria, to the Diet of the Empire, made in February, 1794.

IN the present posture of affairs, his Majesty the Emperor deems it necessary for the safety of the Germanic body, that a numerous army belonging to the circles of the empire should be assembled on the Higher Rhine, under the orders of a general; and as this has been long the wish of many considerable states, their august chief flatters himself that all the members will be eager to hold their respective contingents in readiness, and that those who formerly redeemed them by means of money, will henceforth furnish men. His Imperial Majesty, in order to give a new proof of his solicitude in favour of the Germanic body, will confer the command on the Prince of Saxe Teschen, and will not, in the mean time, make any alteration with regard to the Austrian troops now on the Rhine.

Note delivered by the Austrian Envoy at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the Part of the Emperor, to demand the Sense of the Germanic States respecting the Necessity of arming all the Inhabitants on the Frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a triple Contingent on the Part of the said States.

ALL Europe knows the manifold and just grounds which have compelled the Germanic empire, united under its supreme chief, to declare a general war, for the maintenance of the most binding covenants and the most sacred treaties; for the preservation of social order, from a wild, destructive, and most anarchic tyranny, falsely called freedom; for the defence of an acknowledged religion from pestilential atheism; for the support of the constitution of the empire against an arbitrary, horrible, and universal revolutionary power; for keeping up the Imperial honour; for the protection and future security of the Imperial privileges and the frontiers, and for obtaining a suitable and entire satisfaction against the common enemy of all public order, against the most wanton disturbers of all the be-
neficent

resent ties of social happiness, and the most cruel despots and violators of the most sacred rights of mankind.

Equally well known are the different splendid victories from the first day of the opening of the last campaign, which were gained blow upon blow by the almost incredible bravery of the German troops on the Rhine, the Ruhr, the Maas, the Mayne, the Mozelle, &c. which were happily followed by the deliverance of the United Netherlands, invaded in the most lawless manner, and the emancipation of many other German districts and important countries, from the sway of false French liberty; the capture of Conde, the re-capture of the city and important fortress of Mentz, the taking of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, &c.

But this campaign, so glorious for battles, sieges, and conquests, could not bring back the French to a more equitable and more just sense of reason, principle and action, towards the Germanic nation, offended to the highest degree. That faction, hostile to the human race, which styles itself the National Convention of France, strengthens daily her power of resistance by the most terrible means, by numberless arbitrary confiscations, by the plundering of the churches and the rich, having already seized the property of the clergy, nobility, and crown, and by the most desperate measure of a general requisition of all fighting men, supported by that most terrific instrument the guillotine.

The violent decrees, compelling the people to rise in a mass, have given additional force and strength to the numerous hostile armies now in the field, so that they succeeded at last, after renovated, daily, and most violent attacks, notwithstanding the steadiest countenance and most gallant resistance on the part of the German warriors, to re-take by their superiority a part of the conquests—a loss which, in all probability, would not have ensued, if the contingents of the empire had been properly sent.

This general requisition of all the fighting men effected a great superiority, and changed entirely the mode of making war, increased the dangers and difficulties of this coercive war, and seems in some manner to necessitate the rising in a mass of the inhabitants of the frontiers of the Netherlands, Anterior Austria, Brisgau, and other places, in order to procure safety to the property of the royal subjects of the empire, against the ravages branded with the wildest excesses, occasioned by an enemy driven to despair by the misery which reigns in their own country, and emboldened by their recent successes.

(Signed)

COLLOREDO,

February, 1794.

Declaration

Declaration of the King of Prussia against a general Armament of the Inhabitants of the Empire, made in February 1794.

I. **W**HEN the proposition for a general armament of the subjects of the empire was made at the assembly of the diet, the King of Prussia represented such essential difficulties against this measure, that he could not have expected, that the proposition would have been carried to a *conclusum*.

II. For this reason his Majesty finds himself under the necessity of laying them again once more before the six nearest circles, with this observation, viz. "That if the said circles cannot determine with themselves to withdraw the said *conclusum*, and render it of none effect, he will be forced, however contrary to his inclination, to withdraw his troops, as he cannot expose them to the danger which must necessarily result from this measure.

III. The reasons that his Prussian Majesty opposes to a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, are the following, viz.

1. By employing the peasants against the enemy, agriculture will want hands.

2. That there are not arms sufficient to give to such a mass of people.

3. That it is impossible, in so short a time, to teach the manual exercise to the inhabitants.

4. It has been found, by the experience of the two last campaigns, that the soldiers opposed to the French must be perfectly exercised to make head against them.

5. Lastly, independent of the above reasons, it is infinitely dangerous, at a time like the present, when the French are watching every advantage to insinuate their principles, to assemble such a mass of men, whose ideas upon forms of government must be various, and among whom consequently dissensions might arise, disastrous in their consequences both to the armies and to the constitution of the empire.

Declaration of his Prussian Majesty, delivered to the States of the Germanic Circles, assembled at Frankfort, in February 1794.

HIS Majesty the King of Prussia could not but hear with the highest displeasure, that designs were imputed to him tending to secularize bishoprics and chapters, to suppress them and to appropriate to himself certain cities of the empire, in order to indemnify himself for the immense sums which he had expended for near two years, to carry on the war against the French

French, and to defend against them the Germanic empire and his illustrious allies.

His Majesty, confident that his designs are pure, might pass in silence over such rumours, and content himself with the conviction that they would find no belief on the part of the well-disposed states of the empire: but to give the most ample satisfaction, and to confound the malevolent, who invent similar stories purposely, and perhaps to excite distrust, the undersigned has orders formally to declare, that while his Majesty makes war upon the French, he has never any view but the defence of the Germanic empire, and the maintenance of the constitution; that it never was His Majesty's design to make conquests for himself; and that if conquests are made from France, the empire will have its share; that he never conceived the least idea of indemnifying himself at the expense of the empire, whose constitution has always been sacred to him, and for whose maintenance he has already made so many sacrifices, as is generally known.

The undersigned finally declares, that His Majesty will never belie those intentions in future, and will be always ready to secure and guaranty to the Germanic empire its territory and constitution, and to its states in particular, both spiritual and temporal, their possessions and rights; in a word, the inviolable maintenance of the whole Germanic body, provided the empire, and above all, those six circles which are most exposed to danger at the present, will co-operate as much as the constitution and patriotism require of them.

(Signed)

BARON HOCHSTETTER.

Letter from the King of Prussia to the Prince of Saxe Coburg.

I AM eager to inform you, that in consequence of the negotiations which have hitherto been carried on, it is my intention to give orders to my Field-marshal Mollendorff to leave behind a corps of 20,000 men, under the command of Lieutenant-general Kalkreuth, to withdraw with the rest of my army from the environs of Mentz, and to march towards Cologne. I request you, for that purpose, to take the necessary measures, that the retreat of the most considerable part of my troops do not turn out advantageous to the enemy, but that the fortress of Mentz, and the empire in general, remain covered against hostile invasion. It being in other respects necessary to make arrangements to procure to the troops who put themselves on their march the necessary provisions on the road to Cologne, their departure will not follow so rapidly; and those troops shall not file off at once, but by divisions—you will, therefore, have time sufficient to make the necessary dispositions.

sitions. I hope, at the same time, that you will have the goodness to take such measures, that when Field-marshal Mollendorff shall have finished his preparations, and when, by virtue of the orders received, he shall have informed you of the days on which the troops shall depart, the execution of this resolution do not suffer any obstacle.

(Signed)

WILLIAM FREDERICK.

Potsdam, March 11, 1794.

Declaration of the King of Prussia to the German Empire, on his secession from the present Continental Confederacy.

THE period being arrived in which his Prussian Majesty is forced to discontinue taking that active part in the present war, which hitherto has been the effect of his generosity and pure patriotism ; on account, and in consideration of what is owing by his Majesty, to the preservation of his own estates, and to the welfare of his subjects, his Majesty thinks it particularly his duty to lay before their Highnesses the Co-States of the German empire, the real causes and true motives by which he was induced to take such a resolution.

At the time when the French nation, in the unfortunate delusion of imaginary liberty, had not only dissolved every tie of civic order amongst themselves, but also meditated the subversion of the repose and welfare of other nations, by the introduction of their anarchic horrors, and in fact, had already fallen in an hostile manner on such territories of his Imperial Majesty, and of the German empire, as were nearest to them, his Majesty thought proper to unite his just arms with those of his Imperial Majesty, and afterwards with those of the whole German empire, and those of his other allies, in order to set bounds to the destructive enterprises of a delirious nation, and to restore peace and happiness to those as guiltless as highly endangered states. This object was ever the guide of the arms of his Majesty down to this present moment, and more impressive on his mind, in proportion as the madness of the French augmented, and the danger of all Germany became more imminent. The efforts of his Majesty to set a boundary against this mighty torrent of ill-fortune on the German territories, were, it is true, at first but proportioned to the danger, but soon exceeded the utmost of his ability. The war was not a war with a civilized nation, and well-disciplined armies, but a war with a delirious and never-diminishing swarm of men, with a highly populous nation, provided with every resource for war to back them—a set of men who did not fight merely for victory, but who sought by fire, sword, and the poison of their pernicious doctrines, to subvert the whole social edifice of Germany.

To

To oppose this almost unconquerable enemy, the King, on his part, brought into the field 70,000 men, and those his choicest troops; with these has his Majesty combated, even until this third campaign, under every imaginable obstacle, far from the Prussian dominions, amidst already exhausted lands, excess of dearness of the necessaries of life, and almost insupportable expense.

Besides these unparalleled efforts, his Majesty has made to the common cause every possible sacrifice which the national strength of Prussia would permit; nor has he hesitated to expose even his sacred person, and the princes of his family, to every danger by which the repose and safety of Germany could be conquered from the enemy. For this object alone has so much Prussian blood been spilt—for this, such immense treasures drained from his dominions. Such a war must necessarily have more exhausted his resources than those of such powers whose dominions lay more contiguous to the scene of hostility; and thus his Majesty fell into an absolute impossibility of taking any longer that active part from his own means, without utterly ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhausting the property of his subjects.

His Majesty, however, still remained deeply impressed with a patriotic hope of being able still to lend help and protection, and that with increased force, to the German empire; and to be enabled to do this, he entered into a negociation with the confederate powers, proposing certain arrangements to them, the principal points of which were, besides the payment of a subsidy to him, a stipulation that the subsistence of the greatest part of the Prussian army should be provided for by the empire in general; and that, until a final plan should be concluded to this effect, that the six anterior circles of the empire, who lay most exposed to danger, and who reaped immediate benefit from the defence, should be charged provisionally with the furnishing of the same; and it was also declared to the diet of the empire, and the circles above-mentioned, that in case these frank and free proposals were not acceded to by the Emperor, his Majesty would be compelled to withdraw the greatest part of his troops, and to leave the empire to its fate.

Several states have made declarations suitable to the pressing circumstances in which they, and the whole empire, were placed; in particular his Electoral Highness of Mentz, full of exalted and patriotic sentiments towards the empire, complied with every requisition relative to the subsistence of the Prussian troops which depended upon him, and summoned an immediate congress of the six circles. His Majesty entertained a just expectation, that similar good consequences would every where have flowed from his patriotic intentions, and his hard-earned merits in his former defence of the whole empire. Every retrospect seemed to confirm these hopes; on one side, the past afforded the admonishing picture of the dreadful torrent of an all-subverting enemy; on the

other, the noble and heroic stand of the Prussian army, and immense sacrifices of the blood of his warriors, and the trea- of his dominions, made by the magnanimity of his Prussian jesty. Even then that army was standing on the banks of Rhine, the bulwark of the whole empire, and to which the er did not dare to penetrate ; but the subsistence of that army, dertaken by the whole empire, was the sole condition under v it no longer could be effective, and which the physical impossi of Prussia alone bearing the burthen, did absolutely oblige P to insist upon. Was it acceded to, so as the future afforde consolatory prospect of his Majesty acting with that known crity—that well proved fidelity, in the defence of the empire, the protection of its constitution, to the utmost of his power ? every impartial observer might have easily anticipated the c quences of the refusal of the required subsistence, and the retu the Prussian troops into his Majesty's own states. Then n the over-powerful and delirious enemy ravage, uncontro throughout the empire, and with plundering and murderous h unbridled and unlimited, bear down the Germans, their bandry, all law, order and property, subvert with anarchic minations, the constitutions of more imperial states, annil princes and nobles, erase the temples of religion, and drive the hearts of Germans their natural love of virtue and orde the aids of the seductive allurements of licentiousness, and the cepts of an unfeeling immorality.

All these and similar observations, so simple and so obvio they were, did, nevertheless, not succeed in bringing the arr- ment for the subsistence of the army to a just conclusion.

proposal was, besides this, sufficiently connected with another rangement, which his Majesty had designed to offer the c derate powers, but which it did not seem good to his Imperial jesty to comply with, and which other states did also not app

Moreover, this proposal gave rise to an exception, which, so many and meritorious actions, such unparalleled faci which his Majesty had already made, he, in truth, had no r to expect, and on which his Majesty, not without much so finds it his duty to make some remarks.

The summoning of the six circles, by the Elector of N has been represented as irregular, though in fact it is strictly stitutional. Measures there were proposed precisely contrad to the negociations for the subsistence, and the universal arm the peasants was resolved on, though it is plain, that such a fure is as inefficient as dangerous, and completely adverse object proposed—inefficient against an enemy who presses fo in a mass with an insanity of fury, approved tactics, and merous artillery—dangerous, because, when the peasant is a and brought away from his ordinary mode of life, the enemy

easily become his most dangerous seducer, and finally adverse to the object proposed, because such an armament is wholly incompatible with the operations and subsistence of disciplined armies. These reasons, which flowed from the most sincere conviction of his Majesty, have been represented in the most odious colours; and the most false and scandalous motives have been attributed to him for his dissent to this measure;—and, in order to prevent the arrangement of the subsistence, projects of extending his dominions, of secularizing ecclesiastical territories, and of oppressing the empire, have been rumoured to have been by him in contemplation; and of which his Majesty's known patriotism, and acknowledged virtues, will form the best contradiction.

After what is past, every hope of the subsistence being acceded to, being now vanished, his Majesty does now renounce the same, and also every resolution of the empire, and of the circles relative thereto.—his Majesty has therefore taken the resolution no longer to grant his protection to the German empire; but to order his army, (excepting twenty thousand auxiliaries, according to different treaties) instantly to return to his own dominions.

At the same time that his Majesty finds himself compelled to withdraw a portion of his troops from the defence of those states, for which they have already combated with so much glory, he expresses the most earnest wishes, that those consequences he has above alluded to may not take place, but that the exertions of his Imperial Majesty, and of the empire, may eventually insure to both a full indemnity, and a general and honourable peace. To his Majesty remains the just consolation, and permanent glory of having on his part, made such sacrifices to the defence and safety of the Emperor in the present awful crisis, as certainly few states in Europe, or members of the Germanic body, could, without much hesitation, have resolved upon,

BERLIN, *March*, 13, 1794.

Count Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador, at the Diet of the German Empire, on the 7th of April, 1794, declared, in the name of the Sovereign his Master.

THAT his Prussian Majesty, in consequence of the repeated wishes of the states of the empire, and the negotiations which are going forward between him and the court of Great Britain, has at last yielded to continue his troops in their present position for the protection of the empire, and this only in the confidential expectation, that the estates will speedily proceed to deliberations upon the measures for procuring to his Majesty the means of maintaining those troops for the future for the protection of the empire against a powerful enemy.

Declaration of the Prussian Minister Baron Hotchfletter to the Circle of the Upper Rhine, dated 5th April, 1794, respecting the Prussian contingent.

IN answer to the claim made by the Comte de Lechrbach, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor, as chief of the Germanic corps, the court of Berlin has resolved to declare, that the King would never refuse doing his duty as a member of the empire; but that in the case in which he now is effectively called on, he will conduct himself after the example of the other Electors and illustrious Co-estates, proportionably to his obligations, according to the Germanic constitution and the ancient usage.

To the above Declaration the Baron Hotchfletter verbally added,

1. The greater part of the army under command of Field Marshal Mollendorff, will defer their march into the Prussian dominions, and remain in the places of the Lower Rhine, until further orders.

2. This delay of the return of the Prussian troops to his Majesty's dominions, however, is eventual, and will certainly cease as soon as the hopes of his Majesty vanish with respect to the subsidies which he claims from the six anterior circles.

3. His Majesty wishes that the States of the six anterior circles might assemble, and deliberate provisionally upon the question, whether measures were to be taken for the purpose of providing for, and maintaining the army of his Prussian Majesty for the protection of the empire.

4. There is no time to be lost; if his Majesty once should give decisive orders for the army to return to his dominions, remonstrances upon that subject would any longer be listened to.

5. His Majesty has to add, to the demands already specified in his declaration to the directors of the treasury of the empire the just claim of 1,800,000 rix-dollars, the expenses for the siege of the fortress of Mentz.

The following is the Copy of a Paper stuck up at the Stock Exchange and Lloyd's Coffee-House. London, April 28, 1794.

WHEREAS it is reported, that a loan for the Emperor of Germany is about to be negotiated in England, and the authority of Parliament, We the under-written contractors for the loan of this year, think it proper and incumbent on us to declare, That it was a positive condition (clearly expressed and understood) with the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that no other borrowing or funding should take place this year, but the loan for eleven millions and the funding of the navy, not exceeding two millions; and that the Exchequer bills circulated with the public, were not to exceed two millions being the same amount as the preceding year.

GODSCHALL JOHNSON, JAMES MORGAN, J. J. ANGERSTEIN

IMPERIAL LOAN.

In opposition to the preceding Article the following Papers were circulated in all the London Prints.

FOR the satisfaction of the subscribers to the Imperial loan, in particular, and in order to undeceive the public at large, with regard to the reports industriously propagated of its being illegal and disagreeable to Government, we are authorised to lay before the public the following correspondence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject; which confirms what every disinterested man must have concluded, that the British Government could not but regard with a favourable eye, a measure so directly tending, and so absolutely necessary to the vigorous prosecution of a war, in the speedy and successful termination of which we are strongly interested, as a principal contending power; and on the issue of which (as has been frequently and energetically expressed by the administration which countenances the loan) depend the security of all property, the peace of Europe, and the stability of a government, so justly dear to every Englishman.

(COPY.)

SIR,

London, May 5, 1794.

WHEN his Imperial Majesty's Minister at this court, and the Treasurer General of the Austrian Netherlands, proposed to my house, the negociation of a loan for the Emperor, of three millions sterling, I made it a special condition in undertaking the negociation, that nothing should be found in it contrary to the existing laws, or disagreeable to the Government of this country; and when I had the honour of waiting upon you, this morning, with the Imperial Ministers above mentioned, you effectually removed every possibility of doubt on that head, by declaring the negociation perfectly legal, and assuring me that Government was pleased with its success.

For the satisfaction of the public, I beg you will have the goodness to repeat that assurance in writing.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

The Right Hon. William Pitt.

WALTER BOYD.

(COPY.)

SIR,

Downing-street, Saturday, May 17.

IN answer to the letter which I have received from you on the subject of the loan of three millions to the Emperor, which it has been proposed to you to negotiate, I have the honour to acquaint you, that I am not aware of any law to prohibit a loan to a foreign state in amity with this country; and that in

the present case, government, by no means wish to object to measure for the accommodation of his Imperial Majesty, with whom his Majesty is engaged in the closest union and concert.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

W. PITT,

Walter Boyd, Esq. Albemarle-street.

Substance of an Imperial Decree of Ratification, dated Vienna, the 14th of June, 1794, and presented to the Dietature, in the Diet of Ratisbon,

SINCE the extraordinary manner in which the French seem determined to carry on this war, namely, by violence and force, to oblige all the men of their nation, able to carry arms to march against the combined armies, by which means they increase their hostile forces to extraordinary numbers; and since the danger to which the German empire is exposed from the invasions, which such innumerable hordes are induced to make from motives of hunger and desire of plunder, measures are required more than ever to strengthen the military forces of the empire: it is therefore adviseable, that the army of the empire should be reinforced by a regular and well-equipped army procured by the means of subsidies.

His Imperial Majesty, therefore, proposes to the empire to enter into a treaty with his Prussian Majesty, in consideration of reasonable subsidies, to furnish a certain specified corps of his troops for the service of the general cause. His Prussian Majesty, from his character of a generous and distinguished member of the Germanic empire, will undoubtedly oppose no obstacle to such a treaty, particularly as there exists already a corps of such brave troops (over and above the number of Prussian troops serving as contingents in the army of the empire) on the very spot where they might be serviceable to the general cause, and ready for action in a very short time. These subsidies ought to be offered in ready money, and his Imperial Majesty to be authorised to enter into a negociation with the King of Prussia for that purpose, in the name of the empire.

His Imperial Majesty, for the reason above stated, requests that the contingent troops, still due from several of the states of the empire, shall be sent into the field against the most cruel of all enemies, as soon as possible.

Memorial from Lord St. Helen, his Britannic Majesty's Minister, to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces.

THE undersigned Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to inform your High Mightinesses, that he has learned, by letters from the Duke of York, commander in chief of his Majesty's army in the Belgian provinces, that circumstances having obliged the allied troops to abandon Bruges, it is actually occupied by the enemy, and that, through this accident, the British army has no longer any communication with Ostend; from which circumstance it has become of the utmost importance, that the British army should receive the considerable reinforcements of troops and stores expected from the ports of England by the river Scheldt, the greatest part of which is already at sea; and in consequence of which the undersigned finds himself obliged to request very seriously of your High Mightinesses to permit, and give the necessary orders for the free passage of the vessels conveying troops and other necessaries for the said British army, and for their passage, without any impediment.

The object of this demand being evidently of much importance to the common cause, the undersigned has no doubt of your immediate concurrence; and he further flatters himself, that your High Mightinesses, seeing the extreme necessity of this request, will dispatch the necessary orders with all possible diligence.

(Signed)

ST. HELEN.

Done at the Hague, June 29, 1794.

In consequence of this Memorial, the navigation of the Scheldt has been declared free to all English vessels.

On the 13th of July, 1794, M. Barrere preceded the reading of the following Letter and Passport by saying in the French Convention,

WHILE we are on the subject of Brussels and its last tyrants, I must make known to the Convention and the French nation the scandalous immorality of the sovereigns they combat. Yes, I denounce to Europe and the whole world these crowned forgers, these privileged fabricators of false money, these violators of public law. Among tyrants, edicts, resolutions of council, and severe ordinances, condemn to terrible penalties those who forge money, or who alter the Royal effigy upon metals. The authors of these crimes, these forgers, are no longer a few obscure rascals: these enemies of commerce and public probity are ———. At London there is a manufactory of forged assignats. There the
valuable

valuable arts of paper-making and engraving are converted to a criminal purpose, and condemned to multiply the false signs of the fortune of the French nation. Two millions of assignats have been forged in London; and a considerable number of packets have been sent into the territories of the confederates, for the purpose of disposing among us this false paper, at the same time that the soldiers of tyranny were carrying into our territory all the scourges of a war of cannibals.—Thus have we had to defend ourselves both against their arms and their false money: this is a present we had reason to expect: this discovery is a consequence of the victory of our arms. At Ostend, 2,270,010 livres of forged assignats, manufactured in England, were found by our troops; and there also was found a free passport for these assignats: to be sure it was but reasonable that the Emperor should give up his imposts on printed papers intended for such purposes; and which were so effectually to serve the confederacy!—This is a fine example of justice and probity to give to the world, and is the only infamy that remained to be added to the famous book containing the crimes of Kings, written by a deputy of the Convention. The following are copies of the order and passport:

The Treasurer General, Counsellor and Clerk of Domains and Finances of the Emperor and King.

Very dear and faithful Friends,

M. DUFOUR having demanded permission to have forwarded to Liege a trunk containing assignats addressed to him, and arrived at Ostend, we authorise you by this present to forward it accordingly free of all duties. You will do the same with respect to any assignats which may be hereafter forwarded by you to the same destination. May God keep you under his holy protection.

BOUNISER:

Council of Finances, Brussels, May 26, 1794.

To the principal Officers of Ostend.

(A true Copy.)

DOLBANNAUD:

Principal Officers of Ostend. Extract from the Register of Passports,
June 3, 1794.

PASS to Liege, by the way of Dormael, a trunk containing assignats, free from all duties, conformably to an order of council, bearing date May 26th ult. and to the address of Dufour.

Ostend, July 4, 1794.

LIBNE:

(A true Extract)

DOLBANNAUD:

[Although the following Papers from Corsica ought, according to the strict Plan of this Work, to be placed in different Sections, yet the Editor thinks it will be more useful in this Instance, to deviate from his general Rule, and to give them together, as they appeared in the London Gazette of July 22, 1794.]

Whitehall, July 22.

The dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, from the Right Hon. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. dated Corté, the 21st of June, 1794.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain is finally and formally concluded; and it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I find myself enabled to assure you that no national act was ever sanctioned by a more unanimous proceeding on the part of those who were authorised to do it, or by a more universal approbation, amounting, I may say, to enthusiasm on the part of the people.

I have already had the honour of transmitting to you a copy of the letter addressed by his Excellency my Lord Hood and myself, to his Excellency General Paoli, dated the 21st of April. I have the honour to enclose to-day a copy of the circular letter, addressed by General Paoli to his countrymen, referring to that which he had received from us, an Italian translation of which was annexed.

Letters of convocation were soon after issued for the assembly of the General Consult to be held at Corté, on Sunday the 8th of June, and were so framed as to procure the most general representation known in this island, every community, which is the smallest territorial division, having sent its representative, and the state of property being such, that although none but landholders were electors, every man, almost without exception, has voted.

The letters of convocation set forth the occasion of their being called together; and the minutes of election in every community expressed the general nature of the measure to which the deputies were authorised to consent, specifying distinctly the union of Corsica with Great Britain, and the tender of the crown to his Majesty.

I have the honour to enclose copies of these proceedings.

The deputies met at Corté in sufficient numbers to constitute the assembly, on Tuesday the 10th of June. Some days were employed in verifying their powers, and determining controverted elections; after which they chose General Paoli as their president, and Mr. Pozzo de Bargo and Mr. Muselli their secretaries.

On Saturday the 14th instant, General Paoli opened the assembly by an excellent and eloquent speech, stating concisely the

principal events which had occurred, and the principal measures adopted by himself since the separation of the last General Consult in May, 1793, the occasion of the present convocation, and the leading points on which their deliberations should turn.

The assembly voted unanimously their thanks to General Paoli, and a full and entire approbation of all he had done, by virtue of the powers formerly vested in him by the General Consult of 1793.

They then, first, declare unanimously, the separation of Corsica from France:

And secondly, with the same unanimity, and with the strongest demonstrations of universal satisfaction and joy, voted the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain.

A committee was then appointed to prepare the articles of union, and to consider the proper mode of tendering the crown to his Majesty.

It was declared that all who came should have voices ; and, in fact, several persons of character and talents, who were not even members of the assembly, were admitted to the deliberations, and took a share in the discussions of the committee.

The articles underwent in the committee a very full, free, and intelligent discussion ; such as would have done honour to any assembly of public men in any country, and such as stamp the result with the sanction of a deliberate and informed, as well as a free and independent assent.

The report was voted with unanimity in the committee.

It was presented to the assembly on Thursday the 17th, and on that and the following day was opened, and most ably as well as fully expounded to them by Mr. Bozzo de Bargo. It was adopted with unanimity, and with universal applause ; and two copies of the act of union were signed by every member of the Consult.

On Thursday the 19th of June I received a deputation from the assembly, presenting to me a copy of the act of union, and inviting me to return with them, that the crown might be tendered to his Majesty by the assembly itself, in the most solemn and authentic form.

I accompanied the deputation, and in presence of the assembly, received from the president, his Excellency General Paoli, in the name of the people, the tender of the crown and sovereignty of Corsica to his Majesty.

His Excellency's address to me is contained in the minutes.

After addressing the assembly in a manner which appeared to me suitable to the occasion, I pronounced in his Majesty's name the acceptance of the crown, according to the articles contained in the act of union.

I then took, in his Majesty's name, the oath prescribed, " to maintain the liberties of Corsica, according to the constitution and the laws."

The president then took and administered to the assembly the oath of allegiance and fidelity ; after which I signed and sealed the acceptation annexed to both copies of the act of union, one of which I have now the honour to transmit.

The day following (yesterday) Te Deum was sung in the cathedral, accompanied by the discharge of artillery ; and prayers were offered up for his Majesty, by the name of George the Third, King of Great Britain and Corsica. In the evening the town was illuminated, and the people demonstrated their loyalty and joy by every means in their power.

The assembly has voted, this day, an address to his Majesty, expressive of their gratitude, loyalty, and attachment ; and have deputed four respectable gentlemen to present it to his Majesty in London.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without offering my very humble congratulations on the fortunate termination of this important and interesting affair, at once advantageous, as I trust, to the contracting parties, honourable to his Majesty, and gratifying, in every view, to his royal feelings, as well as to those of his British subjects.

The true foundation and basis of this transaction has rested on the confidence inspired by his Majesty's princely virtues, and the exalted reputation enjoyed throughout the world by the British nation for every honourable and generous quality. The people of Corsica have, on one hand, done homage to those virtues, by confiding and tendering, even solicitously, the sovereignty of their country to his Majesty ; they have, on the other hand, heightened the value of that confidence, by evincing that it comes from men who have rejected with horror, the poisonous and counterfeit liberty of France, without being ignorant or careless of a well-ordered and constitutional freedom.

His Majesty has acquired a crown ; those who bestow it have acquired liberty. The British nation has extended its political and commercial sphere by the accession of Corsica : Corsica has added new securities to her ancient possessions, and has opened fresh fields of prosperity and wealth, by her liberal incorporation with a vast and powerful empire.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by Mr. Petriconi, a young gentleman of this country, who has served with distinction throughout the war, under the orders of General Paoli, and particularly in the sieges of Bastia and St. Fiorenzo.

I beg leave to refer to him for any particulars which I may have omitted, and to recommend him to the honour of your attention during his residence in England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

GILBERT ELLIOT.

TRANSLATION.

*General Paoli to his Countrymen.**Furiani, May 1, 1794**Most dearly beloved Countrymen,*

THE unabated confidence with which you have honoured me and the solicitude I have ever had to promote your interests and to ensure your liberty, prescribe to me the obligation of stating you the present situation of public affairs.

You remember how many cruel and treacherous arrangements were made by the three commissioners of the French Convention who were sent over to our island; and in what manner they attempted to concentrate the powers of government in a small number of their satellites, destined to be the instruments of those violence and cruelties, which were to be exercised against all meaning persons, and against the nation at large.

The unjust decree which ordered my arrest, and my transfer to the bar of the assembly, was the first attempt directed by them against your liberty. You unanimously declared yourselves, humbly remonstrated against an act designed to facilitate the execution of the enemy's plots: finally, you, in a general assembly declared your indignation at this act of injustice; and you adopted at that moment, such resolutions as were consistent with your own dignity, and with the public welfare.

I accepted, as a distinguishing proof of your confidence, the commission you were pleased to confer upon me, for providing in those critical circumstances, for the maintenance of your safety and liberty: Anxious that you should not be exposed to any danger, unless indignation and necessity commanded you to resist, I tried every means which prudence and moderation suggested to me at that time; but neither your just reclamations, nor my influence, were sufficient to recal to sentiments of rectitude and humanity a violent and sanguinary faction, irritated by the resistance you had made, and resolved to accomplish your destruction: for which purpose the subversion of the government was ordered, and the members of it proscribed, conjointly with no other zealous patriots: the nation was declared in a state of rebellion; orders were given to reduce it by force of arms, and to treat it with the bloody rigour of revolutionary laws.

Roused by these causes, by the endless succession of destruction and ruin, which characterises the conduct of those persons who exercise the powers of government in France, and by the destruction of all religion, and of every form of worship, enforced and proclaimed among the people with unexampled impiety, the Corsican felt the necessity of separating from the French, and guarding against the poisonous influence of their errors,

The acts of hostility committed by the French, and those Corsican traitors who had taken refuge in the garrisons of Calvi, St. Fiorenzo, and Bastia, compelled us to repel them by force of arms. I have seen with infinite satisfaction, during the course of a whole year, that your ancient bravery and attachment to your country were not in the least diminished. In various encounters the enemy have been defeated, although numerous, and supported by artillery: you have treated the prisoners, taken in the heat of battle, with generosity; whilst the enemy have, in cold blood, massacred our prisoners, who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands: in all these agitations we have kept ourselves united, and exempt from the horrors of licentiousness and anarchy; a happy presage of your future fate, and an irrefragable proof that you are deserving of true liberty, and that you will know how to preserve it unfulled by licentiousness and dissensions.

In such a state of things, a becoming diffidence made me, nevertheless, apprehend that the enemy would increase in force, and attempt to carry into execution the destructive plans they had formed against you: under these circumstances I felt the necessity of foreign assistance; and, in conformity to your general wishes, and to the public opinion and universal expectation, I had recourse to the King, and to the generous and powerful nation, which had, on other occasions, protected the remains of our liberty; a measure dictated by the public safety, and which I took only when every conciliatory offer had been obstinately rejected, and every hope of obtaining moderation or justice from the French Convention was extinct.

His Britannic Majesty's arms have made their appearance in your support: his ships and troops are employed with you to drive from our country the common enemy, and the blood of Britons and Corsicans is conjointly shed for the liberty of this island. Our enterprize has already been crowned with happy events, and draws near to a fortunate completion.

This pleasing aspect of affairs has determined me to turn my thoughts to the most efficacious means of establishing a permanent freedom, and of securing our island from the various events which, till this moment, have kept us in agitation.

The protection of the King of Great Britain, and a political union with the British nation, of which the prosperity and power, uninterrupted for ages, are to the universe proofs of the excellency of its government, have appeared to me to accord with the happiness and safety of Corsica. The universal opinion on this head, evinced, by the unreserved inclination you have shewn, and strengthened by your gratitude for benefits received, appears fortunately to concur with mine. I have therefore made the proper overtures to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, with a view to establish this desirable union.

With

With a satisfaction never to be erased from my mind, I now behold our wishes anticipated, and our hopes realized : the memorial which has been transmitted to me by their Excellencies, the Admiral commanding the fleet, and the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty, affords us the opportunity of establishing this union in the manner best adapted to the benefit of both nations, and to the honour of his Majesty. I cannot better make known to you their Excellencies' sentiments, than by a faithful translation of their memorial.

The nature of the present address does not permit me to enlarge upon the benefits of this union, which tends to conciliate the most extensive political and civil liberty with personal security. You are convinced of these truths, and will regulate your conduct accordingly : I nevertheless avail myself of this opportunity to declare to you, that, in taking the English constitution for your model, you will proceed upon the most solid principles that philosophy, policy, and experience, have ever been known to combine for the happiness of a great people, reserving to yourselves the power of adapting them to your own peculiar situation, customs, and religion, without being exposed, hereafter, to the venality of a traitor, or to the ambition of a powerful usurper.

A matter of such importance ought nevertheless to be discussed, and agreed to by you, in a general assembly, at which I entreat you to assist by your deputies, on Sunday the 8th of the ensuing month of June, in the city of Corté. The provisional government will then suggest to you the form and mode of the elections.

I beseech you to impress yourselves with the great importance of the affairs on which you have to determine ; and, on that account, let it be your care to select persons of zeal and acknowledged probity, and, as much as may be in your power, reputable heads of families, interested in good government and the prosperity of the country. Let moderation and propriety of conduct prevail in your assemblies, that no person among you may have the mortification to remark any disorder in the most happy moment which has occurred in the course of our revolutions, and in passing the most important act of civil society. In the mean time, let every man suggest whatever he may conceive most useful to the country, in order to communicate his opinion to the nation, legally represented and assembled.

Corfica is now justly regarded by foreign powers as a free nation ; her resolutions will, I hope, be suitable to her situation, and dictated by a wisdom and by a love for the public good.

With respect to myself, my dearly beloved countrymen, after having devoted every moment of my life to your happiness, I shall esteem myself the happiest of mankind, if through the means I have derived from your confidence, I can obtain, for our country, the opportunity of forming a free and lasting government, and of
preserving

preserving to Corsica its name, its unity, and its independence, whilst the names of the heroes who have spilt their blood in its support and defence, will be, for future generations, objects of noble emulation and grateful remembrance.

(Signed)

PASQUALE DE PAOLI..

Copy of a Letter from their Excellencies Lord Hood and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. to General Paoli.

Victory, Bastia Roads, April 21, 1794.

SIR,

YOUR Excellency having been pleased to represent to us, on behalf of the Corsican nation, that the intolerable and perfidious tyranny of the French Convention having driven that brave people to take up arms in their own defence, they were determined to shake off altogether the unjust dominion of France, and to assert the rights of a free and independent nation; but being sensible that their own efforts might be insufficient to contend with France, or other powerful nations, who might undertake hostile attempts against them, and confiding implicitly in the magnanimity and princely virtues of his Britannic Majesty, and in the bravery and generosity of his people, they were desirous of forming a perpetual union with the British nation, under the mild and equitable government of his Majesty and his successors, for the better protection, and for the perpetual security and preservation of their independence and liberties: and your Excellency having on these considerations, solicited, in the name of the people of Corsica, his Majesty's present assistance, and his royal protection in time to come, we took the same into our most serious consideration; and knowing his Majesty's gracious and affectionate disposition towards the Corsican nation, and his readiness to contribute in every way, which is consistent with justice and the interests of his subjects, to the happiness of that brave people; and being invested with sufficient powers for that purpose, we determined to comply with your request, and have accordingly furnished the aid of his Majesty's naval and military forces in the Mediterranean, towards expelling the common enemy from the island of Corsica.

We have since been honoured with more special powers and authority to concert with your Excellency and the people of Corsica, and finally to conclude, on his Majesty's behalf, the particular form and mode of relation which shall take place between the two nations.

It is with the most lively satisfaction we acquaint your Excellency, that we have it in command from his Majesty to assent, on his part, to such a system as will cement the union of our two nations under a common Sovereign, and, at the same time, secure for ever the independence of Corsica, and the preservation of her ancient constitution, laws, and religion.

With

With whatever satisfaction his Majesty has graciously assented to propositions, which promise, perhaps for the first time, not only to afford to this island the present blessings of tranquillity and peace, and a sudden increase of prosperity and wealth, but also to establish its national independence and happiness on a secure and lasting foundation; his Majesty is, however, determined to conclude nothing without the general and free consent of the people of Corsica.

We therefore request your Excellency to take the proper steps for submitting these important matters to their judgment; and as the small number of the enemy, at present invested by the British and Corsican troops, and which must soon either be destroyed or yield to superior force, can no longer give any uneasiness to this country, but the freedom and deliverance of Corsica is in effect accomplished, we beg leave to submit to your Excellency, whether it may not be desirable to take the earliest measures for terminating these interesting concerns, and for adding a formal sanction to that union, which is already established in the hearts of all our countrymen.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

HOOD.

GILBERT ELLIOT.

His Excellency General Paoli,
&c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

The General Council charged with the Provisional Government of Corsica, to the Municipal Officers, Curates of Parishes, and their Fellow Countrymen.

Beloved Countrymen,

THE God of armies, protector of the most just cause, has favoured your efforts.

The audacious army, whose fury and violence was excited by the impious faction which proposed to itself to abolish all order, customs, and religion in Europe, will shortly be removed from our territories.

To secure a more speedy success, Providence has given you the support of a powerful nation, accustomed to respect laws, and a legitimate power, which has generously assisted you, to extricate yourselves from the tyrannical anarchy of the present republic of France.

That nation and its king offer you the advantages of a lasting union and constant protection.

The happy influence of our glorious countryman, General de Paoli, added to the resources of his genius, and excited by the dangers of his own country, have accelerated this happy event; in short, brave Corsicans, *We are free.*

By our constancy, firmness, and courage, we have acquired the enjoyment of the advantages we inherit from our ancestors, *Liberty and Religion*.

However, it would be but little to have regained this noble succession, if our efforts and prudence were unable to secure it for ever.

To insure the success of those efforts, and to direct our prudence, a perfect union is necessary ; our general resolutions must be formed with a view to our present situation and our future expectations.

The Corsicans must therefore prescribe the form of administration and government they chuse to adopt, enunciate, or approve of, and the principles on which it is to be established, or on which their legislation is to be fixed.

Finally, beloved countrymen, the most important object is, a speedy union of the people, and the last act of the provisional administration you adopted, ordains us to support the paternal and patriotic intentions of General de Paoli.

In this invitation we can give you but a faint idea of the important functions you will confide to your representatives in the next assembly ; however, you no doubt know the indispensable necessity of adopting measures for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and of a form of government adapted to our customs, powers, and situation, and finally to the various relations that will hereafter be established between Corsicans ; the English nation and their King feel, even more than others, the necessity that such deputies should be appointed among our countrymen as shall have given evident proofs of their patriotism, and of their desire to act with a zeal adequate to the nature and importance of their mission, for establishing and securing by the new order of things, not only for the present, but in future, public felicity. This last consideration, in case you are sensible of it, will, we are in hopes, determine you to prefer one of the most respectable heads of family in each of your respective communities, as a representative on such solemn and important occasions in council.

In this union, which will form the most memorable crisis of our annals, the objects must be treated with that form and order due to the dignity of the representatives of a free people.

The ancient assemblies of our nation, at the time of the glorious government of its deserving general, were only composed of one deputy from each community. Finding it necessary to avoid the inconvenience of repeated elections, we have thought it expedient in this circumstance to invite you to adopt this ancient custom, chiefly on reflecting, that as harvest is approaching, the absence of chiefs from their families, added to the expenses of the journey, and time spent in the election, would be of prejudice to their affairs and domestic interests ; the people will therefore establish consti-

tutionally the number of its representatives for the successive reunions.

The zealous and good citizens will, however, be enabled to lay before the council their knowledge of all important subjects, which will be taken into consideration and discussed accordingly, but they will have no part in its deliberations.

The general council therefore invites all communities of Corsica to assemble on Sunday the first of June, each to appoint, according to the form of election hereunto annexed, its representative at the general council, and the general assembly of the clergy to take place on the Sunday following, the 8th of June.

The municipal officers and parishes of the respective communities are charged with the publication and distribution of both General Paoli's circular letter and this.

Corté, May 9, 1794.

For the general council of the government.

(Signed)

[A great Number of Names.]

FORM OF ELECTION.

In the year 1794, on the 1st of June, in the parish church of the community of usual place for the general meeting of the clergy :

We N. N. N.* the inhabitants of the said community, exceeding the age of twenty-five, being legally united by virtue of the circular letter wrote on the 1st of May by his excellency General de Paoli, and the one wrote by the provisional government on the 9th of the same month, duly published, to appoint a deputy, who is to be a representative at the general council of Corsica, to be held on the 8th current, we have chosen as our president Mr. N. the most proper person among those assembled, who know how to write, and who has appointed as his secretary Mr. N.

In succession of the said appointment, the majority of votes is given in favour of Mr. N. father of a family, who has been duly elected by the present assembly, and proclaimed deputy, and unto him we give the power of concerting and treating with the other representatives of the nation, on the transactions that will in future take place between Corsica and his Majesty the King of Great Britain and the English nation ; as likewise on subjects of public utility contained in the aforesaid circular letter.

And the present verbal process has been registered, and deposited in the chancery of this community, and a copy given to serve him the said Mr. N. deputy, as a full power and certificate.

N. President.

N. Secretary.

Firm of the general council,

COTTONI, Vice-president.

MUSELLI, Secretary.

* Here all names of such persons as shall be present at the meeting will be affixed.

TRANSLATION.

TRANSLATION.

We, the representatives of the Corsican nation, free and independent, lawfully assembled in a general meeting, possessed of a special authority to form the present constitutional act; have unanimously decreed, under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following articles :—

CHAPTER I.

Of the Nature of the Constitution, and of the Constituted Powers.

Article 1. The constitution of Corsica is monarchical, according to the following fundamental laws.

Art. 2. The legislative power is vested in the King, and in the representatives of the people, lawfully elected and convened.

Art. 3. The legislature, composed of the King and of the representatives of the people, is denominated the Parliament; the assembly of the representatives of the people is named the House of Parliament; and the representatives are styled Members of the Parliament.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Mode of Elections, the Number of Members, and the Functions of Parliament.

Article 1. The territory shall be divided into pieves (districts), each of which shall send two members to Parliament. The towns on the coast, of which the population shall amount to 3000 souls and upwards, have the right of sending two members each to Parliament; the bishops who discharge the duties of their see in Corsica, and are recognized as such by the Corsican nation, shall be members of Parliament.

Art. 2. The members of Parliament shall be elected by all the Corsican citizens, of twenty-five years of age, who shall have been resident at least one year in the pieve, or in the town, and who are possessors of land.

Art. 3. No person shall be elected a member of Parliament, unless he possesses at least 6000 livres in land in the pieve which he is to represent, and pays taxes in proportion to this possession, and unless born of a Corsican father, and *bona fide* an inhabitant, having kept house for five years in the said pieve, and until he has arrived at the age of twenty-five.

Art. 4. Lodgers, except those who are inmates for life, persons employed in collecting the revenue, the receivers and collectors of taxes, those who have pensions, or who are in the service of a foreign power, and priests, cannot be members of the house of Parliament.

Art. 5. The form of election shall be determined by the laws.

Art. 6. If a member of Parliament dies, or becomes incapable, according to law, of being a member of Parliament, another mem-

ber shall be elected by his pieve, within fifteen days, by the King's authority.

Art. 7. The house of Parliament has the right of enacting all the acts which are intended to have force of law.

Art. 8. The decrees of the house of Parliament shall not have force of law, unless they receive the King's sanction.

Art. 9. Any decree that has not passed the house of parliament, and received the King's sanction, shall not be looked upon as law, nor carried into execution as such.

Art. 10. No imposition, tax, or public contribution, shall be laid without the consent of Parliament, or without being specially granted by it.

Art. 11. Parliament has the right of impeachment, in the name of the nation, of every agent of government guilty of prevarication before the extraordinary tribunal.

Art. 12. The cases of prevarication shall be determined by the laws.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Duration and Convocation of Parliament.

Article 1. The duration of one Parliament shall be two years.

Art. 2. The King may dissolve the Parliament.

Art. 3. In case of a dissolution of Parliament, the King shall convene another within forty days.

Art. 4. Those persons who were members of the dissolved Parliament, may be elected members of the succeeding one.

Art. 5. If the Parliament expires without being dissolved, another shall be called, by the King's authority, within forty days.

Art. 6. The King may prorogue the Parliament.

Art. 7. The Parliament cannot be convoked or assembled but by the King's command.

Art. 8. The interval between the convening of the house, and its prorogation, or, if it be not prorogued until its dissolution, or if it be not dissolved until its expiration, is to be called the session of Parliament.

Art. 9. The vice-roy, or, in case of illness, the commissioners nominated by him for that purpose, shall open the sessions in person, and declare the reasons for convoking the Parliament.

Art. 10. The Parliament may adjourn itself, and re-assemble during the same session.

Art. 11. The House shall decide upon the contested elections of its members.

Art. 12. The members of Parliament shall not be subject to arrest or imprisonment for debt during the continuance of their representation.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Mode of Deliberation, Freedom of Debate, and internal Regulations of Parliament.

Article 1. After the opening of Parliament by the vice-roy, or by his commissioners, as is herein before-mentioned, the oldest member

member shall take the chair; and the members present having elected a provisional secretary amongst themselves, shall proceed to the choice of a president, and of one or more secretaries. The secretaries shall not be chosen from among the members; and may be dismissed by a vote of Parliament.

Art. 2. The Parliament assembled, in all the cases before-mentioned has the power of debate, and of passing bills, whenever above one half of its members are present.

Art. 3. Every member elected and not appearing, shall have notice from the president of the House, to repair to his post within fifteen days.

Art. 4. In case of non-appearance, or of not sending a lawful excuse satisfactory to the House, such member shall be condemned to a fine of 200 livres.

Art. 5. Parliament may grant leave of absence, or permit the absence of such members who solicit it, provided more than one half of its members remain present.

Art. 6. Every proposition made in Parliament shall be decided by the majority of the members present; the president, in case of an equal division, shall give the casting vote.

Art. 7. The forms and procedures of enacting laws, and of determining other matters in the House, which may not be fixed by the present constitution, shall be regulated by the House itself.

Art. 8. The King's sanction, or the refusal of it, shall be announced in person by the King's representative in the house of Parliament, or by a special commission in case of sickness.

Art. 9. The form of the sanction shall be *The King approves*; that of refusal, *The King will examine*: the bills sanctioned by the King are named acts of Parliament.

Art. 10. No member of Parliament shall be called to account, or punished by the King's servants, for the opinions manifested, or the doctrines professed in the House, or by any other authority whatever, except by that of the House itself.

Art. 11. The president of the Parliament has the right of calling to order any of its members, when he may think proper. The House may censure, arrest, and imprison any of its own members, during the session.

CHAPTER V.

Upon the Exercise of the Executive Power.

Article 1. The King shall have his immediate representative in Corsica, with the title of vice-roy.

Art. 2. The vice-roy shall have the power of giving his sanction or refusal to the decrees of parliament.

Art. 3. He shall moreover have the power to perform, in the King's name, all the acts of government which are within the limits of the royal authority:—There shall be a board of council and a secretary of state, nominated by the King, and mention shall be made in the vice-roy's orders, that he has taken the opinion of
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the said board of council ; and these orders shall be countersigned by the secretary.

Art. 4. The nation has the right of petitioning, as well as the vice-roy as the house of Parliament : the constituted and acknowledged corps of the law may petition in a body, the other corps in their individual capacity only ; and a petition shall never be presented by more than twenty persons, however numerous may be the signatures to it.

Art. 5. The house of Parliament may address the King to recall his vice-roy ; in such case the House shall address his Majesty in his privy-council assembled : the vice-roy shall be obliged to transmit the address to the King, upon the requisition of the House, within the term of fifteen days after such requisition, and the House may itself transmit it to the King, even through the channel of a deputation ; but in any case the House is bound to present to the vice-roy, fifteen days previous to the departure of the address, a copy of the same, and of the papers which are to accompany it.

Art. 6. The King has the exclusive direction of all military arrangements, and is to provide for the internal and external security of the country.

Art. 7. The King declares war and makes peace : he shall not be authorized, however, in any event, nor on any account whatsoever, to give up, alienate, or in any manner prejudice, the unity and indivisibility of Corsica and its dependencies.

Art. 8. The King shall appoint to all the offices of government.

Art. 9. The ordinary employments of justice, and of the administration of the public money, shall be conferred upon natives of Corsica, or persons naturalized Corsicans, in virtue of the laws.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Judicial Proceedings, and of the Division of the Tribunals.

Art. 1. Justice shall be executed in the King's name, and the orders carried into execution by officers appointed by him, in conformity to the laws.

Art. 2. There shall be a supreme tribunal, composed of five judges, and the King's advocate ; and this shall be stationary in Corté.

Art. 3. There shall be a president and a King's advocate attached to every other new jurisdiction.

Art. 4. The functions of the said respective tribunals, their administration, and the emoluments, shall be determined by law.

Art. 5. There shall be in every pieve a podesta (magistrate.)

Art. 6. In every community there shall be a municipality, named by the people, and its functions shall be regulated by the laws.

Art.

Art. 7. Crimes, which deserve corporal or ignominious punishments, shall be tried by the judges and a jury.

Art. 8. The King has the power of granting pardon, in conformity to the same regulations under which he exercises this prerogative in England.

Art. 9. All civil, criminal, commercial causes, and those of every other kind whatsoever, shall be terminated in Corsica, in the first and last instance.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Extraordinary Tribunal.

Article 1. There shall be an extraordinary tribunal, composed of five judges, appointed by the King and commissioned to judge upon any impeachment from the House of Parliament, or upon all charges made, on the part of the King, or prevarication, or other treasonable transactions.

Art. 2. The nature of the said crimes, and the form of trial, shall be determined upon by a special law; but a jury shall be allowed in every case of this sort.

Art. 3. The members of the tribunal shall not assemble, but in cases of impeachment by the House of Parliament, or by the King; and, immediately after judgment given, they shall be obliged to separate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Personal Liberty, and of the Liberty of the Press.

Art. 1. No person shall be deprived of his liberty and property but by sentence of the tribunals acknowledged by the laws, and in the cases and according to the forms prescribed.

Art. 2. Whoever shall be arrested or placed in confinement, shall be conducted, within the term of twenty-four hours, before the competent tribunal, in order that the cause of his detention may be adjudged according to law.

Art. 3. In case of the arrest being declared vexatious, the person arrested will have a right of claiming damages and interest before the competent tribunals.

Art. 4. The liberty of the press is decreed, but the abuse of it is to be amenable to the laws.

Art. 5. Every Corsican shall have the power freely to depart from his country, and to return to it with his property, conforming himself to the regulations and ordonnances of general police, observed in such cases.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Corsican Flag and Navigation.

Art. 1. The standard shall bear a Moor's head, quartered with the King's arms, according to the form which shall be prescribed by his Majesty.

Art.

Art. 2. The King shall afford the same protection to the trade and navigation of the Corsicans, as to the trade and navigation of his other subjects.

Art. 3. The Corsican nation, deeply penetrated with sentiments of gratitude towards the King of Great Britain and the English nation, for the munificence and protection which it has always enjoyed, and which is now, in a more special manner, secured to it by the present constitutional act,

Declares, That it will consider every attempt which in war or in peace shall be made to promote the glory of his Majesty, and the interests of the empire of Great Britain in general, as its own; and the Parliament of Corsica will always manifest its readiness and deference to adopt all regulations, consistent with its present constitution, which shall be enacted by his Majesty in his Parliament of Great Britain for the extension and advantage of the external commerce of the empire, and of its dependencies:

CHAPTER X.

Of Religion.

Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion, in all its evangelical purity, shall be the only national religion in Corsica.

Art. 2. The House of Parliament is authorised to determine on the number of parishes, to settle the salaries of the priests, and to take measures for ensuring the discharge of the episcopal functions, in concert with the holy see:

Art. 3. All other modes of worship are tolerated.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Crown and its Succession.

The sovereign King of Corsica is his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, and his successors, according to the order of succession to the throne of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Acceptance of the Crown and of the Constitution of Corsica.

Art. 1. The present act shall be presented to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, through his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, his commissary plenipotentiary, and specially authorised for this purpose.

Art. 2. In the act of acceptance his Majesty, and his plenipotentiary in his name, shall swear to maintain the liberty of the Corsican nation, according to the constitution and the laws; and the same oath shall be administered to his successors, upon every succession to the throne.

Art. 3. The members of the assembly shall immediately take the following oath, which shall be administered by his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot: " I swear for myself and in the name of the

" Corsican

“Corfican nation, which I represent, that I acknowledge for my
 “Sovereign and King his Majesty George the Third, the King
 “of Great Britain ; to yield him faithful obedience, according to
 “the constitution and laws of Corfica, and to defend the said con-
 “stitution and laws.”

Art. 4. Every Corfican fhall, in his refpective community, take the preceding oath.

Done, and unanimously decreed, and after three readings, on three fucceeding days, in the general afsembly of the Corfican nation, in Corté, this day, 19th June, 1794, and individually figned in the afsembly of all the members of which it is compofed.

Signed by above four hundred names.

Continuation of the Seflions of the 19th of June, 1794.

ALL the members of the afsembly having individually figned the constitutional aét, it was propofed to prefent to his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, his Britannic Majesty’s commiffary plenipotentiary, in order that it might be accepted by him in his faid Majesty’s name. The afsembly having adopted this propofition, decreed, That the faid propofition fhall be made by a deputation of twelve members who were chofen and commiffioned for this purpofe.

After which the deputation, having executed the commiffion afsigned to them, re-entered the hall, and with them the faid Sir Gilbert Elliot : the members of the afsembly flood up, during which he approached the prefident, and pronounced the following acceptation :

I, The underfigned baronet, member of the Parliament of Great Britain, member of the privy council, and commiffary plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, having full power, and being fpecially authorized for this purpofe, do accept, in the name of his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, the crown and fovereignty of Corfica, according to the constitution and the fundamental laws contained in the aét of a general afsembly held at Corté, and definitively fettled this fame day, the 19th of June, and as fuch offered to his Majesty ; and, in his Majesty’s name, I fwear to maintain the liberty of the Corfican nation, according to the constitution and to the laws.

The prefent acceptation and oath is by us figned and fealed.

(L. S.)

GILBERT ELLIOT.

The faid acceptation and oath being read, the faid Sir Gilbert Elliot propofed to the prefident and to the afsembly the constitutional oath ; and this was taken by them in the following words :

“ I fwear for myfelf, and in the name of the Corfican nation,
 “ which I represent, to acknowledge for my Sovereign and King,
 “ his Majesty George the Third, the King of Great Britain, to
 “ yield him faithful obedience according to the constitution and the

“ laws of Corsica, and to maintain the said constitution and
“ laws.”

The constitutional act being intirely completed and finished, the president adjourned the session, and signed the above, as did also the secretaries, the year, month, and day above-mentioned.

(Signed)

PASQUALE DE PAOLI, President.

CARLO ANDREA POZZO DE BARGO, Secretary.

GIO. ANDREA MUSELLI, Secretary.

TRANSLATION.

Speech made in the General Assembly of Corsica, on the Acceptation of the Crown and Constitution of the Island, by his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot.

GENTLEMEN,

IN availing myself, for the first time, in the midst of the Corsican nation, of the privilege of calling you brothers and fellow citizens, a reflection which will naturally occur to every one, excites in me the most heart-felt satisfaction; independent of the reciprocal political advantages which we may derive from so close a connexion, I see, on the present occasion, every thing that can render it more precious and more estimable by the sentiments of confidence and of affection, the first and pure principles of our union, which they will for ever continue to cement and consolidate.

This remarkable-truth, which it is impossible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without a strong emotion of sensibility and joy. Our two nations have, for a long period, been distinguished by a reciprocal and remarkable esteem. Without anticipating the happy end to which this instinctive partiality, this sympathetic attraction, may some day lead us, we have given to each other instances of confidence on every occasion, yet no relations have hitherto subsisted between us, except those of reciprocal and voluntary good offices. Our minds have been prepared by Providence for the fate which awaited us, and the Divine Goodness, intending our union, has ordained that it should be anticipated and brought about (if I may so express myself,) by a similarity of character, and by a conformity of views and principles, and, above all, by a pleasing exchange of friendly services.

This sacred compact, which I received from your hands, is not a cold and interested agreement between two parties who met by accident, and form a contract founded on the impulse of the moment, or on a selfish and temporary policy.—No; the event of this happy day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed: to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united, and our motto should be *Amici & non di ventura*.

However.

However seducing this prospect of our happiness may appear, I trust (and it is important for us to know it, as we assuredly do) that it does not depend on sentiment alone; but it rests on the solid basis of the true interests and permanent felicity of the two nations.

I will not mention to you the interests of Great Britain upon this occasion; not that they are of little consequence, but being of a nature purely political, the subject would be too cold, too dry, for this important day. Besides, it is not necessary on this occasion to appreciate them in detail. I shall confine myself to this remark, that every possible advantage which Great Britain could have in view from her union with Corsica, is essentially attached to your political and absolute independence of every European power, and that these advantages are not only compatible with your interests, but cannot for the most part exist, and still less flourish, but in proportion to your prosperity.

On your part, what is necessary to render you a happy people? I will tell you in two words—liberty at home, and security abroad.

Your liberty will not be exposed to any encroachments from a monarch, who, by his own experience and the example of his ancestors for several generations, is persuaded that the liberty and the prosperity of his people is the only foundation of the power, the glory, and the splendour of the throne. A king who has ever governed according to the laws, and whose scepter is at once strengthened by the privileges, and embellished by the happiness of his subjects. Here I might expatiate on the august virtues of that monarch whom you have chosen for your own; but they are known to all his subjects: you will therefore become acquainted with them by a happy and certain experience, and this testimony will be far more faithful than my weak voice.

It would not, however, be right that your liberty should depend solely on the personal virtues of the monarch. You have therefore been careful to ensure it by the wise constitution and fundamental laws of our union, which, in my opinion, constitute so essential a part of the act you present to me this day, that I could not (without violating the confidence reposed in me by my sovereign,) agree to a system which might have degenerated into tyranny; a condition equally unfavourable to the happiness of him who exercises it, and of those who endure it.

If his Majesty, therefore, accepts the crown which you have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect, and never to enslave those from whom he receives it; and, above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence.

For external security, you wanted nothing but the constant and active alliance of a maritime power: this act insures it to you; and whilst you enjoy at home peace and tranquillity, which the enemy

enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you will share with us the treasures of trade, and the sovereignty of the seas.

From this day therefore you are quiet and free. To preserve these blessings, you have only to preserve your ancient virtues, courage, and the sacred love of your country; these are the native virtues of your soil; they will be enriched by those which accompany our union, and which you will derive from our industry, from our long experience, (that true source of political wisdom) and from our love of liberty, at once enthusiastic and enlightened. I speak of that liberty which has for its object to maintain your civil rights, and the happiness of the people; not to serve ambition and vice: that liberty which is inseparable from religion, order, respect for the laws, and a sacred regard for property; the first principle of every human society; that liberty which abhors every kind of despotism, and especially that most terrible of all despotism, which arises from the unrestrained violence of the human passions. Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to us. On their happy mixture and influence on each other depends the prosperity of Corsica, immediate liberty, and a progressive and increasing prosperity. Such is the text; to which I hope and venture to predict, that our behaviour to each other, and our common destinies, will always prove a faithful and a satisfactory illustration.

Substance of a Decree of the Imperial Court, dated Vienna, 13th August, 1794, and presented soon afterwards to the Diet at Ratisbon.

UNFORTUNATELY, since the month of last January, the necessity of increasing the forces of the empire is become most urgent.

The war, on the part of the enemy, from the violent measures taken by the ruling party in France, and from the formidable superiority of numbers of their armies, having taken the appearance of the most obstinate offensive war, renders even the defensive operation of the combined powers not only painful and difficult, but requires an extraordinary exertion, combination, and union of power, to resist the destructive enterprizes of enthusiastic hordes, encouraged by various and alarming successes. Which exertion and extraordinary efforts, on our side, are the more pressing, and require the speedier to be put into execution, as there is no time to be lost, lest the evil should rise to a degree, which would render the united forces of the empire insufficient to stop its progress.

The country being in danger, ought to sound the alarm bell throughout the German empire. The measure of a quintuple contingent cannot but be an afflicting effort for the paternal heart
of

of your Imperial sovereign. His Majesty, however, hopes that such a measure, considering the present urgent circumstances, and the population of the German empire, will not be looked upon as extravagant. The Emperor thinks it almost unnecessary further to declare, that, on account of the sacrifices made during the three last obstinate campaigns in men and money, that his Majesty, without the co-operation of the states of the empire, is totally incapable by himself to continue the protection of the empire, his domestic resources being entirely exhausted, by having already strained all the political nerves of his hereditary dominions, for the defence and protection of the empire.

Memorial from the Imperial Minister Count Schlick, to the Assembly of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, presented on the 16th of August, 1794

THE undersigned Imperial Minister is expressly charged to submit instantly to the illustrious diet of the circle of the Upper Rhine, the following most important observations:

His Imperial Majesty has not failed to make to the most powerful individual members of the empire, all the representations, admonitions, and demands which were to be expected from his sincere love for his country, and from his active care for the general welfare of the empire. Every thing which the Imperial court foresaw and predicted, has taken place: the time for speculating upon possible disasters is past; and the imminent dangers with which we are surrounded demand the most prompt and efficacious measures; unless we wish to renounce at once the welfare of the empire, and abandon again to the usurpation of the French, the territories and provinces of the empire, from the mouth of the Rhine to its source.

The present war involves in it the fate of our constitution, our religion, and our properties. The Imperial court has more than once represented with energy to its allies and co-estates of the empire, that a powerful nation, to which all means were alike, which set at defiance every law, of religion, and morality, must inevitably triumph, if other nations did not unite their forces, and prepare themselves to make in time a vigorous resistance.

The Imperial court did not fail to observe, that it could not alone defend the empire. It is not only during this bloody war and the course of its fluctuating events, that the Imperial court has submitted these reflections to the empire; but even before the commencement of a war, which the court of Vienna did every thing to avoid; it did not fail to make known to the states which demanded its protection, that the enterprize was full of danger

danger, and that the resources of the House of Austria were limited.

Upon the first explosion of terrible war, a proposal was made, for putting at least the frontiers in a state of defence and security: during the last *interregnum* an association, and a strict union of the anterior circles, proportioned to the danger, were proposed, because these provinces were most exposed to the devastation of the enemy; because the resolutions of the whole empire would require time, and the distant states, by means of their complicated forms, would save themselves as long as possible from any active co-operation. Although this proposal was generally admitted to be proper as well as constitutional, yet, through certain formalities, it has failed of its effect.

The House of Austria was flattered, that after the election of the Emperor, grand and energetic measures would be adopted by the whole empire; but in the mean time, from the above prudent precautions being neglected, those provinces were left totally defenceless, when it was found necessary to remove the body of Imperial troops commanded by Count d'Erback; the consequence was, that Mentz fell into the hands of the enemy, a misfortune of which the magnitude may be estimated, when we consider that almost the whole of a second campaign was spent in attempts to retake it.

On the declaration of war several of the states represented the extreme urgency of public affairs, and resolved, that without losing a single moment in preparation, an Imperial army should be regularly constituted. In order to carry this resolution into effect, his Imperial Majesty permitted his contingent to join the allied powers. But the want of money equalling this accession to their force, it was agreed, that the states of the empire which could not raise and equip soldiers, should furnish their contingents in specie, according to a very moderate computation.

The Imperial court, with the strictest honour and punctuality and much to its prejudice, has replaced those contingents. The circles would have found it inconvenient and oppressive, if the mode of furnishing their respective contingents had been adopted which is prescribed by the decree of 1681. Some states have renewed their application for a diminution of their quota in the matricular registers of the empire; others have urged their inability; and some of the most active states have withheld their contingents under the most frivolous of all pretexts, that an Imperial army had not been formed.

After the victories of the allied army in the circle of Bourgogne, victories, purchased by torrents of blood and a profusion of treasure, the King of Prussia, at the commencement of the present campaign, threatened to withdraw his troops, assigning

as a reason, that he had not a subsidy for their support. In this interval of inactivity the enemy procured reinforcements, and became exceedingly numerous and formidable. Under these circumstances the only alternative was to insist upon the inhabitants of the circles to rise in a mass, and in order to obviate every difficulty, to expedite the organization of the army in a constitutional manner.

Thus his Imperial Majesty has uniformly and invariably acted as became his dignity, and the paternal care which he has always evinced for his subjects. But the arming of the inhabitants on the frontiers was a measure which proved abortive. Some of the states had not sufficient confidence in their subjects, and others dreaded the expense.

The Imperial army is not complete at this moment. Two thirds of the empire are already conquered, and the enemy is triumphant every where. The states will not, or some say, cannot, contribute, and that is the only pretext by which they evade the contingents of the empire.

This then is the support which the Imperial and Royal court has so much desired of the empire, which it has expected in full confidence of the public spirit and the love of their country ; this is the effect of the pressing instances which his Imperial Majesty has generously seconded by his own example. All the world knows how much this court has done for the defence of the empire, and for the common cause. At the first breaking out of the war, he sent to the field a numerous and well-provided army ; he abandoned all secondary views by not contracting any other engagements than those which were judged productive of general utility. The war of the empire being decreed, he, to his own detriment, relieved the states from the performance of their contingents ; at the first unfavourable blow which affected the empire, his Majesty sent speedily to its succour the army of the reserve from his own hereditary states, and maintained it at his own expense ; and thus he employed all the force of his house to save the Germanic body.

The Imperial troops have almost singly, and without any assistance, covered the circle of Suabia, and thus have hindered the enemy from penetrating as far as the frontiers by ascending the Higher Rhine. They have conducted themselves valiantly in those quarters, and had a great share even in the re-taking of Mentz. Notwithstanding the well-founded immunities of his house, his Majesty has given in Austrian Flanders, and in the country of Brisgaw, the first useful example of arming the inhabitants ; and, at the first proposition of organizing a separate army of the empire, he immediately furnished an extraordinary contingent of 37,000 men. This conduct merits consideration the more in that the other states, who take hold of every pretext to refuse their contingents, if they had been in the place of
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the Imperial court, and possessed of such an exemption, acknowledged by the Emperor and the empire, and solemnly maintained upon every occasion, would have regarded the demand of such a succour, under the name of a contingent, as an infraction of their rights as members of the Germanic body.

The putting on foot such numerous armies, the great expense of maintaining them with the current coin of the empire, the events of the war which have succeeded each other with such rapidity and changes of fortune, have required immense sums, which it was necessary to send from the hereditary states into foreign provinces; and to supply this his Majesty has sacrificed, with an unexampled generosity, his own revenues, the voluntary subsidies of his faithful subjects, and his individual abilities.

To these sacrifices ought to be added others equally great and distressing. His Imperial Majesty, besides his numerous contingent, has kept up a considerable force from Basle to Philipsbourg, for the general defence of the empire. He has even employed, for the protection of the Germanic body, 20,000 men, as stipulated in the treaty with his Prussian Majesty, notwithstanding the important services which those troops might have rendered in defending his own possessions in the Low Countries. He still undertakes, however, to supply them with bread and forage.

Another sacrifice of no less importance, and of greater prejudice to his Majesty's hereditary states, is, the Imperial court has not applied to the Court of Great Britain, its faithful ally, to oblige the 62,000 Prussians, subsidized by the maritime powers, to march into the Low Countries. According to the express terms of the treaty, these troops were at the disposal of these powers, and to act in support of the common cause. They would have been employed to the greatest advantage in the Low Countries, and by co-operating with the allied armies, might have averted the calamities which have taken place.

These extraordinary efforts; these grievous and irreparable sacrifices which have not been seconded with energy and alacrity, can only protract for a short period the last melancholy blow, which the empire has too much reason to apprehend, from the conquest of the provinces on the banks of the Rhine, and on the other side that river. However, as his Majesty's states are in fact drained of their men and money, by the favourable, as well as by the adverse occurrences of this destructive war, the extreme remedy must now be resorted to, in order to prevent the annihilation of our troops, should we be inclined still to parry off the mortal blow, which threatens the subversion of the constitution and government of Germany.

The enemy, availing themselves of the perplexed state of public affairs, increase their exertions in all quarters, and are determined to prevent the defection of the armies, depressed by a series of fatigue and defeats. Their progress has been so rapid, and their army so formidable, that the Imperial and Royal court will be unavoidably obliged to withdraw its troops, and to station them within its own frontiers, if the empire does not think proper to oppose to the irruption of the French an adequate force, and to co-operate with his Majesty at this awful and momentous crisis. His Majesty's solitary efforts would be fruitless, if he were to attempt to cover the frontiers from Basle to Luxembourg; and it cannot be denied, that an army exhausted by fatigue, without opportunity of recruiting itself, receiving assistance from no one, and at a distance from home, ought to make an effort to reach their own country, where they would be better furnished with necessaries, and supported by the faithful inhabitants of the Imperial and Royal states. It would appear at least equitable to hazard his last effort in defence of his own dominions, when we have before our eyes the melancholy truth, that with the most upright and sympathetic intentions, it is impossible to protect his friends and neighbours.

The spiritual and temporal communities of the superior and lower classes are still possessed of treasures which remain untouched, but which might be beneficially applied. The people of property of every description have a credit, which they ought to lend to raise great sums of money, to complete that, which the house of Austria, after such an immense influx of money into the empire, only drawn from its own hereditary dominions, is no longer able to afford by itself.

It is only by such an influx of money, that the standing armies can be supplied with what is most necessary for their preservation, that the fortresses can be put in a proper state of defence, and that the masses who are to hasten to the frontiers will be supported.

The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary is charged by the Emperor and King most solemnly to declare, in his Imperial Majesty's name, that, if the Imperial Royal court is abandoned at this decisive crisis, it will not be able to save the empire; but it will console itself with the idea of having done all that could possibly be done for the country; and that the Imperial court will be obliged to make responsible before God, and to posterity, for all those misfortunes that will then unavoidably crush the provinces of the Germanic empire, and for the misery which may then spread infections all over Europe, by the propagation of principles of anarchy; nay, the Imperial court will make responsible, those who by neglect, by inactivity, or

even by mercenary private views, shall have omitted conscientiously to exert themselves for the general preservation.

(Signed)

COUNT VON SCHLICK.

Done at Frankfort, Aug. 12, 1794.

From the Head-Quarters of Lieutenant-general Count Von Kalkreuth, dated Nieder Kleinich, August 25, 1794, to his Excellency Field-marshal Mollendorff.

YOUR Excellency well knows how much I have at heart the glory of the Prussian arms, and that of your Excellency, and how much it must therefore grieve me when I heard that your Excellency might have saved Treves, and prevented its falling into the hands of the French, who were not in force; but that it was resolved to do nothing to sacrifice the empire, only with a design of injuring the house of Austria. To avoid being under another's command, cities and whole districts were sacrificed.

Here are as many absurdities as words. It is known, that on the 26th of last July, a plan of farther operations was concluded at Schwetzingen, between the three field-mmarshals who command the armies, in which plan the following words are mentioned respecting Treves :

“ Baron Blankenstein, general of cavalry, has orders, that he do immediately send his artillery of reserve to Treves, in order to make use of it for the said posts, as soon as the troops of the empire shall arrive there.

The said general receives also orders from hence, that if he entertains well-founded apprehensions of being attacked, to retreat, without waiting the attack, with the three battalions of-infantry, the four companies of Croatsians, and the five squadrons of cavalry, to the posts situated near Wittlich.”

According to above-mentioned plan, the Prussian army is charged to cover Hundsrucken, and the ground between the right bank of the Moselle and the Rhine ; and his Excellency Field-marshal Mollendorff had nothing farther to do with Treves.

Notwithstanding, his Excellency feeling a concern that Treves should be maintained as long as it should be practicable, gave me orders to detach Major-general Von Koehler to Oberstein. It was done. General Von Koehler broke up on the 30th of July, and arrived near Oberstein on the 2d of August. As several reports came, that the enemy's design was more upon Treves than upon Mannheim, as it was then supposed, I made Major-general Von Schmettau follow General Kalkreuth, with the perfect approbation of his Excellency Field-marshal Von Mollendorff. Meanwhile advice being received that a French officer

officer who deserted, brought certain intelligence to captain Von Schultz at Birkenfeldt, that the enemy were advancing against Treves, his Excellency the Field-marshal gave orders to march on the 5th, and to attack the enemy wherever I should encounter them. I was stationed at Fuhrfeldt, and arrived on the 8th, at ten o'clock in the morning, at Cunerweiler, two leagues beyond Birkenfeldt. My front reached much about the same time Weiskirch, at the spot where the forest of Hochwald runs as far as Cherf, and through which the enemy's rear had just passed.

From the 5th to the 8th of August one storm succeeded another, and the rains were incessant. Only he that knows the shocking roads up the Nahe, through Oberstein, can judge what services the corps under my command rendered, where, being tried above all human strength, discontent was only prevented by the flattering confidence which that corps reposes in all my measures; a confidence which I will always acknowledge with gratitude. Already on the 6th and 7th my front charged between Cunerweiler and Selbach the hostile columns, which wanted to penetrate from the valley of Blies, over the heights of Neunkirchen and Selbach, into the valley of Mettnick, but whom nothing could prevent marching through Tholey, Thelen, and Neunkirchen, to gain the valley of Mettnick from below. The enemy, who were marching, to the number of 18,000 men, on this side of the Saar, against Treves, was cut off from Saar Louis by my march; the prisoners whom I made, and among whom there are seven officers, proved that I was near. They were without bread, and I expected the greatest success on the next day, when in the night of the 8th, at a quarter before eleven o'clock, I received intelligence by the adjutant whom I had sent to Baron Von Blankenstein, general of cavalry, that the enemy had penetrated near Pellingen, and were also advancing with superior force on the other side of the Moselle through Igel, so that his Excellency was under the necessity of retreating in the night.

Every man who knows any thing of the art of war, the approbation of his Excellency Field-marshal Mollendorff, (which is of such infinite importance to me) and my whole corps which assisted me with so much fidelity, must do me the justice to own, that I have done far more than could be expected. Both his Excellency and I have our documents in our hands for every step we took. He therefore who will prove, that I could have done more, shall be welcome to me as a friend; but him that blackens me before the public, from ignorance and malice, I declare hereby to be a worthless calumniator. There never was a syllable mentioned, that one general should be under the command of another, therefore no such motive can exist. With regard to the assertion, that the war is only carried

on by Prussia in order to injure the house of Austria, it can only be the chimera of a deranged brain: it is so contemptible an assertion, that I would approach too near the sublime sentiments of the King my master—sentiments known to all the world—were I to lose a word in answering that assertion; and if it be said, on the part of the empire, that cities and districts are sacrificed, I have nothing farther to answer, but
 Ingratitude is the world's reward!

KALKREUTH.

His Excellency Field-marshal Mollendorff has perfectly approved of the above vindication; and added with his own hand—

“Where is the city—where is the district which has been sacrificed by the Prussians?”

“The whole army feels offended at this wicked calumny, because it is animated with real honour; and finds itself under the necessity to teach the public better with regard to this indecent and scandalous talk.

“KALKREUTH.”

The Free Men of La Petite Riviere in St. Domingo, and its Dependencies, encamped at Marchand, (between Gonaives and Artibonite) under the Orders of General Lavaux, Commander for the Republicans, to Mr. Brisban, Commander of the Forces of his Britannic Majesty, at St. Marc, Aug. 18, 1794.

MR. COMMANDER,

ABJURING the errors into which the agents of the Republic have plunged us; jealous of profiting by the advantages offered us, in your just and beneficent proclamation, dated the 7th instant, we submit ourselves to the arms of his Britannic Majesty. We swear fidelity to you, and beseech you to prescribe what measures you think proper, to procure us peace, and tend to the preservation of the rest of the unhappy colony of St. Domingo.—The frankness of loyalty, which characterizes your nation—your generous proceedings towards those who have put themselves under your protection, are very powerful motives to excite our confidence. Be assured, that our entire submission to your orders, our zeal to co-operate in obtaining the return of order, shall make amends for our past conduct, and never will Great Britain have more faithful subjects. When we receive your answer, we will send you the articles of our capitulation. We are going to communicate our dispositions to the neighbouring parishes, that are still under the Republican dominion, and we have every reason to think

think that they will yield to reason, and that, animated by the sentiments which actuate us, they will accept the protection you offer them. We are convinced that you will make the happiness of the colony, and thereby acquire powerful claims to the public gratitude,

We have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

B. CASENEUVE,
CHRISTOPHER MORNET,
CHESNAU, Secretary.

Stephen Lavaux, Governor General for the Time being, to the Consul of the French Republic at Charleston.

I CANNOT well express to you, citizen, the joy we have all experienced at the receipt of your letter. The succour which you have furnished us in warlike stores redoubles, if possible, our zeal and bravery. What a glorious use we shall make of 4000 weight of gun-powder, which you have sent us by Citizen Carvin? In addition to it the brave Captain Hervieux has spared us 1000 weight more, and he is determined to render every other assistance in his power.

Every republican who arrives in our ports, produces an effect the most inspiring. Let the event be what it may, we are determined either to be victorious or bury ourselves in the ashes of Port de Paix. Give credit to this declaration, assure all our friends of the truth of it, and let this be told to the mortification of those men who hate republicans.

Proclaim to all the world that the officers and soldiers who compose the army which I have the happiness of commanding, are not in want of any thing, and that, if every thing shall fail us, we will not perish before we have destroyed our enemies.

I will not add more. We belong to the Republic; to die for it will really be a triumph.

In sending us all the assistance in your power you will do well.

Health and fraternity,

ET. LAVAUZ.

Dated Port de Paix in St.
Domingo, August 26, 1794.

The Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen having in the end of August, 1794, written to the States of the Circle of Franconia, desiring Information respecting the Number of Armed Militia in that Circle, with a Request that the Names of their Commanders and Officers should be transmitted to him, in Order that he might take them under his immediate Direction, and to employ them in case of Emergence, received from the Assembly of the Circle, in consequence of this Request, the following Answer.

THAT the arming of the people in that remote circle is as yet only a measure in contemplation, subject to reciprocal communication with the neighbouring states, and is also particularly designed for internal defence: these arrangements therefore being entirely local are exclusively under the direction of each particular state, whilst the means of directing and following up their different measures depend upon the assembly of the circle, and are the subjects of its correspondence with the others.

The war is not yet finished, but care will be taken to communicate with his Royal Highness, and in the mean time his letter shall be laid before the states.

Pressing Requests having been made early in September, 1794, to the Electorate of Brandenburg, relative to the Contingent due from that State to the Army of the Empire, the King of Prussia refused in nearly the following Terms.

THE King of Prussia did not expect such representations, on the part of the German empire. His Majesty has already made sacrifices, which in expenses far exceed those of the required contingent. His troops have rendered the most distinguished service to the empire. The expenses incurred in the re-conquests of Frankfort and Mentz, have not yet reimbursed his Prussian Majesty. The war in Poland, excited against his Majesty by the common enemy, in revenge for having opposed his brave troops against their savage incursions into the German empire, dispenses his Majesty from all further contribution and co-operations.

The Poles, in a state of revolutionary madness, carry on their rebellion with fury, which forces his Majesty to defend his own dominions with all his might. His Majesty is in a similar situation with the Elector Frederick William the Great, who, in the year 1765, was gloriously combating against the enemy on the banks of the Rhine, but was suddenly obliged to return with his army into his own territories, in order to resist
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the Swedish invasion excited by the same enemy of the empire. Therefore, far from consenting to the request of contingent, the King of Prussia is entitled to demand indemnifications to enable him to defend his own territories. His Majesty further thinks himself happy in asserting, that if all the states of the empire had acted in as disinterested a manner, and with as much energy as himself, Germany would have been saved by this time!

The following Letter was on the 21st of October, 1794, published by Mr. Devaynes, Chairman to the Committee at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, for supplying the British Troops upon the Continent, and also the Seamen of His Majesty's Navy, in certain Cases, with extra Cloathing.

Head Quarters, Nimeguen, 9th Oct. 1794.

SIR,

AS I perceive by the English papers, that the committee of the United Society for furnishing the army with certain articles of winter cloathing, have again addressed the public for aid to continue their benevolence to this army, and supposing that it may be satisfactory to the committee, I send herewith a statement of the receipt and issues of donation cloathing, since the return I had the honour to transmit to you in January last.—I need not explain to you, Sir, who have so meritoriously stood forward in promoting the means, by which the soldiers serving in this army have experienced so much real comfort, how very acceptable a supply of the same will be to deliver to them, against the severe season, when they will most probably be obliged to undergo the fatigues of a winter campaign.—Permit me to observe, that great coats, shoes, flannel waistcoats and drawers, are the articles most desirable for them to be supplied with.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. E. Fox, Q. M. General,

William Devaynes, Esq. &c.

From the London Gazette, Nov. 4.

War Office.

HIS Majesty is pleased to order, that all the officers of independent companies, and such as have obtained rank unattached, shall be reduced to half-pay on the 25th day of this month: those only excepted who are now actually employed on duty.

duty, or who shall apply in person within three weeks from the date hereof, requesting to be so employed.

His Majesty is further pleased to declare his royal intention, that the officers, who, in the manner above mentioned, make known their desire of serving, shall be immediately appointed to vacancies now subsisting in the regiments lately raised and raising; or be otherwise provided for, as opportunities may offer, without any expense to themselves; and that, until provided for, they shall continue to receive full pay, as independent or unattached officers. By his Majesty's command.

W. WINDHAM.

Amidst the Disasters the Colony of Fort Dauphin has experienced, in consequence of the disagreeable Circumstances which took Place on the 7th of July last, it must be of great Consolation to the Colonies of St. Domingo to observe the benevolent and generous Sentiments of the King of Spain, in the following Letter of Le Chevalier D'Trup to Mr. Malouet.

SIR,

IN the absence of the ambassador, I have remitted to my court, for the perusal of the King my master, the memorial you presented to me in the name of the colonial planters of the north district of the island of St. Domingo, concerning the unfortunate events of the 7th of July last at Fort Dauphin, setting forth the wishes of the inhabitants of those parts to be reinstated in the peaceful possession of their property. His Catholic Majesty feels extremely affected at the relation of the atrocities committed by the people of colour of *Jean Francois*, whose conduct, so contrary to the paternal sentiments of his heart, excite his justice against the aggressors as well as his compassion for the victims. In consequence of which, the King my master has particularly charged me to declare in his royal name, to you, as well as to the rest of the proprietors and inhabitants of Fort Dauphin, and to all good Frenchmen residing in the island of St. Domingo, that their property will be returned and effectually secured to them by his Catholic Majesty, and that the most strict orders are given for the severest punishment to be inflicted on any person or persons that shall in any way be found guilty.

I take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you this agreeable intelligence, which, by proving to all Europe the equitable and just views of the court of Madrid, will render to the colonies that peace and confidence so essential to their re-establishment and prosperity.

(Signed)

LE CHEVALIER D'TRUP.

London, 9th Nov. 1794.

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The Emperor issued an Edict, dated the 28th of October, 1794, to the Directors of the Circles of the Empire, containing an Exhortation to the following Effect.

1. **T**HAT vigorous measures should be taken to recruit and increase the army of the empire to triple the number of troops of which it consisted hitherto, which shall be effected in the speediest manner possible, that the reinforcements should arrive at the army on the 1st of February next.

2. That all the states of the empire who have already troops upon an established footing, should in these pressing and dangerous times march them immediately to join the grand Imperial army for the defence of the empire.

3. That his Imperial Majesty expects that no state will shew, from individual interest, or from other false principles, any backwardness against contributing to the general defence of the empire. His Majesty would never have manifested any suspicions respecting this point, if unfortunately experience had not shewn him, that from the time the increase of the army had been determined to be of triple the number of the former establishment, that the measure has not yet been accomplished to this day.

His Imperial Majesty, however, from the confidence he placed in the Princes who are invested with the directions of the circles, hopes that they will take the most vigorous measures to enforce the recruiting of the army of the empire.

The circles of the empire having received early in November the preceding circular letter from the Emperor, relative to the real performance of their contingents for the support of the army of the empire;

Count Schlick, the Emperor's minister with the circle of Franconia, also presented a memorial to the assembly of that circle, in substance the same with that presented to the circle of the Upper Rhine on the 16th of August, and containing complaints of the enormous extraction of specie which has been made from the hereditary states of Austria for the countries of the empire, and of the scarcity of money which necessarily results from this, even for the pay of the Imperial army; because the circles not having provided either for the subsistence of that army, or the regulation of the price of necessaries, those necessaries either fail entirely, or cannot be procured for the troops under an enormous price. These circumstances necessitate the proposition which is the object of this memorial, made in the name of the Imperial court to the circle of Franconia.

“To put the subsistence to be furnished by the country into speedy requisition, according to the existing necessity.—To accept in return an indemnity, regulated according to the medium price for the last ten years; the payment to be made in notes, instead of money, which it is absolutely impossible to furnish at the present moment.”

The circle of Franconia immediately commenced its deliberations upon this proposition; but, at the same time, testified its desire to see an end to this ruinous and bloody war; in which respect it is seconded by the other circles of the empire, particularly that of the Upper Rhine, which, on the 14th of November, sent the strongest and most pressing representations to the Emperor and to the King of Prussia, to obtain their effectual concurrence to a pacification,

The Note delivered by the Imperial Minister, Count de Schlick, to the States of the Upper Rhine, on the 16th of August, 1794, in which the Emperor claims a speedy Supply of Money and Men against France, was also delivered to the Circles of Franconia and Suabia in the End of September, where the Prussian Minister seconded it with all his Power, and presented the following Note.

HIS Prussian Majesty seconds the request of his Imperial Majesty, since both courts, after having indefatigably continued the war, and made immense sacrifices, have a right to require of the other states, that they do oppose with all their might the danger which increases every day, and to furnish without delay every thing that Germanic good sense and spirit deem requisite.

Meanwhile, his Majesty the King of Prussia cannot but signify, that the Imperial court laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England; who, though she pledged herself to pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her own pleasure of the Prussian army, which is forthwith to remain to defend Germany in that quarter where his Prussian Majesty will deem it most expedient, or wherever the allied powers have agreed or will agree with Prussia to let it act.

Conclusum of the Circle of Franconia, addressed to their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, for the Purpose of obtaining a Peace, or at least a speedy Truce, agreed to in November, 1794.

CONSIDERING the most dangerous turn which the present war against France has taken, in several events which succeeded each other; considering the most imminent danger which

is more and more approaching with rapid strides the frontiers of the circle of Franconia; considering further, not only the afflictive apprehensions which his Imperial Majesty has reiterately manifested, that it might happen, that the august house of Austria would find itself so much weakened, as to be under the necessity of retreating to its own frontiers, without being capable any longer to save the territories of the Germanic empire; and that his Majesty the King of Prussia has likewise recalled a considerable number of his brave troops from the theatre of war, to protect his own dominions, and signified that according to circumstances, the remainder might also be withdrawn; and considering the internal concerns of this circle, render the repose and the momentary re-establishment of this circle at least necessary at this present period; the general circle, by virtue of a repeated proposition of his most serene Highness the Prince of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld, and of Saxe-Meningen, as a venerable co-state, on the part of Henneberg Roembild, has unanimously resolved:

1. It is understood of itself, and there can be no doubt in this respect, that there is by no means any design to encroach upon the deliberations of the empire in general, upon the important question—how the country, under the dangerous circumstances which have occurred, shall save itself, not to lose sight of the necessary order which ought to take place agreeable to the constitution, and with relation to the whole empire?

2. But whereas, it cannot be unlawful or suspicious to any single state of the empire, and less still to the constitutional union of a whole circle, whose union has for its original and primitive end, the public safety, in case of the most urgent necessity; and when its deliverance and conservation are at stake, to have recourse to the supreme chief of the empire, as likewise to the principal co-states and the respective powers, in order most humbly to supplicate his Majesty, by a respectful representation as well of the interior concerns of this circle, as on account of the danger constantly increasing from without, to take such convenient and efficacious measures as his Majesty shall judge proper; through which, by means of a previous truce, the cessation of hostilities, and an ever desirable peace may be, as much as possible, obtained.

3. Afterwards to interest in the same manner his Prussian Majesty, as a sublime co-state of the empire, and particularly this circle, to co-operate to this end by an active assistance, and to favour the desired effect, particularly to solicit him, with equal respect and urgency, not to withdraw his brave troops, at least as far as it concerns the constitutional exigency of the political state of the empire and the circle, from the defence of the Germanic domains, at the most critical and most dangerous

moment, but to continue generously to employ them with their whole force wherever they shall be wanted.

4. Further to expedite with all possible dispatch, this proposition to his Imperial Majesty by means of an estafette, and to transmit a copy thereof without delay, besides a memorial for the information of his Excellency Count Von Schlick, privy counsellor and minister of his Imperial Majesty; and to transmit to the Prussian minister resident here, the letter of solicitation to his Prussian Majesty, accompanied by a copy, with request of expediting the said letter as soon as possible.

5. To commence a sincere and social correspondence on this important business, with the circles of the empire, namely, the electorates of the Rhine, Upper Saxony, Bavaria, Suabia, and the Upper Rhine, by communicating to them this present resolution of the circle, as likewise the above-mentioned letters of solicitation to their Imperial and Prussian Majesties.

6. Finally, not to be dissuaded by the measures taken by these presents, for pursuing most eagerly the conclusions of the empire, and the lawful re-establishment of its political state; and from continuing, without delay, the preparations of defence, in order to remain always faithful to all duties, which ought to be more and more acknowledged in a situation of affairs like the present, for the sake of self-preservation, as likewise for the general and local relations of the state.

The following is the Answer of the King of Prussia to the Representations of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, in favour of Peace, made on the 14th of November, 1794, and in Substance the same with the Conclusum of the Circle of Franconia.

WE are much affected by the present dangerous crisis that involves the German empire, and with the warmest degree of sympathy we are fully convinced, that peace only is the most certain means of saving it from the effects of an unhappy issue of a just war of defence. Nothing, therefore, can be more important or more agreeable to us than an energetic contribution of every exertion in our power for the obtaining of so desirable an object as speedily as possible, and, previous to this, a suspension of arms. We shall willingly seize every occasion that may contribute towards a happy issue of affairs, hoping that the representation submitted to us, and sent to the Emperor by the laudable assembly of the circle, will not fail of its object.—In the mean while, our whole army shall remain upon the Rhine and the Mayne, to cover and defend the contiguous parts of the empire, and the right shore of that river.

After

After the above Proceedings, the Twenty Thousand Prussians who were on their March to the Frontiers of Poland, received Orders from Berlin, to return to their former Situation on the Banks of the Rhine; on account of that Event, and in order to prepare the necessary Provisions for them in the Places through which they were to march, the following Requisition of Count Hardenberg, the Prussian Minister of State, was circulated.

WHEREAS the motives which induced his Prussian Majesty to order a corps of 20,000 men from his army destined for the defence of the German empire, to march to Southern Prussia, have at present been removed by the happy occurrences which happened in those countries: his Majesty, being besides convinced, that in order to procure the accomplishment of the anxious wishes of several of the states of the empire to obtain a speedy peace, his Majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to oppose to the enemy the most vigorous preparations of war, and to prevent their further progress. His Majesty, therefore, has come to a resolution to order this corps of 20,000 of his troops to return to their former position on the Rhine, for the purpose of securing the German frontiers against the dangers with which they are threatened.

The undersigned minister of state to his Prussian Majesty not having due time to make formal requisitions, in order to procure the free passage for those troops through the different places on their route, and which might in a great measure oppose their salutary march, has to request, that by this his undersigned requisition, these troops not only should be permitted to pass freely through the different towns on the road towards their destination, but also to find quarters every where, and to be supplied with provisions, and other articles of necessity, according to the regulations established for their former march to join the grand army on the Rhine.

Given at Francfort on the Mayne, Nov. 21, 1794.

(Signed)

HARDENBERG,

Minister of State to his Prussian Majesty, and his Directing Minister of both the dukedoms in Franconia.

Proceedings of the States of the Germanic Empire,
assembled in Diet at Ratisbon.

The following Article is taken from a respectable German Print. It is dated Erlangen, 9th Dec. 1794.

THE Emperor, on the 20th of September last, published an edict in his hereditary states, prohibiting all intercourse with the French nation, and particularly that no money should

be paid to the French, or to the people of the countries conquered by the republican troops. The ambassador from the court of Vienna has since made a motion in the diet of Ratisbon, that the empire should adopt the same prohibition throughout all the circles. But a number of ambassadors protested formally against this motion.

The ambassador from the electorate of Saxony in particular rose, and said, that according to the present state of things, prohibition of payment can be but of very little disadvantage to the French; whilst at the same time, a number of the subjects of the states of the empire, and particularly those of the electorate of Saxony, would have reason to apprehend from such a measure considerable losses.

Besides the above debates, the merchants of Francfort have since drawn up a memorial upon this subject, which has already been communicated to the different deputies of the diet at Ratisbon. The following extracts of this memorial are very interesting:—

“The prohibitory decree of the Convention, to pay the debts due from French merchants to those of other countries, has never been executed with any degree of severity. Very considerable payments have not only constantly been made by the French merchants to their creditors in Germany, through the medium of Switzerland, and other neutral states, but considerable sums in arrear are yet promised. A severe prohibition of that nature could, indeed, injure a few individuals in France, but would, at the same time, put a stop to an immense deal of specie being sent from France into Germany. That nation, who, since the revolution, have accustomed themselves to abstinence and self-denial, with respect to a number of articles, not only of luxury, but even of necessity, would only be induced by this measure, to abstain from and deprive themselves of similar indulgences, which at the same time that it would injure the commerce and manufactories in Germany, would also serve to render the enemy more hardened, warlike, and ferocious.

“Such a prohibition can do no injury to the subjects of the states of Austria, whose commercial connection with France has ever been of trifling importance; but should such a prohibition be extended to prevent payments, and even the restoration of property left in trust with the inhabitants of the provinces conquered by the French, as the whole of Brabant, Flanders, Limburg, Liege, Aix la Chapelle, the greater part of the country of Deux Ponts, the whole of that of Saarbruck, the most considerable part of the Palatinate, a part of the country of Treves and of Cologne, the whole of Savoy, part of the country of Piedmont, a considerable part of the United Netherlands, &c.

“The

"The National Convention undoubtedly will not fail to seize upon the book of all the French merchants, and those of their conquered provinces, and by seizing on the property belonging to the foreign subjects, find new resources to carry devastation into the territories of the allied powers."

Decree of the Diet of the German Empire, passed on the 14th of October, 1794, with only one Negative Voice in the College of Princes, namely, that of Swedish Pomerania.

THAT the warmest and most merited thanks be presented to his Majesty the Emperor, as well for the sacrifices which he has not ceased to make, with magnanimous constancy, of his own resources for saving Germany, as for the paternal solicitude with which he has constantly watched over the welfare of the empire, of which the tenor of the Aulic decree (of the 13th of August last) furnishes the most convincing proof: and that in consequence of the last decree of the empire, of the 5th of May, by which the necessity was already acknowledged of the augmentation of the forces; and it was determined to effect, agreeable to legal forms, the augmentation of the contingents of the empire to the quintuple, as his Imperial Majesty had proposed, from the essential motives of the danger and urgent necessity in which Germany was placed; that the said augmentation to the quintuple, absolutely conformable to the constitution of the empire, shall be executed in the same manner that it was agreed by the resolution of the 23d November, 1792, to carry into effect the triple augmentation by all the states of the empire; that all efforts should be united as soon as possible to that effect, in such a manner that every state which cannot alledge a legal exemption, may contribute towards it by the employment of all their forces, &c. &c.

PEACE OR WAR.

The following Account of the very interesting Proceedings of the German Diet on this important Question, is taken from the best informed German Prints.

IN the sitting of the diet on the 20th of October, the Elector Palatine proposed that they should endeavour to procure an honourable peace; and although on the 14th the plan for a quintuple of the contingents, taking for its basis the conclusion of the college of

of princes, had been agitated, the elector of Mentz availed himself of the measure suggested by the court of Munich, in order to communicate to the diet in his capacity of arch-chancellor, through his directorial minister, this important proposition, of which the following is a copy :

“ His eminence the Elector has heard, through his minister at the diet of the empire, that the register for voters had been opened in the three colleges of the empire on the Aulic Imperial decree relative to the quintuple, and that the two superior colleges had actually concluded their votes on that subject. His Electoral Highness will endeavour to furnish his quintuple as quickly as possible, and will generally exert every possible effort to acquit himself of what the exigency of the moment, and the dangers which threaten his country, demand. He is equally convinced on the part of the other states of the empire, that they will do every thing with the same zeal that may tend to place the forces of the Germanic body, at the opening of the next campaign, in the state that is desired.

In the mean time, his Electoral Highness would not conceal from his directory, that the wish which the Elector Palatine has expressed on this occasion to the register,—That from this period we should endeavour with equal seriousness to put an end to this ruinous war by an acceptable peace,—appears to him to merit the more serious attention and further consideration ; his Majesty, the Emperor, having graciously declared, when urging the above decree of the quintuple, that he was ready to listen to all other propositions which might be made to him on the means of saving the Germanic empire.

The empire engaged in the war for its fiefs in Alsace and Lorraine, and on no other account ; that is to say, it desired that they might be restored to the state in which they were guaranteed by France by the treaty of 1648. The empire in no point wished to interfere in the internal affairs of France. But instead of obtaining this object, the empire has lost one country after another ; and the parties of the provinces which the enemy have not taken possession of have most particularly suffered. It appears, therefore to his Electoral Highness, as being at all events necessary, at the moment we are actively preparing for a new, and, as it is to be hoped, a more fortunate campaign, that we should shew to the peaceable Germanic citizens that we have a serious intention of procuring peace for the empire.—The Germanic empire can without hesitation, declare to the French nation, that preservation and not aggrandisement, is its only view ; and that, in other respects, it never intended to trouble itself about the events which happen in the interior of France.

The French people learn from this, that they have it at their option to be at peace with the Germanic empire ; but should they,

against every expectation, refuse peace ; should they, contrary to the principles which they so often manifested, be desirous of making conquests, the inhabitants of Germany would be the more strongly convinced, that no other resource is left to them, but to continue the evils of war with patience, and to make all those sacrifices for their own preservation, which a war of this description necessarily requires of every individual that loves his country, or his own existence.

Maturely weighing all these considerations, his Electoral Highness deems it his duty, as arch-chancellor of the empire, not to let the above proposal of the Palatine court remain unnoticed ; but he rather charges his directorial ministers to concert measures together without delay, on this subject, with the Imperial commission, and the legations to the diet, in order to prepare, with the greatest dispatch possible, according to usages and forms, deliberations upon this most momentous subject, and to get up as speedily as possible an advice from the empire, to be presented to his Imperial Majesty.

The question, in what manner this proposal of peace is to be made, is intimately connected with this question :

Ought this proposal actually to be made ? That this latter question ought absolutely to become, at the same time, an object of deliberation and resolution.

His Electoral Highness is of opinion, that the Germanic empire may very easily answer this question ; it combats for the preservation of its fundamental peace of the year 1648, guarantied by the crown of Sweden, which remains neutral in the present war ; it cannot therefore be an object of difficulty, to request his Swedish Majesty, in the name of the Germanic empire, to procure the above terms to the Germanic corps by an efficacious mediation. The crown of Sweden will certainly not wave such an honourable mediation, as soon as the empire shall declare, that it wants nothing but what is conformable to the treaty of Westphalia ; his Swedish Majesty is, in other respects, a principal state of the empire, consequently is essentially interested in the welfare of the empire, for which his contingents are obliged to fight. The same considerations occur respecting the King of Denmark, who, as king, is also neutral in the present war. His Electoral Highness believes therefore,

That the Danish and Swedish courts ought to be requested, on the part of the empire, to interpose most efficaciously with the French nation for an acceptable peace.

In other respects, winter is on the point of setting in, during which the negotiations may be carried on, provided the two above-mentioned courts immediately exert their best endeavours for a temporary truce. His Electoral Highness has nothing else in view by this proposition, but to procure, according to his duty as a co-state and arch-chancellor of the empire, the repose and well-

being of the Germanic empire. His Highness is therefore very far from encroaching in the least degree upon the rights of his co-states, who may be still involved as powers in the present disastrous war.

As soon as this proposal was made, the ministers of Treves, Cologne, Palatine, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, as well as most of the college of princes, acceded to it without reserve.

It was also almost unanimously agreed, to endeavour to procure an armistice, in order to conclude a peace during the winter; and it is asserted, that Baron de Dahlberg, coadjutor of Mentz, is to go to Paris to effect this so salutary work; which, if it should meet with any success, ought surely to be placed in the hands of a negotiator, esteemed at all times for his wisdom and moderation.

In the Sitzings of the German Diet on the 6th of November, the Ambassador from the Elector of Mentz made the following important Motion, with respect to the Deliberations upon his former Proposition, relative to a Negotiation of Peace.

WHETHER it would not be thought necessary, on account of the present urgent and dangerous situation of public affairs, to abridge the usual term of deliberations, which consisted of six weeks, to only four weeks?

The ambassador from the Elector of Cologne said, that the Elector his master insisted upon the adhering to the ancient custom, respecting the deliberations in the diet, namely, that six weeks after the making of the motion, the diet should enter into the pre-deliberation, Whether the motion should be debated by the members of the diet?

The ambassadors from Austria and Bohemia were of the same opinion; adding, that six weeks were at least necessary for each member to take into consideration such an important proposition.

The ambassadors from the Palatinate and Saxony supported the motion.

The ambassador from the Elector of Brandenburg had no objection to it.

The ambassadors from the courts of Constance and Wurtemberg, and the rest of all the courts of Germany, voted in favour of the motion, which was then carried by a majority of votes, that the deliberations should commence within four weeks after that day, namely, on the 5th of December next.

It was then requested, that the court of the Electorate of Mentz should state the order of the debates of that day; which the ambassador stated as follows:

1. Whether

1. Whether, at the same time, whilst vigorous measures of defence are taken by the empire, whilst the system of quintuple contingent has been adopted, it should not be necessary also to enter into a negociation of peace, or at least of a cessation of hostilities?

2. Which are the means by which such a negociation may be obtained?

It is said that the court of Vienna is not at all inclined to favour this motion of the Elector of Mentz. The Austrian ambassadors, in several courts, intimated, that the Emperor expected, that, after the expenses and losses he incurred during this war, that the empire, with respect to a peace, or continuation of war, would leave entirely the decision to him alone. The Emperor, however, is determined not to oppose the free deliberation on that subject by the diet, and will only exercise his power of negotiating for peace, or continuing the war.

Previously to the opening of the protocol on the 5th of December, for collecting the suffrages on the pacificatory proposition of the Elector of Mentz, the Imperial minister received from the Aulic chancery of the empire at Vienna, preliminary instructions on this important object. The following is the substance of them :

THE Imperial minister is commanded to make known to the directorial minister of Mentz, as well as to all the other ministers of the princes and Germanic states assembled in diet, that his Majesty, as emperor, will not oppose the present deliberations of the diet upon the pacificatory proposition of the Elector of Mentz, because his Majesty is as desirous of peace as any other of the co-estates ; that nevertheless, as a member of the Germanic body, he fears that he shall not be in a condition, at the collection of the suffrages, to declare himself within the short period fixed by the diet for that purpose ; that he shall perhaps be obliged to reserve to himself the period of six weeks, the usual period in all other cases, because he cannot yet ascertain in what manner, and with whom, negociations can be opened in the name of the empire, with the certainty or the hope of succeeding in the re-establishment of peace ; unless (as the proposition affords reason to suspect) the Elector of Mentz can give some information on this subject. That moreover, and above all things, his Imperial Majesty is bound to consult his allies, particularly the Kings of Prussia and Great Britain, because from the commencement of the war to the present period, they had so powerfully assisted in the defence of the empire, and had made so many sacrifices. His Majesty, further, cannot doubt, that, in an affair of such high importance, the German corps will also consult those powers. At any rate, as

a co-state, he will allow a free course to affairs, in the hope that at the conclusion of the deliberations of the empire, negotiation for peace will not be proposed to him alone.

In the sitting of the Germanic diet, on the 5th and 12th Dec. the following votes were given upon the two questions of,

1. Whether the empire, while preparing for a future campaign, and while the quintuple contingents were already decreed by virtue of a resolution of the diet, ought not actively to endeavour to obtain a decent peace, and a provisory truce for this purpose?
2. How, and by what means this may be effected?

N. B. Those states marked with a * are against peace.

LIST OF VOTES.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

1. The Elector of Mentz.
2. The Elector of Treves voted for a peace with France as desirable, but wished that peace be by no means humiliating, but lasting. Germany had no business to interfere in the government of France; but if that government attacked the property of the empire, and waved all the treaties, it could not be a matter of indifference. That the empire ought to insist upon the *status quo* in 1648; and the greatest precaution was necessary with regard to the duration of peace. On this latter consideration it was also to be observed, that there existed at present but a revolutionary power in France, and the French nation seemed not to have yet established any solid system of government; it was therefore to be apprehended, lest the present government of that country might soon or late be overthrown by internal factions, and, lest the treaty of peace (if there should be one concluded) should be set aside like the old ones, by the party succeeding in power, in the same manner as the constitution of 1790 and 1791, which was so solemnly accepted and announced to all the foreign courts, had been suppressed and annihilated;—that on this account the utmost circumspection was necessary for the empire, to prevent its being again reduced to the same situation which it was in at present. Could the above point be secured, the Elector of Treves made no doubt but two thirds of Europe would consent to the proposed pacification. In other respects, it was to his Majesty the Emperor to fix preliminaries, and to those the period of negotiations; but the empire should at least request his Majesty, in case a congress should be opened, to inform the empire of the success of the negotiations, as far as they related to the interest of the empire.

3. The Elector of Cologne voted for peace, and signified that the empire ought not to make the interior government of France, nor the family interests of some of the principal German powers, an object of its concern; a future campaign held out but a small prospect of success for the arms of Germany; meanwhile the quintuple contingents ought to be furnished above all things; and the dilatory states ought to be pressed hard. In such a manner, an equitable peace would be advisable; but those states of the empire, who had lost their property, their rights and possessions, ought to obtain a complete restitution of the same, &c. In the remaining part of his vote, Cologne expressed the same sentiments as Treves.

4. The Elector Palatine of Bavaria voted,

1. That peace was the only remedy to save the Germanic empire. The proposition whether an offer of peace ought to be made, ought therefore to pass in the affirmative on the part of the empire.

That France, equally tired of desolating war, would not be behind hand to purchase its deliverance from external violence and the acknowledgment of the Republic, with the restitution of the former *status quo* with regard to its relations with the empire; and that it was desirable that the restoration of the conquered territories of the empire, and an indemnity for the losses sustained on account of the revolution by the Germanic states in Alsace, Lorraine, and elsewhere, might not appear too great a sacrifice to France, if it should thereby see itself at liberty to continue unmolested the endeavours to give to herself a new form of government.

3. That his Imperial Majesty, as the chief of the empire, ought to be requested, by an advice of the empire, to use his endeavours to avert the increasing ravages of countries, in concert with his Majesty the King of Prussia and his allies, to obtain a speedy truce for the empire, and to continue the assurances of his mighty protection, by letting all his troops continue in the field till such time as peace shall have been obtained.
4. That during the suspension of hostilities, the question in what manner a peace is to be concluded—might be discussed, by consulting the constitution of the empire, the treaty of Westphalia, and the Emperor's own capitulation, which he swore previous to his election.

5. That with regard to the mode of negotiating, his Electoral Highness was of opinion:—1. That the question, with whom a peace was to be concluded, could find no difficulties on the part of the Emperor and the empire. His Highness, as a consistent state of the empire, felt no scruple on his own part, to send his envoys to negotiate upon peace or war with those whom the French government might furnish with the same powers.—

2. That to do away all difficulties with regard to the place where

where those negotiations should take place, there could not be a better and more convenient place than one of the Swiss Cantons.
—3. That the subjects of the negotiations do principally consist of the following points :

1. To acknowledge the French Republic, and to declare, that it is the wish of the Germanic empire, not to enlarge itself by future conquests, but that it only demanded its own preservation, and that it would forthwith never intermeddle with the domestic concerns of the French Republic.
2. To propose to the French nation, to evacuate all the territories which belong to the empire.
3. To restore, and accept of the *status quo* before the war.
4. To acknowledge the treaty of Westphalia as the fundamental law of the empire ; also to acknowledge former treaties concluded between France and the empire.
5. To reserve all further negotiations, and all other subjects of ancient contest.
6. To grant an equitable indemnity to the states and subjects of the empire, for the ravages committed by the French, and for the extraordinary expenses of this compulsory war.

5. The Elector of Saxony voted for the first question, but reserved its vote on the second for a future occasion.

6. The Elector of Brandenburg voted, that his Prussian Majesty could not cherish a more ardent desire than to see a stop put to this most desolating war ; that his Majesty did therefore intend most readily to co-operate in every measure, in order to answer the trust which the empire and his Imperial Majesty had reposed in him ; that his Majesty was ready to use every effort to procure to his co-states of the empire, that state of peace which they seemed to long for, and even, if it were possible, to pave by so doing the way to a general peace.

7. * The Elector of Hanover directed on the 12th ult. his minister, Baron Ompteda, to deliver the following declaration to the diet :

“ That his Britannic Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, will not be indisposed to a pacification so much desired by the German empire, as soon as it may be compatible with his dignity and security, and if it be founded upon the principles of justice ; but that he does not conceive that the present is the moment of attempting it, especially as it is so little ascertained with whom a negotiation can be opened on which there can be shewn any basis to exist for establishing a peace. His Britannic Majesty could as little relish the invitation of foreign powers, or consent to it ; therefore he could not have any other opinion than that the most prudent resolution to be taken, at present, was to let the affair lie dormant, his Majesty being of opinion, that if at any future times hopes of peace might offer, and that any proposition on that subject should be made to the diet, it ought to come from the supreme chief of the empire ;

empire ; more especially, as his Imperial Majesty had done so much in the present war, and sacrificed so much for the German empire, he merited on that account the highest confidence, and had a right to expect it. That he had besides, as one of the states of the empire, suffered the greatest loss by the war. That the more his Britannic Majesty was convinced that all the co-states of Germany desired only a favourable peace, and the more certain he was that his end was not to be attained by precipitation and eagerness, but only by patriotic efforts, and employing all their possible forces against the danger, as well as by a friendly and confidential concurrence of councils, he the less expected that this subject would have been taken into public consideration, and that a proposition upon it would have been made in so unexpected a manner, and with such little preparation, so absolutely without the knowledge or any previous concert between the courts and the powers whose succour and assistance the empire had hitherto received, and still hoped for and expected ; such a proposition being consequently more adapted to produce prejudicial consequences and embarrassment than a salutary effect. That his Majesty, impressed with the sentiment of his dignity, as co-state, and conformably to his rights and obligations in that quality, could not dispense with his making this declaration, with this hope and confidence nevertheless, that none of his co-states will entertain the idea of ceasing for a moment the necessary preparations for continuing the war, and effectuating the armament so highly necessary for the best general defence, which is the only measure capable of producing circumstances which will render a peace practicable."

COLLEGES OF PRINCES.

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| 1. Bavaria, | 4. Simmern, |
| 2. Magdebourg like Brandenburg, | 5. Hochmeister, |
| 3. Lautern, | 6. Deutschmeister, |
| | 7. Neuburgh. |

8. Bamberg Wurtzburgh voted for peace, if the same could be obtained without contaminating the honour, and diminishing the extent of the empire (upon which some doubts might arise in the present posture of affairs) ; that the Emperor ought to be requested to use his endeavours to obtain a peace which would ensure the safety and dignity of the empire, and above all, to procure an armistice. That, with regard to the question, how the peace and armistice ought to be obtained ? the empire ought to expect the Emperor to propose a deliberation, for providing a deputation from the empire, with sufficient powers for entering into negotiations, and giving the empire an honourable influence in a future congress, to obtain peace.

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| 9. Worms, | 11. Veldens, |
| 10. Deux Ponts, | 12. * Eichstadt. |

13. Saxe

13. Saxe Gotha voted for a peace, and the indemnification of the injured states of the empire; and that the Emperor and the King of Prussia be entreated to interpose for obtaining a truce, and that they continue their protection.

14. Spires voted for the first question, and observed, that the present system of moderation in France, and the new constitutional principle lately revived there, that France did not make war of conquest, gave hopes of a peace consonant with the disinterested views of the empire. That in other respects, it was to be expected that only such propositions be made as would keep pace with the dignity of religion, the honour of the empire, the interest of the Emperor and the injured states, and agreeable to the treaty of Westphalia.

15. Strasbourg,
16. Saxe Attenburg,
17. Costanz,
18. Saxe Weimar,
19. Augsburgh,
20. Eisenach,
21. Culmbach,
22. Halberstadt,

23. Basil,
24. Liege,
25. Holstein,
26. Munster,
27. Baaden,
28. Baaden Baaden,
29. * Lubeck,
30. * Baden Hochberg.

31. * The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel declared by M. Von Gunderode, his minister, that it was the opinion of his Serene Highness, that a successful peace could only be obtained under arms: that his Highness acknowledged, and respected with heartfelt gratitude, the vigilance and care of the Emperor, to defend the empire; that he assented to the speedy furnishing of the quintup contingents, as the best effects would result from an active co-operation: farther, that the raising of the German masses, according to the example set by other states, and by his Highness himself, clash with the above measure, and that the exhausted circles of the empire, which have hitherto been the bulwark or the theatre of war, be supplied efficaciously by the circles behind them, at least with warlike stores. Finally, that his Serene Highness the Landgrave is of opinion, that whatever hopes there might be of a peace, the above-mentioned armament ought to be by no means lessened or delayed, but rather continued with redoubled energy; and to continue by so doing, and by the most incessant vigour, to the preservation of the rights of the Germanic empire, *sub vi et armis*.

32. Ellwangen,
33. Grand Master of St. John's,
34. Ulterior Pomerania,
35. Mecklenburgh Schwerin,
36. Wiessenburgh,
37. Mecklenburgh Gruftow,
38. Prum,

39. * Munden,
40. Leuchtenberg,
41. Anhalt,
42. Henneberg,
43. Schwerin,
44. Camin,
45. Ratzeburgh,

46. Hersfie

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| 46. Hersfield, | 56. Freising, |
| 47. Mompelgard, | 57. Bremen, |
| 48. Hohenzollern, | 58. Ratisbon, |
| 49. Salm, | 59. Wurtemberg, |
| 50. East Friesland, | 60. Hildesheim, |
| 51. Schwartzenburg, | 61. Paderborn, |
| 52. Counts of Wetteravia, | 62. Fustenberg, |
| 53. Counts of Franconia, | 63. Corvey, |
| 54. Holstein Oldenburg, | 64. Anterior Pomerania, |
| 55. Saltzburgh, | 65. Hesse Darmstadt. |

In the sitting of the Imperial Diet, of the 12th Dec. many of the free cities of the empire gave their vote for peace in the affirmative.

On the 15th no votes were given.

In the sitting of the 19th of December, the minister of the Elector of Bohemia gave his opinion of a peace, which was in the affirmative; but the minister expressed the same apprehensions already expressed by the Elector of Treves, respecting the difficulty of obtaining such an object, considering that there was not as yet any regular government established in France.

The remaining states who had not voted, amounting to about twenty, expected their instructions before the 21st.

In the sitting of the Diet on the 22d of December, 1794, all those votes of the states which were not given, were ultimately collected.

The Austrian minister voted like the Bohemian.

The protocol being then opened for a general conclusum, the conclusum of the college of the electors, as the two superior colleges of the empire, who gave their assent by a great majority of votes, was then taken for its basis.

All the free Imperial cities joined in their votes with the two superior colleges.

The opinion of the Elector of Hanover found very few converts; and the proposition of the Elector of Mentz, made by Baron Straufs, was so powerfully seconded by the Prussian and Bavaro-Palatine Minister, that it passed by a great majority of suffrages.

The following are the principal points of the conclusum:

1. That it is becoming the present situation of affairs, while, agreeable to the resolution of the diet, the preparations for a future campaign shall be continued in the empire, serious overtures for an equitable and decent peace ought to be made.
2. That the Germanic empire is in hopes, that the French nation, for the honour of suffering humanity, and considering that it has given cause for the present war (which has only been carried on by the empire for the defence of its constitution, the pre-

ervation of its integrity, and the recovery of the spiritual and temporal privileges of the several states of the empire; but by no means for the sake of intermeddling with the internal concerns of France, or for that of making conquests), will not finally feel itself inclined, after a devastation which has lasted many years, to desist in the same manner from this forced war with the empire, and to co-operate by proper means to effect an equitable, decent, and acceptable peace.

3. That it is, notwithstanding, not less adviseable and expedient to prepare, in case the farther continuation of the war should become unavoidable, with a general resistance on the part of the empire, which shall be reinforced as much as possible, and to prepare for that purpose, every thing that shall be required for a future campaign, by virtue of the decrees of the empire, and the more urgent dangers of the country.
4. That in this respect, the Emperor is to be requested to use his best offices, in the further co-operation of the empire, and with the assistance of the King of Prussia, to obtain a previous armistice, which may contribute to obtain a speedy and acceptable peace, agreeable to the Germanic constitution, and corresponding with the stipulations of the treaty of Westphalia.*

To an Application made to Lord Grenville by the English Consul at Amsterdam, Lord St. Helen was directed to send the following answer.

SIR,

Hague, 10th October, 1794.

LORD Grenville having received a letter from you, in which you state, that in consequence of the progress lately made by the enemy on the frontier of this Republic, a general consternation had taken place at Amsterdam, which had produced a considerable emigration of the inhabitants of that city, and that it might therefore, be expedient, that some assistance should be furnished by Great Britain to such other persons as might be disposed to leave that place with their effects; I am directed by his Lordship to inform you, that his Majesty, far from being disposed to assist or facilitate any such emigration, wishes to check and discourage it as much as possible, considering it as highly prejudicial to the interests of the Republic, as well as of the common cause.

* A paper at Vienna contains the following, as the terms upon which France has agreed a peace may be concluded:

- I. France will cede the Austrian Low Countries to a Prince of the Empire.
- II. All the conquests west of the Rhine shall be restored to their possessors.
- III. The navigation of the Rhine and the Scheldt shall be laid open.
- IV. The restoration of the French West India Islands shall be guaranteed to France.
- V. Holland to become a free republic, and independent of the Stadtholder.

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I beg leave to recommend it to you to take every proper opportunity of making known those sentiments of his Majesty, particularly to these persons whose conduct they may be likely to influence. I am, with great esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed)

ST. HELEN.

H. Pye Rich, Esq. Amsterdam.

From the London Gazette, Jan. 17, 1795.

At the Court at St. James's the 16th of January, 1795, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

HIS Majesty, judging it expedient under the present circumstances, to admit into the ports of this kingdom all goods, wares, merchandizes, and effects belonging to the subjects or inhabitants of the United Provinces, or to any of his Majesty's subjects who may have goods, wares, merchandizes, or effects in the said United Provinces, in order that the same may be preserved in safe custody, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, as it is hereby ordered, that all goods, wares, merchandizes, and effects whatsoever, coming directly from any of the ports of the United Provinces to any of the ports of this kingdom, in the vessels of any country, and navigated in any manner, be permitted until further order, to be landed, and to be secured in warehouses, under the joint locks of his Majesty and of the proprietors, at the risk and expense of the said proprietors, there to remain in safe custody, for the benefit of the proprietors thereof, until due provision shall be made by law, to enable such proprietors to re-export, or otherwise dispose of the same. And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury are to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

W. FAWKNER.

Papers Relative to Neutral Powers.

GENOA.

Note delivered by Mr. Drake, the British Minister to the Republic of Genoa, dated the 5th of October, 1793,

THE agitation into which Europe is plunged by anarchy, and the crimes of the men who ravage France, since the factions have usurped the reigns of that empire, is too well known to the Serene Republic of Genoa, and it is therefore unnecessary to retrace the picture of them. Not content with having destroyed even the very appearance of good order in their own country, these factions have made, and yet make, the greatest efforts for sapping the foundations of all the other governments of Europe, themselves being occupied in establishing principles which invite mankind to rise up against all legitimate authority, and to break all bonds moral and civil. Their intentions in this respect are recorded in their formal decrees, “to give fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to revolt and recover their liberty.”—A liberty, commenced and supported by crimes and cruelties which make humanity shudder : —A liberty, a thousand times more insupportable than the despotism the most grievous and bloody of which the history of the world can offer an example ;—a liberty, in short, without law, without personal security, but characterised by terror, by suspicion, by the destruction of the property of individuals, and by the most unbridled licentiousness : they have already sought to put their principles in execution in several countries. Their declarations of war, not less unjust than insidious, made against the King of England as well as against all the other sovereigns of Europe ; their different invasions, in contempt of the most solemn treaties, in Flanders, in Holland, in the empire, in the dominions of the Pope and those of his Sardinian Majesty ; the speedy disorganization of the ancient governments of those countries, where they have established no other law than their disastrous anarchy, furnish incontestable proofs of it. The principal powers of Europe have at length united themselves to stop the progress of a contagion which leads to the destruction of all social ties. Their first efforts have not been without success ; and the present situation of France, the forces employed against it promise the most happy termination.

If any power from sentiments of prudence or fear has not yet been able to express its adherence to so good a cause, (the object of which is the preservation of religion, government, and the lives and property of all honest individuals) the same motives exist no longer, and the allied powers, who have already made such great sacrifices for stopping the progress of the French, have a right to require the neutral powers to join them. In other times and in other circumstances, neutrality might be laudable, but in this moment it is not possible; for no state whatever can remain an indifferent spectator, much less one having connexions with the destroyers of France, without being reputed an adherent to their detestable principles; without exciting the resentment and the just suspicions of other states, and above all of the states their neighbours; without having its territory regarded as a pestilential focus which receives and preserves in its bosom the enemies of the whole universe; and consequently without running the risk of vengeance which would be but too well founded, and furnishing motives for reviving old claims which it is for the interest of the Serene Republic should be forgotten.

It is, then, time that all governments, that all honest men should unite and immediately take firm and vigorous measures for preventing their own destruction; for in circumstances so critical, if the good remain timid and inactive, it is to be feared that the law will be without energy, and that the superiority may change to the side of the wicked.

It is under the veil of a perfidious friendship, that the agents of those who themselves have seized the supreme power in France, seek to undermine the foundations of the governments where they live, and to seize the first favourable opportunity to bring about a revolution equal to that which has spread devastation and ruin over a country formerly so flourishing, the Serene Republic cannot be ignorant of the secret plots of those who are permitted to reside in the city and territory of Genoa, who, as agents of that atrocious faction, carry on a dark correspondence with the evil minded persons of Piedmont of Milan, and of Lombardy, and audaciously use the most perfidious manœuvres to seduce the citizens even of Genoa, where they are already permitted to act the master, violating the rights of the people in the port, outraging with impunity all those who will not become their accomplices, and infringing the most sacred laws of nations. It is unfortunately but too true that they have found means to gain partizans among some people who might have been expected to be very far from nourishing sentiments so little compatible with the honour and the interests of their country, and so irreconcilable with the form of the government under which the Republic has flourished for centuries; but these persons ought to know that the first authors of a revolution are almost always its first victims.

It is, then, from these considerations and to testify the true and sincere interest that the King my master takes in the preservation and prosperity of the Republic, that the undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty invites the Serene Government to repel the dangers which menace it ; to co-operate with the allied powers in re-establishing order, and a permanent peace in Europe ; to cut all ties whatever with the present rulers of France, and to drive from its bosom all their agents and adherents. No motives of fear can prevent the Republic from declaring itself ; for the undersigned assures it of the protection of the powerful fleets of the King his master. The naval forces that the self-styled National Convention of France had lately at its disposal, are no longer in its power, nor can they again lie in the hands of the Convention in any change which can happen. The flags of England, Spain, and Naples fly without the least interruption in all the Mediterranean, and a part of the naval armaments of the two first powers are already in the port of the Republic, ready to support its decision ; and all the combined forces, if wanted, may directed to the same purpose.

The Republic never pronounced on a more important question. In adopting the propositions now made it has all to gain and nothing to lose : its government ; its commerce ; the fortunes of Genoese individuals will be secured from the system of robbery and destruction that the abettors of the Convention wish to propagate. All the ports of Italy and those of France which are, or may be under the protection of the allies, will be opened to it : it will conciliate by this the affection of all the powers in Europe, particularly of England, and of that for which it ought to have the dearest friendship as having formed the basis of its public prosperity, and the riches of its inhabitants.

A neutrality, on the contrary, which by the position of the Republic tends necessarily to feed the war, and to prolong calamity, is for the allied powers a situation even more alarming and infinitely more prejudicial than a state of decided hostility : the Republic, then, will rather join those powers than raise discussions greatly prejudicial to commerce, (on which depends its political existence,) and expose itself in the end to incalculable misfortunes. The undersigned has the honour to request the secretary of state to present his respectful homage to the Serene Government in communicating the sentiments expressed in the present note.—He flatters himself that the Serene Republic will receive them as the most complete proof of the love of the King his master, and of his Majesty's desire to perpetuate and consolidate the harmony and good understanding which have so long existed between their respective states : he makes no doubt that the Serene Republic will answer by an immediate decision precise and conformable to the opinion that his Majesty entertains of its justice, prudence, and wisdom.

wisdom. The undersigned has the honour to add, that he persuades himself, the King his master would employ with pleasure his good offices to procure an amicable adjustment of the old disputes which subsist between the Serene Republic and his Sardinian Majesty, and remove even the smallest subject of misunderstanding between the two powers.

(Signed)

DRAKE.

GENOA, 5th of October, 1793.

On the 22d of January, 1794, in the morning, a brig without colours appeared under the very guns of the batteries, and took a position to intercept some Genoese vessels coming from the Levant. One of the batteries fired a gun as a signal to the brig to keep off. The brig hoisted English colours, and kept cruising off the entrance of the port. The battery of the old mole fired a gun as a second signal, but the brig keeping her position, three shots were fired from the battery of the Lantern, which obliged her to sheer off.

Our Government was no sooner informed of the violation of our territory by an English cutter, than it sent an official note to the English Consul, to complain of a proceeding so contrary to the right of nations, and to demand a satisfaction proportioned to the offence. In the afternoon arrived a cartel ship with two English officers, who having obtained permission to land and to go to their consul, delivered to him a letter from Captain Sutherland, and then returned. In a short time after the English Consul came to present to our Government the following note from Captain Sutherland, which he accompanied with another, to complain personally of some injurious expressions, and menacing shouts, which the people assembled in great numbers, had uttered on the landing of the two English officers.

Captain Anthony Sutherland, commander of his Britannic Majesty's ship the Diadem, in sight of Genoa.

As three shots were fired this morning on one of the cutters of his Britannic Majesty, though at a time, when, in my opinion, they were committing nothing that could provoke such an outrage, and as I, as well as all the officers employed in the blockade, have confined our attention to that single object, without having ever allowed ourselves to take the least step that could endanger the life of any subject of the state, I take the liberty to beg you to inform me whether this violent measure indicates any change in our dispute with the state of Genoa, and whether I am henceforward to consider it as a declared enemy.

(Signed)

SUTHERLAND.

The Genoese Government did not delay answering both these complaints of the Consul, and those of Captain Sutherland, by a
note,

note, which was transmitted to the former, and couched in these terms.

The Government of Genoa, highly sensible to the injuries which in his note of the 22d inst. the British Consul assures were offered against him, as well as against the officers and crew of the cartel ship which brought them, has given orders that this fact be verified, in order to adopt, in consequence, measures for granting a just reparation; however, the Government must confess, that at this time, it knows no authority capable of restraining the popular clamours which have arisen in this affair. The stagnation of commerce, occasioned by the English ships, a blockade which lasts so long, and which becomes daily more rigorous, the very serious prejudices resulting from it to every class of the citizens, are naturally the motives of the above-mentioned clamours, common to every commercial nation which sees itself injured in its right: what popular commotions would not motives of far less importance have given rise to in London!

However, the most Serene Government of Genoa, ever constant in the system of neutrality and peace which will never be troubled on their part, can see, in the event of the 22d inst. which is the subject of Captain Sutherland's complaint, only the effect of their neutrality and those means of defence which they have promised, in the face of Europe, to employ against every aggressor. The pursuit of the vessels under the cannon of the place, a species of hostility committed in the presence of a whole people, are the motives of such a conduct, justified as well by the laws as by the right of nations; without that it cannot be said that they have in any wise destroyed that state of peace which our Government has proposed to maintain, and which it most earnestly desires to see maintained by the British agents in the Mediterranean.

Note from the Secretary of State of the Republic of Genoa, to the British Consul, dated Feb. 1794.

MR. CONSUL,

I AM ordered by the most Serene Government of Genoa to state to you the extreme uneasiness with which they see the daily difficulties and obstacles which are thrown in the way of the Genoese merchants, and all those who, under the protection of the neutrality of the Republic, are employed in this useful and honourable employment.

I am further ordered to signify to you, the surprise and grief which have been communicated to the mind of the most Serene Government, by the events of that day, on which hostile practices were accompanied with a violation of the Genoese territory.

The most impartial conduct, and the most exact neutrality—
neutrality so advantageous to the British ships in the port of Ge-
noa,

noa, afforded the most Serene Government strong grounds to expect from Great Britain treatment of a very different nature.

I am commanded, Sir, to declare to you, that, whenever the English vessels shall endeavour to chace any ships within the reach of the cannon of the forts they will immediately be fired at, conformably to the edict of neutrality, and to the universally acknowledged rights of nations.

The most Serene Government desires that you will communicate these determinations to the British Minister, Mr. Drake, in order that they may be transmitted to his court, from which, a full reparation for the aggressions committed by its marine commanders is expected.

(Signed) THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE MOST
SERENE GOVERNMENT OF GENOA.

The Court of Vienna ordered Count Girola, Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor at the Republic of Genoa, to transmit an official note to the Senate, requesting that the Republic should not suffer any French ship to pass through its territories. The Republic in the beginning of Feb. 1794, gave an answer, in which it stated :—

That the neutrality of Genoa has hitherto proved advantageous to the combined powers, in preventing the French from invading Italy ; that the territories of the Republic of Genoa had already been violated by the Sardinian troops, who marched through Oneglia and Laone, without the consent of its Government ; that at present the Republic was most grievously oppressed by the British navy ; that there was no probability of the French committing any violation of territory against the Republic, because that nation had always more particularly respected the neutrality of Genoa than the combined powers ; and that above all, the Republic of Genoa was determined to persevere in the observance of the strictest neutrality.

Note from M. Tilly the French Chargé des Affaires at Genoa to the Secretary of State of that Republic, dated 26th Messidor, July 16, 1794.

To the Secretary of State.

THE Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic having been obliged to have recourse to several Genoese, whose assistance he needed for the service of his nation, his suite, and himself, has experienced what perhaps never before happened to any foreign minister, namely, that those who are the best affected towards France and French republicans, dare not manifest their real sentiments for fear of persecution. In the interim, the services of a surgeon and others being indispensable, the Chargé

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d’Affaires thought proper to engage them, attaching them to his person, and for the service of the French nation, at the same time notifying to these individuals, by a paper stamped with the seal of the French Legation, the choice he had, with their approbation, made of them.

From that moment they were entitled to wear the French cockade; but they avoided doing so from an apprehension of giving offence to the Genoese Government. The Chargé d’Affaires approved of this reserve, considering that the cockade, of which malevolent pretend to be afraid, might furnish a new ground for calumnious charges, on the part of those who speak of revolutionary designs, which they fully know have never been meditated.

The Chargé d’Affaires has already said, and repeated to the Secretary of State, that with respect to Genoa, there never were any plans of revolution, unless those proposed by certain noble Genoese, who, in meditating them, sought their own importance and interest. The Chargé d’Affaires knows them, and if he does not name them, it is through respect and humanity—through generosity. This is one of the imputations, the true ground of which is a hatred of the French revolution; and to this cause are owing the measures of precaution and vigilance proposed and executed by those who spread what they know to be unfounded alarms. I must remark that this conduct can have no other view than to create a misunderstanding between the two Republics; and to this I must impute the imprisonment of several Genoese attached to the suite of the Chargé d’Affaires.

Will it be said that the latter has failed to observe the decrees by which the French Convention declares that the Government of France will not interfere with that of other nations? Can this imputation be brought against him because he interferes in favour of two individuals who resisted the confederacy against France, and the latter of whom rejoiced at the recapture of Toulon, wrested from the hands of corrupted foreigners and corrupted Frenchmen?

If the Chargé d’Affaires is to remain a calm spectator of their imprisonment, he is not to be so with respect to the surgeon Bononi: it is notorious that he is a surgeon in the French service.

The Genoese Government either agrees or denies that the Chargé d’Affaires has the power to admit a surgeon, a Genoese by birth, into the service of the French Republic. If it agrees, the person of Bononi ought to be as much respected as that of any other individual of the French nation. If it denies, it will belong to the French nation to judge of the causes and motives of this new doctrine. In the interim, the Chargé d’Affaires, who

who conceives himself authorised to adopt every measure which may be useful or indispensable to the particular service of this house, by engaging any individuals he may think proper, demands purely and simply the release of Bononi, a surgeon attached to the service of the French nation.

Extract from the Reply of the Secretary of State.

July 21, 1794.

WITH respect to the surgeon Bononi, who has held conversations tending to excite a popular insurrection, the Secretary of State is charged to remind M. Tilly of the principles of public right universally acknowledged and observed, and in conformity to which no ministers of foreign powers have ever been allowed to communicate the inviolability they enjoy in the country in which they reside to any citizen of that country. In conformity to these principles, the Secretary of State is convinced that the Chargé d’Affaires will withdraw the patents he has granted; seeing that they will not be acknowledged to have any validity either by the government or the magistrates.

Reply of M. Tilly.

July 24.

THE Secretary of State avails himself of the principle of public right, universally admitted and observed, according to which it does not belong to the ministers of foreign powers to communicate the immunities they enjoy to any one belonging to the countries in which they reside; and on this principle he founds the resolution entered into by the Genoese Government to consider as nugatory the papers or patents by which the Chargé d’Affaires has put Bononi under the shelter of the French nation. The Chargé d’Affaires does not acknowledge as public rights, papers drawn up by the orders or under the auspices of kings. It is to ascertain and establish the true public right that the French are armed. Until this work of theirs shall be completed, their ministers resident in foreign states are bound provisionally to make the French name respected, by conducting themselves conformably to reason and justice, which are the only basis of the true public right. Now it was reasonable and just that the Chargé d’Affaires should put under the safeguard of his nation the Genoese individuals with whose services he could not dispense, and who were well founded in their apprehensions that they would be persecuted for the said services.

Of five individuals put under this safeguard, which the Genoese Government seems to consider as nothing, one is imprisoned, and another, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, is threatened with the same punishment. Their conduct will prove
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whether they are worthy to be considered as belonging to a nation armed to curb oppression.

It will be seen if, at a time when noble and ignoble Genoese are serving the coalesced powers, in military and other capacities, the French Republic will look calmly on the imprisonment of certain Genoese, some of them for being the friends of the French republicans, and for rendering them the services which humanity, independently of any other consideration, called on them to perform. It will be seen, whether at a time when a villain clad in the livery of a nobleman can assassinate with impunity an honest man, acknowledged by the *Chargé d'Affaires*, and admitted into the service of his nation, is to be imprisoned with impunity.

If at Genoa there are those who conspire against the tranquillity of the state, it is not Bononi, Morando, or Frederici; it is those who, having at their command spies, whom they convert at will either into denunciators or witnesses, have led the Government to adopt oppressive measures towards the above individuals—to measures injurious to the French nation: it is those who favour the confederacy against France, which will entail on their country the miseries they alone deserve.

They conspire against Bononi, Morando, Frederici and others, because they are serviceable to the *Chargé d'Affaires*. They conspire against the French nation, because it had made the virtue they hate the order of the day. The *Chargé d'Affaires*, by remaining at his post, notwithstanding all their efforts to oblige him to abandon it, has preserved the Genoese Republic from more mischiefs than the said Republic will ever be able to bring on France. So long as he shall remain here, he will continue to oppose frankness and candour to the cowardice and perfidy of the conspirators who accuse him of conspiring.

The Government of Genoa received a Declaration, dated from St. Fiorenzo the 26th of August, 1794, signed by Lord Hood, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, by which they announce the raising the Blockade of the Port of Genoa. The following is the Conclusion of the Note.

FOR these reasons his Majesty defers to those sentiments of peace and good will which he has never ceased professing, and has resolved not only to put an end to all hostilities, but to forget all the subjects of discontent which he has hitherto experienced, and to put an end to those differences which have arisen between his Majesty and the most Serene Republic, reserving to himself the reclamations which the interests of his subjects, and those of his allies, which consist of the greater part
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of Europe, and of the human race, render indispensably necessary, respecting the future conduct of the Republic.

It is with extreme satisfaction that the undersigned have the honour to announce to the Government, as the effect of his Majesty's generous sentiments, the raising the blockade, and the cessation of hostilities on the part of his Britannic Majesty. Mr. Drake, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Majesty, will soon resume his functions, well assured, that they will not, in future, be interrupted by any complaints; and that good intelligence and friendship, which are so agreeable to his Majesty, and which, in the present crisis, are so necessary, and perhaps indispensable, to the safety of the Serene Republic, will exist hereafter between the two powers.

The Government of Genoa answered the above Note by another to the following purport.

THE Government of Genoa considers the raising of the blockade of the harbour of this capital, and the cessation of all hostilities, as an act of the infallible rectitude of his Britannic Majesty; in consequence of which, while this Government does not doubt that proper instructions will be given for that purpose to the commanders of the British ships and vessels, to regulate their conduct towards the Republic, the said Government cannot but insist again upon the restitution and indemnification which form the object of several notes formerly presented by the ministers of Genoa to the court of London. And as the favourable expressions, by which the British commissaries and Mr. Drake accompany this communication, tend to assure the most Serene Republic of the pacific intentions of his Britannic Majesty, the Genoese Government answers the same by evincing its true and genuine acknowledgment. In consequence of these assurances, which he values highly, the Republic of Genoa, neutral since the commencement of this war, and always firm to support the same system, even at the sight of the approach of the armies of the belligerent powers, against her territories, has no reason to foresee, from the conduct she observed, any remonstrances on the part of the British subjects, or of the allies of England, nor to fear an interruption of her good understanding with the court of London, which she was always desirous of maintaining, and which, in case of any event of war, she must always more and more desire, without prejudice to the good harmony with all the other belligerent powers. The loyalty with which the most Serene Republic expresses these just sentiments, from which it cannot depart without putting the Republic into danger, shall be, on all occasions, a sure pledge of her conduct; just at this moment

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it cannot but be the most authentic token of her constant sentiments towards the British court, with which she has never ceased, during the present war, to preserve, on her part, the most perfect harmony, till such time as the hostilities which took place on the part of the English agents necessarily restricted their full display.

The Armies of the Belligerent Powers being in the Neighbourhood of Genoa, the Doge issued the following Manifesto to the Governors, &c. of the Republic, on the 3d of September, 1794.

ALWAYS faithful to the salutary system which we have adopted, of a perfect neutrality during the present war, we think it proper that all the inhabitants of the Serene Republic should abstain from taking any part in the operations of the belligerent powers or their armies. Be cautious, therefore, that they render them no personal services; that they do not labour for, or assist them, at the requisition of the commanders of either army, in transporting arms, artillery, or ammunition, or in the repairing or constructing roads; as a violation of this order will incur the indignation of the public.

Genoa, October 19, 1794.

Admiral Lord Hood, during his short stay at Genoa, presented to the Government a note, which set forth that he seized the occasion of his arrival in the port of Genoa, to present his respects to the Doge and the Senate, and to assure them of the regard and good-will of his Britannic Majesty. It enlarged on the dangers that threatened Genoa in particular, and Italy in general, from the ferocious and barbarous French. It invited the Republic to make common cause with the allies, and assured the government that his lordship was ready to employ all the British force, under his command, in concert with the Genoese. It concluded with representing that bad weather and the wants of his fleet might make it necessary for him to enter the port with a greater number of ships than the decree of neutrality allowed. On this point his lordship requested a precise and favourable answer.

The Government returned for answer, that the Republic would always endeavour to deserve the regard and good-will of his Britannic Majesty; that the Republic would strictly observe the neutrality it had professed, had no enemies, and consequently no need of assistance; and that a greater number of ships of war, than that specified in the decree of neutrality, could not be admitted into the port without hazarding the repose and the dignity of the Republic.

After long expecting the recal of the French minister Tilli, we are glad to see his successor at length arrived. Tilli, by affecting
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a cynical Jacobinism, did not serve the cause of his country ; he obtained no partizans, but among persons of no account. Villiars, who succeeds him, shews even by his exterior that he means to follow a different course ; he has begun his mission by obtaining the arrest of his predecessor, who will be conveyed to the nearest French post, and thence to Paris.

A courier with dispatches was sent about this time to Vienna from the archduke Ferdinand of Milan ; the contents of which are said to have related to the arrival of Mr. Drake, the British envoy, at Alessandria, where he demanded from the Austrian generals, in the name of Admiral Lord Hood, a categorical answer, in writing, whether there was an intention on the part of the Austrian generals to attempt, before the winter, a serious expedition, in order to drive the French out of the Genoese territories ; adding, that in case such an expedition should not be determined on, his Excellency Admiral Lord Hood will think it useless to remain any longer with his squadron in those seas, and will therefore endeavour to put in with his fleet into the ports of Corsica.

Mr. Drake further declared, that in the latter case his Excellency the British Admiral will render public his correspondence with the Austrian generals upon this subject, in order publicly to manifest that it had not been his fault that so little had been done during this last summer ; and that, on his part, for the last three months, he had constantly made offers to support the operations of the war at land with his naval forces.

Speech of Citizen Dorothee Villiars, Envoy Extraordinary from the French Republic to the Republic of Genoa, at his first Audience of the Doge, Oct. 19th, 1794.

I COME, in the name of the French Republic, to draw closer the bonds of union with the Republic of Genoa. The neutrality which the Genoese Government has observed, and the efforts to make it adopt a different line of conduct, is a new proof that the spirit of justice which directs it is never lost sight of, and that its true interests are so many barriers for keeping it distinct from its neighbours, and preventing it from mixing with them. In some states there are men, who, feeling themselves compelled to resort to calumny, have painted the French in the several periods of their revolution, as bursting all the bands of political and social connexion, and resembling rather a horde of cannibals than a civilized people. Wise and just men have rejected these perfidious insinuations, and seen in the unfaithful picture only the tempests inseparable from the conquest of liberty, and the necessity of annihilating, in regenerated France, the ambitious, the traitors, and the pre-
tended

tended patriots disseminated over her vast territory, for the purpose of introducing into it disorder, ravage, and death. A monster generated from a political embryo, and by means of a counterfeit popularity, become the idol and the chief of a party, too long protected the odious machinations of that party. He rent at will the bosom of his country, which he had abused by his base hypocrisy. What has been the consequence? The execration of his name, and the glory of the French people. Let your Serenity vouchsafe to cast your eyes over the annals of revolutionary France. You will see, on the one hand, all the tyrants of Europe united to combat us; employing all the means of corruption that perverseness gives birth to; working upon all the passions that divide men, and sometimes mislead the wise; attempting treason, calumny, imposture, and civil war.—On the other, a nation brave, powerful, generous, fixing the attention of the astonished universe; sounding its liberty amid these very tempests; repelling Machiavelanism, and protecting virtue; encouraging agriculture, commerce, sciences, the arts; drawing after it, in every quarter, the chariot of victory, and standing erect on the ruins of guilt and of tyranny.

The French are not ignorant that their intentions were calumniated when they took post on the Genoese territory; but I declare, in the name of the French, whose organ I am, that the apparent invasion had no object but that of defending the most Serene Republic against infringements of its liberty, which dangerous neighbours, instigated by a formidable naval power, meant to attempt.

I know that, about the middle of the century, the Genoese people defeated by their courage the insensate plans of their oppressors; but permit me to remind them, that there are circumstances under which it is better to anticipate aggressions, and endeavour to render them impossible, than to wait for, even with the certainty of repelling them.

I conclude with repeating the solemn wish of the French Republic, to maintain with the most Serene Republic of Genoa, that community of interests, that sweet fraternity which unites the people of both; and I protest to your Serenity, whose illustrious ancestor deserved well of his country by establishing liberty in it, that in my political labours with the Genoese Government, I shall always take for my guide the candour which is the inseparable companion of virtue, and the frankness which is one of the fairest rights of liberty.

D E N M A R K.

The King of Denmark's Edit for the Trade of Denmark and Norway during the War.

WE, Christian the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, &c. &c. make known by these presents, That as we, for the safety and security of our subjects, have made known and published by our former orders and proclamations of the 22d and 25th of February, 1793, as soon as the war broke out between the belligerent naval powers, that all the vessels or ships of our subjects, sailing from any harbour in our dominions, and bound to the north or western seas, should be provided with such sea-passes and ship's documents as by the treaties had been stipulated between us and the belligerent powers ; having also in our said orders and public proclamations stated in what manner persons should be qualified to obtain such papers and documents, we do further order and demand, on purpose to prevent all deviation which might or could in time happen contrary to our pleasure, as not being mentioned in the stipulated treaties between belligerent powers and us, as follows, viz.

1. We order and command all our comptrollers and officers in our several custom-houses at our sea-ports, that they shall not permit or allow any vessel or ship, belonging to any of our subjects, to clear out for any foreign sea-port, without being duly provided with the afore said passes and documents, that our orders and commands concerning this matter may be more strictly observed and followed.

2. Should any vessel, bound to a neutral harbour, take in such goods or merchandize as, if they were consigned to any harbour of the belligerent powers, would be contraband, and as such stipulated in the treaties between those powers and us ; also, mentioned in our former orders and proclamations of 22d and 25th February, 1793, we do further order and demand, that, besides the oath which the master and freighter of the ships were ordered to make on such occasion before the appointed magistrates as before-mentioned, the person who ships such goods, with the master of each of such vessels, shall be bound to make a special declaration conformable to the invoice and bills of lading (besides his actual entry and clearance at the custom-house), which shall contain the different specifications of the goods, together with their quantity and value ; and this declaration is to be signed by the person who ships the cargo, by the captain, and affirmed by the comptroller of the customs where the vessel enters and clears out, who is directly to for-

ward the same to our commissioner of the customs, that the consignment of such goods may be authentically proved, if not lost by sea, or seized on her arrival at her destined port.

This alteration must be made in the following manner:—A person who ships such goods shall be bound to get a certificate from the consul or vice-consul, or in case of there not being any there, from a magistrate, or any other authorized person at such place, that the vessel arrived there and delivered her cargo agreeable to his former declaration; and such certificate is either to be sent from thence directly to the commissioner of the customs, or as soon as the vessel arrived at her home port.

In case such a certificate should not be delivered, within a proportionable time to the length of the voyage, our college of commerce has orders to demand an explanation from the person who shipped the goods, who is to make a declaration on oath, whether he has received any intelligence concerning said cargo.

Should such person or persons not be able to prove by certificate that the goods were landed in a neutral port, and such a vessel not being lost or captured, he shall forfeit twenty rix dollars for each commercial last of the ship, to our royal college of commerce, and the captain liable to be prosecuted by law.

Given at our royal residence, Copenhagen, the 28th of March, 1794.

(Signed)
(Counterigned)

CHRISTAN, R.
SCHIMMELMAN SEHESTEDT,
and DERNATH.

Substance of an Ordinance of his Danish Majesty, relative to an extraordinary Tax upon Shipping and Merchandize for Denmark and Norway, and the Duchy of Schleswick and Holstein, &c. issued in July, 1794.

WE, Christian VII. by the grace of God, &c. make known by these presents: whereas, we have publicly and solemnly declared, that we will on no account take part in the war which now unfortunately presses down so many countries and nations: and whereas and notwithstanding we have declared with equal publicity and solemnity, that, under the most perfect neutrality, we expect and demand no more liberties and advantages for the commerce and navigation of our dominions and countries, than those which the laws of nations acknowledge, and our treaties with the belligerent powers expressly allow; yet we have learned with anxiety and displeasure, that the ships of our subjects, though their cargoes only consisted of lawful merchandize, and though they bore our passport, are nevertheless frequently, and in great numbers, taken up in
their

their free and lawful courses, and detained against the will of the captains and traders of those ships.

With the care which we, as king and father of this country, owe to the rights of every free nation, independent of every other state, we have made amicable and serious remonstrances to obtain a sufficient indemnification : but thus far such indemnification has not only not followed, but the capture of ships continue, under more offensive circumstances. There are, however, some hopes, that our continued friendly proposals will not be used in vain.

In order that, during the continuance of the above circumstances, the means be rendered applicable, by which we claim the due indemnification, and which are required as well by prudence and necessity as by the honour and independence of our empire and country, we found ourselves under the necessity, not only to fit out a part of our naval force, which lies ready, in combination with the fleet fitted out in a neighbouring kingdom, to put itself into motion, but to augment this armament with a still greater number of ships of war, which are kept in readiness.

Our faithful people have with noble sentiments paid regard to the extraordinary expenses which such an armament requires, even then, when they offered voluntary contributions, without there being any demanded by us, to diminish the loss which our royal abode sustained on the 26th of February ult.—We have therefore applied all those voluntary contributions which have come to hand, to the present urgent exigencies of the state, renouncing the greater convenience which the building of a new palace might have procured us.

[Here follow the regulations and terms upon which the new taxes are raised, and which are wholly uninteresting to the English reader.]

Copenhagen, July 26, 1794. It is said that the Danish Minister in London has received Orders to demand of the British Court a peremptory Answer to the following Questions :

1st. WHETHER it will make restitution of the captured Danish ships ?

2dly. Whether it will give the demanded indemnification ?

3dly. And put a stop to the capturing of Danish ships which are not laden with goods deemed contraband by the several treaties ?

It is said that in September, 1794, the Danish Minister remonstrated to the court of London :

1. That the vessels pretended to have been engaged in contraband trade had not been restored, notwithstanding the late declaration ; and,

2. That neither the cargoes, nor demurrage for those carried into the ports of Great Britain have been as yet liquidated. [*See also the Convention between Denmark and Sweden under the Title of "Treaties."*]

S W E D E N.

[*No part of the Correspondence respecting Baron d'Armfeldt's Conspiracy is inserted in this Work; because it is not connected with the French War; but as some Passages of the following Paper relate to that Subject, it is judged to be entitled to a Place here.*]

Plan of a Revolution in Sweden, communicated by Baron d'Armfeldt to his Associates there, and discovered early in 1794.

DURING my journey, I have considered of a revolution which should be effected in Sweden without effusion of blood, clamour, or any kind of disorder, which, on the contrary, should reinstate all power and authority, and procure the Regent tranquillity for the present, and at the close of his government, influence and respect. This, which at first view appears a riddle, is, upon nearer investigation, very true. Let us first examine the situation of the Regent in the present state of affairs, and leave for a moment out of the question, the interest of the king and the welfare of the country; a fermentation, the nature of which cannot be described, because the persons who occasion it, although all equally turbulent and revolutionary, are very different in their principles and intentions:—the administration without energy; the chiefs of the government full of selfish desires, hatreds, and low views, without experience, genius, or principles; daring, fearful, impetuous in their intentions, hesitating in the performance of them; in a word, improper counsellors for the Regent. What will be the consequence of all this, when one adds to it the neighbourhood of Russia, and the dissatisfaction which the Empress thinks she has reason to entertain against the Regent? Can he, when he considers these circumstances, hope to maintain himself in the government three years longer? Various apparent or unforeseen occurrences are ready to precipitate, or at least to expose him; and even, if from respect to the will of the late King, he were possibly to be retained in the post he now is, what would be the situation when the King came of age? Detested by all persons of merit; without influence or respect in the nation, he would endeavour to make a party; the close of his government

ment would only be employed to that purpose, and if the King were not sacrificed to it, the war which ensued would, at least, not increase his prosperity in the same degree as it would be detrimental to the King and the public welfare. To accomplish the purpose without violence, by an unavoidable, but at the same time, peaceable and fortunate revolution, I should wish the Empress to represent to the Duke, in a friendly, but very commanding tone :

First, In consideration of the genius and understanding of the King, he ought to assist at all councils, but without exercising any authority until he attains the age of eighteen.

Secondly, That the following persons should have seats in the council :—1st, The seneschal of the kingdom. 2dly, The King's governor, Count Gyldenstople. 3dly, The person who might be at the head of foreign affairs. 4thly, The chancellors and secretaries of state. 5thly, Baron Armfeldt. 6thly, General Toll. 7thly, The president of the exchequer. Within twenty-four hours, the Duke should appoint Baron Taube, president of the chancery, on the same terms as Ulric Scheffer held that office, and it should afterwards depend on him to take his own measures with respect to his secretaries, clerks, &c.

Baron Frederic Sparre should retire with a pension. High offices are unnecessary in small states. (He was high chancellor.)

I should be reinstated in my office of governor of Stockholm, with all the privileges which were annexed to it in the time of Carl Sparre, except any concern with the palace of Stockholm.

Governors Lagerbring and Nordin should be secretaries of state ; the first in his former department, the other in Rosenblad's ; and Cronstedt should have his former situation of secretary of state in the naval department.

Beres or Zibet should be chancellor of the court. I imagine the latter would rather chuse a foreign embassy, if not, he should have this office.

Toll to be promoted to the presidency of the war-office, with the most extensive patronage over the state and management of the army.

Hakanson to be president of the exchequer.

The chancellor of justice ought to retire, and be replaced by a rigid, equitable, and respected man, but not a Loastbom.

Axel Fersen to be adjutant-general, and have the staff to command in Stockholm.

F. T. Aminoff to have Liljehorn's place ; and that office should be established for him which the late King proposed, viz. chief of the life guards, abolishing the captain-lieutenants, whose places are only court employments ; by which means this
corps,

corps, which is now of no use, might be rendered good and serviceable.

With respect to the other employments which would be changed, and persons who would be discharged, it should be done carefully and with great management, without suffering either displeasure or hatred to appear.

After all were fixed in their posts, within three months calm would be restored to Sweden, and Jacobinism exterminated.

To give effect to this negociation with the Duke Regent, a small Russian fleet would be required in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, till every thing should be properly settled.

Memorial to her Majesty the Empress.

THE critical and dangerous situation in which Sweden now is, cannot be concealed, and when a man loves his country and wishes really to serve it, he cannot endeavour to colour its dangers; he must have courage to contemplate them in their whole extent, and not suffer himself to be blinded, and think that palliatives will be of service, when the most powerful remedies ought to be immediately administered. We cannot therefore deny, that the government, from the beginning, has been intimidated from all operation and strength by a faction powerful from its boldness, the number of its adherents, and its crimes; that government thought it should gain this faction by an excessive remissness, and an ignominious compliance; that the government, therefore, by its imbecility and its pusillanimous behaviour has increased the insolence of the faction, which, instead of requesting favour and attention, makes open demands. The liberty of the press has been granted, through which the spirit of rebellion has been circulated in the provinces and the army; too late the unfortunate consequences of it are observed, and the party which occasioned it, endeavours in vain by restraints at last put on it, to prevent them. The faction perceives the progress it makes, knows its influence, and that by its strength the law is without effect, except against those who wish to defend the prerogatives of the throne, and maintain public order. The faction preponderates now so much, that it makes all the faults of government advantageous to itself, and accounts it criminal if government endeavours to regain its steadiness and influence. It is in this manner that the views of the faction are forwarded, when government, in its weakness, wished to shew its strength, and by issuing orders in a commanding tone, exposes its impotence, and gives occasion for affronts and blame. Such is our internal situation. The party makes also use of the same influence to confound the politics with respect to foreign powers, by making infamous treaties with what calls itself the French Republic, and its private agents in Constantinople

Constantinople and Stockholm, who, probably, were the occasion of assembling troops near the capital, and fitting out the fleet, for which purpose they perhaps also advanced money. Sweden has thus on a sudden become a fountain for revolutionary principles in the north, which ought more especially to awaken the attention of Russia, particularly as Sweden, at the same time, in a hostile manner, enters into negotiations contrary both to its own interests, and to the views of the Russian cabinet. It must, therefore, with shame and grief be acknowledged, that Sweden, by error on error, with respect both to its internal and foreign administration, has reduced the Empress to the necessity of commencing hostilities. It is with regard to the steps to be taken, perhaps as hastily as unavoidably, that the following reflections are ventured to be laid before her. It is palpable that the evil arises from the weakness of government, this again from the Duke Regent's diffidence of himself, the consequence of which is, that he will be to the last, the passive instrument of a commanding and inexorable faction, which he, in an improper manner, has endeavoured to gain. The error, therefore, with respect both to our internal and foreign concerns, which happen among us, do not arise from any personal ill-will of the Regent to Sweden, or the neighbouring powers; the evil infallibly arises from accidental circumstances, and cannot be regarded as the mature and well contemplated projects which come from a steady government. The consequence of which again is, that a change of persons, by which the Duke would be supported by people who were with courage and sincerity attached to their country, the king, and those political principles, which are serviceable to all states, would at once save Sweden and our young King, as well as the Regent, and this consequence would be so much more certain, as being effected by the mediation of her Majesty the Empress, it would be retained under her protection upon the line which shall now be marked out. The advantage of rescuing Sweden by mild but vigorous steps will be shewn.

Here also another advantage offers, no less palpable, that the Empress, by this means, will have an opportunity of again evincing that useful superiority which secures to her the glorious privilege of settling the fate of Europe during the present revolutions. Her compliance will increase the splendour of that glory to which victories and conquests contribute; for whilst the latter testify the extent of her genius, the former will evince the excellence of her heart. She will, therefore, think it worthy of her, not to increase her power at the expense of Sweden by internal wars there, but, on the contrary, by her powerful assistance deliver the kingdom, undiminished and freed from the delirium of

revolutions, to the young monarch, to whom she promised to be a mother, and who, with the consciousness of a filial attachment, so sincerely aspires to that name : she will then, not confound the government with its oppressors, nor the nation with the government, in a manner which would allow the faction an opportunity of giving the appearance of a national business to that which in itself would only redound to its private advantage ; and the following would be the most serviceable method, together with the most suitable, to restore order to Sweden.

Her Majesty the Empress should make a declaration, that she is acquainted with all the secret plots which the cabinet of Stockholm has set in motion against her, that she will make this known to the world, and that that government was the first to break the treaty ; but far from making use of this as a reason for breaking with a King whom she loves, and whose attachment she wishes to retain, or against a generous nation which she esteems, she only wishes to punish those persons who, since the death of Gustavus III. surround the Regent, lead him into mistakes, seduce him to fail in the sacredness of his promise, and in the respect which he owes to the memory of his brother, and treacherously precipitate them into an unfathomable depth of misfortunes : that in hopes the Regent would not involve himself in these dangers, she suffered the regulations of the late king to pass unnoticed ; but that when the Regent, instead of suffering himself to be amended by an unfortunate experience, appears daily to be more overpowered by that faction to which he so imprudently has abandoned himself, and which, in his name, exposes the advantages of the good Swedes, as well as those of her Majesty the Empress, to danger, she finds herself under the necessity to restore order, and for her own security to require the following alterations :

1. In regard to the genius and enlightened understanding of the King, he ought to assist at all councils, but at the same time without any authority till he attain the age of eighteen.

2. To admit into the council and appoint to the most important places, as well in Stockholm as the provinces, such persons as may be known no less for their attachment to the political principles with respect to the kingdom and foreign powers which the former government was ruled by, than for their courage to retain them in full force. If the smallest difficulty should arise, it will be very easy to give a nearer explanation, even in case it should be necessary to name them. What ought particularly to be observed is, to require the expulsion of those who might be dangerous or suspected, whose number, at the utmost, would not exceed twelve or fifteen persons, and who are so well known as not to be mistaken, and, besides, could be pointed out by those in the kingdom who have remained faithful.

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The agreement with the Duke might be confined to these two points; but to support this demand, which being made concise and clear, would not bear any contradiction, a fleet near Stockholm would be necessary till every thing is completed and set in order. It may be depended on, that the Regent would congratulate himself on a violence, which would be only such in appearance, but, in fact, would for the present and the future secure to him respect, and deliver him from the dangers in which he has involved himself; and also, that this is the only means of preventing the evil from taking root; and that, which now only requires a well-timed and speedy resolution, shall prevent the necessity of requiring at a future period, many years of war and enormous expenses, as well as costing rivers of blood.

Stockholm, August 6, 1794. Laß Weck the Russian Chargé des Affaires delivered a Note on the Part of his Court to the Chancellor, of the following import.

THE Empress of Russia has thought proper to fit out a fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, and a proportionable number of frigates to cruize in the East and North seas, for the purpose (in conjunction with the English maritime forces) of preventing the sending of any provisions or ammunition to France: the Empress therefore requests the King of Sweden not to permit his ships of war to take any Swedish merchantmen laden with any such commodities, under their convoy. Her Imperial Majesty has further ordered all merchant ships, which her squadron may meet in those seas, to be searched, to see if their cargoes consist of any such goods: all which is done for this reason, namely, that no neutrality can take place with respect to a government consisting only of rebels.

[A similar Declaration has been made on the Part of the Russian Court to that of Denmark; besides which the English Ministers have delivered similar Declarations to the Swedish and Danish Courts.]

T U R K E Y.

In January, 1794, the Divan having declared to the Ministers of the Allied Powers that the Porte would remain inviolably attached to its neutrality, the Russian Ambassador replied,

THAT the Empress, determined to take an active part in a cause common to all sovereigns, would never suffer a power capable of molesting her frontiers, to profess neutrality; that her Majesty consequently expected that the Porte would immediately lay an embargo on all French vessels in its ports, and declare war
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against the rebels of France, and that he (the Ambassador) had the strictest orders from his sovereign to consider a refusal on the part of the Divan as a declaration of war.

In June, 1794, the Russian Minister at the Porte, M. de Kultzbe, made to the Reis Effendi several Propositions, of which the following are the principal.

- I. A POSITIVE declaration that the Porte would not interfere in the actual affairs of Poland.
 - II. That it should oblige all the French frigates and armed vessels to quit the coasts of the Archipelago ; and free all the ports of that sea, over which the navy of France had of late exercised a kind of dominion.
 - III. That no alterations should be made in the customs and duties.
 - IV. That a free passage should be allowed to Russian frigates through the canal of Constantinople.
 - V. That the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, being Greeks, and ill treated by the Ottoman ministers, should be considered under the immediate protection of her Imperial Majesty.
- To these the Reis Effendi replied,*
- I. On this proposition he could give no answer on the moment, as it belonged to the Sultan himself to decide upon points which concerned the interest of his empire.
 - II. That the Porte would not consent to offer any violence to the French frigates in question.
 - III. That the Porte, as well as every other free and independent state, would make whatever regulations it thought fit in the duties, without suffering the interference of any foreign power.
 - IV. That the free navigation of the canal of Constantinople would be a violation of the treaties and conventions already subsisting between the two courts.
 - V. That the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, though Greeks, being tributary to the Porte, could demand no other treatment; but what was conformable to those usages and customs which the Ottoman court had ever observed to all its dependencies.

Note presented by the British Ambassador to the Divan at Constantinople in the Autumn, 1794.

THERE exists between the belligerent powers and the nations, mutual duties, regulated by treaties, or in default of these, by the law of nations.

The neutral nations are bound to an exact impartiality towards the parties at war ; they ought to assist none of them.

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They ought, consequently, not to permit in their country, the fitting out or arming of men of war, or privateers, in favour of one belligerent power against another.

Their harbours ought neither to be the refuge of privateers, which, if at all received, ought to be allowed to enter them only in cases of the most urgent necessity ; and they have a right to make them put to sea again as soon as they have undergone the most indispensable repairs. The armed ships have no right to bring up and carry their prizes into those ports ; and the belligerent powers ought on their part, to abstain from all hostilities among the neutral nations ; they ought to respect their territories.

But the above duties being perfectly reciprocal, it cannot be required from one party to make sacrifices for the sake of conformity, if, on the other, those duties are disowned and neglected : if these principles are applied to the present juncture, is it supposed that a nation, which has violated all that is sacred among men, has the same rights as other nations ? that the French democrats, instead of being treated like pirates by the Turks, ought to be admitted on an equal footing with the ancient and sincere friends of the country ?

But the Ottoman officers who command in certain provinces do not confine themselves to a partiality in favour of the French, difficult to be interpreted ; they even seem, since the beginning of the present war, to have lost sight of all the obligations of neutrality acknowledged by civilized nations. At Smyrna the sailors of the Convention were seen to commit open hostilities against the British officers and seamen, without the aggressors having been given up, or even searched after.

In the same harbour of Smyrna, ships have been at different times seen, arming and fitting out as privateers against the English, without the smallest interruption on the part of the magistrates. Prizes taken by the French cruizers were seen to have been brought thither publicly and without obstacle.

A squadron of frigates and armed ships of that same nation, remained in the harbour as frequently, and as long, as it thought proper ; it blocked up, as it were, the harbour of Smyrna, and interrupted the commerce of nations for near two years.

In this self-same position, and in the distance marked out by the rules of neutrality, the French armed ships took prizes, and even in sight of the Turkish fortresses they searched and plundered neutral ships, and even those of the subjects of the Sublime Porte. What is the consequence to be drawn from these facts ? It is natural to suppose, that what is lawful for one party, must also be lawful for the other. A British officer of the royal navy acted in consequence ; he attacked and captured one of the enemy's frigates in a bay called Turkish, having, however, previously made himself sure that there was neither a Turkish fort or flag in it, in order

to avoid every thing that might be deemed an insult to the jurisdiction of the Sublime Porte ; and having afterwards resolved to indemnify the inhabitants of the coast for the damage he might have done them, if they had actually been sufferers, he offered freely to me to promulgate his name.

If the French democrats were susceptible of those feelings which influence other men, that occurrence would have brought them to their senses, and seeing that an abuse subsequent to the indulgence which they enjoyed on the part of the Turkish commandants, might be followed by disagreeable consequences, and, finally, even compromise the Sublime Porte herself, they would have taken the resolution to forbear from committing their unlawful depredations, and to conform themselves forthwith to the rules prescribed by the law of nations.

But the result was quite different ; the French having obtained exclusive immunities and privileges from the Turkish government, talk of avenging themselves on those who durst imitate their example ; they have the audacity to threaten the peaceful inhabitants of Smyrna with pillage and death ; they provided arms, collected combustibles, and held conventicles to concert the execution of their plans.

The conduct which the Sublime Porte should observe in this respect, is plain and evident ; the partiality, or rather the too great weakness of the governors who command her provinces, has been the origin of this evil ; let that weakness cease ; let the French be obliged to observe the articles of neutrality, or else find no more the indecent protection which they hitherto enjoyed in the harbours and roads of the Turkish empire. Let the Porte maintain good order in her territories, by a respectable armed force, and I dare to answer, that no excess, no irregularity will be committed by the officers of his Britannic Majesty.

(Signed)

ROBERT LISTON.

V E N I C E.

The Representatives of the French People, composing the Committee of Public Safety, of the National Convention, charged by the Decree of the 17th Fructidor, with the Direction of Foreign Affairs to the Republic of Venice, the Friend and faithful Ally of France.

Paris, 1st Sansculottide, 2d Year of the Repub.

WE appointed as envoy from the French republic to you, the Citizen Lallemand.—The evidence which we have received of the good conduct of this republican in the functions that have been entrusted to him, have persuaded us that he will discharge to our satisfaction and yours, the duties which our instructions

tions and the evident interest of the two nations have imposed upon him.

He is ordered to make known to the republic, and the government of Venice, that the political principles of the French people are those of justice and equality between the two nations; which can alone guarantee the safety, liberty, and respective independence of the two people.

We invite the Senate to attach the credit to the declarations of Citizen Lallemand, in the name of the French republic, and to believe that he is particularly recommended to maintain the friendship that exists, and ought ever to exist, between the two republics.

(Signed)

THURIOT, COCHON, CARNOL,
PRIEUR, ESCHASSEREAUX,
THEILHERD, DELMAS,

Answer of the Senate of Venice to the above Address, sent to Citizen Lallemand, Nov. 24, 1794.

THE Senate receives with real satisfaction, and as a testimony of the continuation of the friendly correspondence which has hitherto subsisted between the French nation and that of Venice, the note which you transmitted on the 13th instant, to make known the character of envoy to us, with which you are invested.

The Senate has been extremely pleased with the contents of the credentials and the instructions which you have to cultivate a good correspondence between the two nations, as well as the assurances of the continuation of the personal dispositions which you have evinced for several years at Naples and Messina, in favour of our republic; dispositions of which we hope you will continue to give us further proofs during the duration of the ministry which is entrusted to you.

The Senate, invariable and constant in the maxims of an exact neutrality, avail themselves with eagerness of this opportunity for assuring you, that they will continue to observe it with the same care. You will consequently be persuaded, that you will enjoy conformably to the ministerial character with which you are invested, the suitable privileges as well as the protection which the laws accord to foreigners and natives who reside in our states, maintain a peaceable conduct, and conform to our usages. Fully relying on the just reputation you enjoy, we flatter ourselves, you will transmit to your government this expression of our sentiments, and at the same time adding, the great pleasure we experience in seizing this opportunity of renewing to you our sincere wish to preserve our ancient friendship and good understanding. Highly sensible to the flattering assurances contained in your note, we feel much satisfaction in rendering justice to the conduct of Monsieur Jacob, during

during his residence as Chargé d'Affaires, and for the care he has taken to further the cause of amity and good harmony between the two nations. We have therefore sent to Mr. Jacob the customary present, as a particular mark of our gratitude, consideration, and affection.

SWITZERLAND.

Proclamation of the Canton of Berne in August, 1794.

WE the Avoyer, the Little and Great Council of the city and republic of Berne, &c. make known by these presents—Public fame has sufficiently informed us of the deplorable scenes which have overwhelmed the city of Geneva. That republic, in whose prosperity we have constantly taken an interest, resulting from long and intimate relations as allies, and the habitual connections of neighbourhood, is delivered up to unheard-of calamities, of which it is not possible to foresee the extent, the duration, or the consequences. At the moment that we had reason to hope for the return of peace and tranquillity, by the establishment of the new order of things, which the government had solemnly announced to us, the same as had the Canton of Zurich, a band of tumultuous men attacked and overthrew by main force, public liberty and personal safety; they violated private houses, arrested individuals, and dragged them to prison. These violences were committed even against the ministers of religion, in a manner such as seemed to announce the intended proscription of religion, in a city hitherto remarked as its great supporter. Citizens were sacrificed even against the will of the majority of voters. New victims were pointed out; new attempts were made against persons and property, even in despite of oaths, of forms established, and the laws of the state; and Geneva awaits in consternation the fate which the sanguinary men who have usurped the right of disposing of the lives and fortunes of all the citizens are preparing for her.

We see with extreme grief the sad destiny of a city whose happiness has been at all times the object of our cares, and which, by its proximity, so nearly interests our own state and that of all Switzerland. But the knowledge we have gained of the criminal participation of many individuals of our own country aggravates still more our grief and indignation. Our paternal solicitude for the safety and honour of our country, not permitting us to tolerate on our territory these men sullied with crimes, we, by the present publication, interdict their entrance into our territories; and will, that all those of our subjects who shall be known to have had any part in these atrocious scenes, be instantly denounced and seized; reserving to ourselves to pronounce the chastisement which their culpable conduct, in a city so long our ally,

ally, merits. We doubt not, dear and faithful citizens, that participating in the same sentiments that animate us, you will redouble your activity and zeal in the execution of this present ordinance.

The Diet of the States of Switzerland commenced their Assemblies on the 5th of July, 1794, at Frauenfeld, and the Committee of Public Safety at Paris sent Ambassadors, who, in the Name of the French Republic, made the following Proposals to the States of Switzerland.

1st, THAT the French emigrants should not be tolerated to reside in any part of the territories of the Swiss cantons.

2dly, The French nation should have the liberty of purchasing horned cattle, horses, &c. throughout all the cantons of Switzerland.

3dly, That the States should immediately recall all the Swiss troops in foreign service.

4thly, If the States think it agreeable to the interest of the cantons, the French Republic will take the same troops or regiments into her own service.

5thly, That arms and ammunitions shall be permitted to be purchased in Switzerland, by the agents of the committee of Public Safety, for the use of the armies of the French Republic.

The Committee of Public Safety to the Citizen Barthelemy, Ambassador of the French Republic in Switzerland, 25th of December, 1794.

WE are informed, Citizen, that the emigrants and exiled priests spread a report, that they are on the eve of returning into France, and that they have even succeeded in gaining some confidence in this strange assertion.

We can attribute only to these false rumours the facility with which the catholic cantons appear to tolerate them on their territory. The result is, that these men deem themselves within the reach of intriguing in the departments on the borders, there to prepare new disorders and new misfortunes.

We charge you to declare to all the cantons, that the emigrants, loaded as they are with the execration and contempt of Europe, can never be considered by the French nation but as traitors, whom, whenever it can reach them, its just vengeance will never cease to pursue.

We cannot doubt but this declaration will suffice to determine a government which has given us so many proofs of its friendship and good faith, to disincumber themselves of a vile horde, breathing nothing but guilt and disorder ;—who only avail themselves of
the

the hospitality of generous people, to sow the seeds of division, and thus to revenge the attachment which the Swiss nation has invariably shewn to the people of France.

*Signed by the Members of the Committee of
Public Safety.*

G E N E V A.

On Friday the 18th of July, 1794, M. Soulavie, and Merle, a Commissioner from the French Convention resident here, gave a grand Dinner to the principal Members of a Society, entitled the Club of the Mountain, consisting of the most violent Patriots of this City. On breaking up, which did not happen till an early Hour in the Morning, the Members of the Club had recourse to Arms, and arming the Populace at the same Time, took Possession of the Gates and Arsenals. They now proceeded to select a Revolutionary Committee, composed of seven Members, by whom every Person inimical to their Interests was instantly apprehended.

On Sunday the 20th, the Revolutionary Committee published the following Proclamation.

Equality, Liberty, Independence.

Revolutionary citizens!

THE revolution of the 28th of December, 1792, was more serviceable to the aristocrats than to the revolutionists. The former, always incorrigible, and invariably the enemies of liberty, have suffered no abatement of their criminal hopes and liberticidal pretensions. The moment is now arrived, when the revolutionists, wearied with living among men who have not ceased for a moment to be inimical both to them and the French Republic, have been forced to rise for the completion of the work which had nearly been entered on, and to ensure the everlasting triumph of the principles of equality in our country.

Revolutionary citizens, your moderation has hitherto merely served to insnare you, to embolden the aristocrats, and give consistency to their culpable views. It is time that the people should have justice done; and with this intention the revolutionary committee lays before you the following plan:

- I. A revolutionary tribunal, consisting of twenty-one members, shall be formed.
- II. The revolutionists assembled in a body at the National Lyceum, shall elect this tribunal by a single process, and according to the relative majorities.

- III. The electors shall not return more than 21 citizens, and not less than 11.
- IV. No one shall refuse his vote on penalty of being considered as a suspected person, and treated as such.
- V. Each revolutionary citizen, without any exception, shall be enjoined to repair armed to-morrow, the 21st of July, at eight in the morning, to the National Lyceum, and there to vote, on pain of being considered as a suspected person, and treated as such.
- VI. The revolutionary tribunal shall try those who are imprisoned, as well as those who have escaped for the present, and have fled since the revolution.
- VII. It may pronounce sentence of death, pecuniary fines, banishment, &c.
- VIII. Every sentence of death shall be subject to the approval of the whole body of the revolutionary citizens.
- IX. The revolutionary tribunal shall complete its functions within the space of six days, reckoning from the moment of its election.
- X. A military committee shall be created, to consist of seven members, who are to watch over the public safety, and to execute the sentences of the revolutionary tribunal. It shall succeed the revolutionary committee, at the expiration of its powers.
- The members of each circle are enjoined to give their suffrages in the most public manner, as all true revolutionists ought to do. Before eight in the evening the result of the deliberation will be published, mentioning the number of the suffrages.
- (Signed) ALEXANDER BOUSQUET,
President of the revolutionary committee.

The following is the Preamble of the Decree by which the Revolutionary Committee was established.

Liberty, Equality, Independence.

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary citizens,

FOR nearly a century, liberty has painfully contended against aristocracy: the people of Geneva now struggle for the restoration of their rights. For nearly a century the country has been harassed by the pretensions, constantly renewed, of certain citizens, who persuaded themselves that the people were made for them, and that the Republic was their inheritance.

The revolution of 1792 had apparently the effect of terminating for ever the reign of the aristocracy you have too long endured.

But, revolutionary citizens, those among you who fancied that the above revolution had done every thing to establish in this Republic the reign of equality, were strangely abused!—Those who conceived that the constitution, latterly accepted, would secure to the people all the advantages of liberty, were much mistaken! You invited all the Genevese to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship; but the enemies of equality continued the same, with all their pretensions and all their prejudices. In accepting the constitution you extinguished the aristocracy of the laws; but the aristocracy of names, of riches, and of manners, lost no part of its energy and activity.

The entire mass of the aristocrats and their adherents remained in the posture of an enemy whom a check has just humbled, but who waits the first favourable opportunity to wreak his revenge, and recover his superiority.

With an utter detestation of the principles of the constitution, they had accepted it, because it covered them, as well as the citizens in general, with its shield; and because, under shelter of the severe measures it had adopted against the abuses of authority, and of the scrupulous formalities to which it subjected the course of justice, they might manœuvre secretly with sure impunity.

Their hostile dispositions were, however, not equivocal.—Have you in reality seen them renounce their pretensions, and atone their old errors? Have you observed the dissolution of that scandalous coalition which was formed to combat equality? Have you seen them embrace the excellent opportunities afforded them by our civic festivals, to fraternize with us? In short, have you seen one of them even abandon the fastidious pomp of aristocracy, to unite sincerely with us around the simple standard of liberty? No;—but you have seen the criminal obstinacy with which some of them refused to take the civic oath, and with what repugnance others consented to pronounce it. You have heard their counter-revolutionary predictions and prophecies; and no longer ago than the last year, when the Piedmontese penetrated into Mont Blanc, you saw them come out from their retreats, fly to the walls, and there collect in groups, with the manifest intention to profit by the circumstances, and recover their lost ascendancy. You have heard them sigh for a counter-revolution in France, which could not fail to bring about one in this Republic; and express their wishes for the success of the confederate powers, the royalists of la Vendee, and the rebels of Lyons. You must recollect their derisions, bravadoes, and demonstrations of joy, at the news of the miscarriages occasionally sustained by the French republican armies. You have heard them boast of rendering our revolution abortive by the derangement of the finances; and you have seen them concur

... towards

towards this aim, by rejecting the first plan of an edict on public contributions, manifesting at the same time similar views relative to that which was to have been presented to the sovereign council on the 19th of the same month.

You may, perhaps, have been ignorant that their emissaries in Switzerland have made the strongest efforts to deter our allies from acknowledging our constitutional regimen; and that some of them, whose names are not as yet known, took measures a few weeks ago to co-operate in a counter-revolutionary plan with the French emigrants, having no less a tendency than to light up a new Vendee in the departments which border on our territory; to provoke hostilities between the French Republic and the Helvetic body; and to make our city the center of union for the aristocrats, and a point of support for their liber-
ticial measures.

Their incorrigible attachment to aristocracy, their counter-revolutionary wishes, their plans, and their arrangements, were not unknown to the French; and this is what served to prejudice the latter so strongly against our Republic. They could not conceive but that with us the revolution in favour of liberty would terminate in giving to the aristocracy an entire freedom to intrigue with impunity; and they conceived that they ought to mistrust a people who boasted of having bestowed a triumph on the principles of liberty and equality, and who had at the same time allowed a tranquil residence among them to a multitude of aristocrats who did not even take the precaution to dissemble their aversion for liberty and equality, and their joy at the triumphs of the enemies of the French Republic.

Remark also that their number and their union gave them a powerful influence in the assemblies of the sovereign council. Their suffrages, united to those of so many pretended patriots, of so many whose lukewarm and indifferent dispositions made them unworthy of that title, might with facility have enabled them to subvert the laws most favourable to the people, and the institutions most essential to their happiness.

Revolutionary citizens, it is time that this contention should terminate. It is time that the people should, without obstacle or impediment, set about the organization of their happiness. They are wearied with having to watch unceasingly the enemies by whom they are surrounded, and with wasting their time in disconcerting their plots. The compass of our walls is too narrow to contain two classes of people so opposite in their principles and manners. There will be no peace among us until there shall be but one party in the Republic—that of equality, liberty, independence, and fraternity: until the enemies of the people shall be for ever prevented from revolting against them.

The experience of what has passed ought to instruct you. How has it been contrived that at various times the momentary successes of the friends of liberty were soon followed by great miscarriages?—that the transitory checks of aristocracy were the fore-runners of the most signal successes on their side? It is because the friends of liberty were so simple as to think that the enacting of laws was sufficient for their security. What is it that has propped the criminal audacity with which aristocracy has unceasingly renewed its pretensions and its enterprizes?—Impunity, and the clemency of the people, which has encouraged their enemies to defy, to combat, and to make a sport of them. You must have perceived, revolutionary citizens, that aristocracy needed a lesson which it should never cease to remember; that it should be for ever sickened from a repetition of its criminal projects. It is for the accomplishment of this aim that you have established a revolutionary tribunal, charged to make an example as well of the chief aristocrats who wish to found their supremacy on the degradation of their fellow citizens, as of the subaltern aristocrats who have degraded their qualities of man and citizen, by becoming the servile tools of the upper aristocracy.

By this terrible measure we must begin; but it will not be sufficient to complete the revolution. There are still greater additional plans to be adopted to consolidate its success, to purify the air of our country of every aristocratic infection, and to obtain for the country a satisfaction for all the damages and wrongs it has sustained from its perverse children. It is to be our task to accomplish a revolution of principles and manners, to regenerate the public mind, and to found, without any delay, institutions calculated to ensure the prosperity of the people, to form true citizens, and to bestow happiness on all. The revolutionary tribunal, engaged in the trial of prisoners, cannot efficaciously attend to these objects. It is, notwithstanding, urgent to provide for them; and this tribunal ought therefore to be so organized as to facilitate its labours, and to procure the means of reaching its high destination with celerity and regularity. We, in consequence, offer for your consideration and discussion, the following plan:

I. There shall be added to the 21 members of the revolutionary tribunal, 11 other members to be named by the revolutionary clubs.

II. These 32 citizens, in conjunction, shall instantly choose 11 of their own body to form a revolutionary committee.

III. The remaining 21 members shall compose the revolutionary tribunal properly so called, to be altogether engaged in the trials.

IV. The revolutionary committee shall be charged—

1. To

1. To regulate the mode and maximum of the confiscations and indemnities towards the Republic.

2. To adopt all the measures calculated to ensure the success of the revolution, as well as those which concern the public safety.

3. To form the plans of such public establishments as will concur towards the happiness of the people.

4. To superintend all the objects of an administration, purely revolutionary. And,

5. To lay before the revolutionary societies such extraordinary measures as circumstances may require.

V. The powers of the committee shall continue for one month after the functions of the revolutionary tribunal shall have ceased.

VI. With respect to whatever does not belong to revolutionary measures, the constituted authorities shall continue to exercise their functions, each of them conforming in this respect to the customary regulations.

(Signed)

BOUSQUET, President.

VOULAIRE, Secretary.

In the Middle of August, 1794, the following Proclamation was published.

Equality, Liberty, Independence.

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary citizens,

THE tribunal you established, to do justice to the people on their enemies, has at length terminated its labours: it has now to discharge an essential duty, that of submitting to you an account of its operations.

Engaged in so arduous a task, the members of the tribunal have had for a basis no rule whatever, no particular law, no organization: and notwithstanding, when they entered on their functions, they found on the books of the gaoler more than 400 prisoners; they accordingly began by establishing the offences which were to be submitted to their judgment, and these they divided into the seven following classes:

1. The resolution for the guarantee, and of consequence, for the entry of foreign troops.

2. The armaments against the patriots, both in the city and territory.

3. The machinations against the establishment of equality and liberty.

4. The machinations against the independence of the Republic.

5. The

5. The manœuvres known under the title of stock-jobbing, by which the public credit has been injured, several families ruined, and the state embroiled with the French Republic.

6. The manœuvres practised on our neighbours and allies, the Swiss, to engage them to break the alliance. And,

7. The manœuvres set on foot to corrupt the public morals.

The accused have all of them been examined by the revolutionary tribunal, as well by public and private interrogations, as by precepts taken. The following is the total amount of the sentences pronounced, the detailed list of which, with the names, will be printed and published at the end of this report:

Thirty-seven sentenced to death, twenty-six of whom are in a state of outlawry.

Ninety-four sentenced to perpetual banishment, twenty-eight of whom have not appeared before the tribunal.

Four sentenced to exile of a longer or shorter duration.

Two hundred and sixty-four sentenced to domestic confinement for a longer or shorter period.

Ten sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the *Maison de Force*.

Seven sentenced to imprisonment in the same house of detention for different terms.

Three bailiffs, or common serjeants, have been deprived of their posts.

Eighty-nine have been dismissed. This makes a total of 508 individuals.

Thus are the people at length avenged; and thus is the struggle, which lasted for a century between the oppressors and the oppressed, terminated. Independence has suffered no outrage; liberty and equality triumph; and national justice has for ever taken up her abode in the Republic.

In the midst of the immense labours with which it has been charged, the tribunal has not been able to pay an attention to all those who, having conducted themselves in a way contrary to liberty and equality, were perhaps deserving of punishment. For this purpose, it would have been necessary to protract the existence of the tribunal a third time: but every citizen must be satisfied, that the lesson which has been given, as terrible as it is just, ought to be sufficient. If, however, such should be the result of the immediate events, that the aristocracy, now so completely subjugated, should again dare to raise its head; that those who have not been tried should presume to avail themselves of that clemency, by employing any manœuvres whatever, recollect, revolutionary citizens, that in such a case there remains an authority capable of repressing these attempts. The revolutionary committee has the intermediate power of punishing

ing them, as will appear by two clauses of the resolution by which it is constituted. They are as follow :

Art. 4. Section 2.—To take all measures calculated to secure the success of the revolution, as well as all those relative to public secrecy.

Section 5.—To propose to the revolutionary societies every measure which circumstances may call for.

Let those tremble, then, who may form the culpable project of impeding the progress of the revolution in any manner whatever, and of thus preventing the attainment of the aim which every good citizen ought to have in view, that of making the Genevese at length a nation of brethren.

It becomes the tribunal to remind the revolutionists, that having been established by them, it has never for a single instant lost sight of the direct and immediate power of its constituents. That conformably to this principle it has considered it as a duty to attend to all the requisitions made to it in the name of the revolutionary mass ; and that thus all the operations and sentences of the tribunal, against which no protest has been made, are confirmed by the tacit approbation of the revolutionists. The tribunal has not neglected to provide for the means of executing the sentences it has passed : and to the end that no doubt should remain on that head, declares that it has charged the revolutionary committee to carry these sentences into execution without abatement or reservation, to be watchful in observing all the infractions which those against whom they have been pronounced may attempt, and to apply the penalty annexed to all such attempts. It has at the same time enjoined the revolutionary committee to invest with the same powers the ordinary tribunals, whenever the revolutionists shall think proper to break up the said committee.

Revolutionary citizens, now that the crisis of the revolution is passed ; now that the vengeance of the people has been exercised, the ideas of the citizens ought to be directed to the means of securing the prosperity of the nation. To attain this end each citizen ought to use his best endeavours to convert the revolution itself to the advantage of the people. For this purpose you have a revolutionary authority to which this charge is intrusted : its principal duty being to determine on the restitutions to be made by the enemies of the people, and of course on the contributions which the country has a right to exact from every citizen proprietor. It is to make a just application of the sums which may result from this measure, by appropriating them to public establishments, agricultural rewards, manufactories, &c. This plan demands the concurrence of all the citizens, who are well informed on any of these heads : and the country accordingly puts them in a state of requisition. Be confident,
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revolutionary citizens, in the issue of the revolution. Confine yourselves at this time to the customary vigilance it behoves every citizen to observe; resume your civil duties; return to your manufactories and avocations; and say to yourselves, that next to the love of the country, the love of industry is your chief duty. Recollect that tyrants employ two principal means to enslave nations—idleness and corruption. Men who aim at being independent always become so; and there can be no Republic where debauched and corrupted men are to be found. The country requires that in this revolution all the virtues should be displayed, and morality, both public and private, prevail in all the actions of the citizens. It demands a complete regeneration; and be confident of it, revolutionary citizens, you will in vain have brought about a revolution to crush aristocracy and all its vices; you will in vain have repressed the abuses of riches, if you neglect to proclaim justice, probity, and virtue, not by words, but by deeds and good examples; you will otherwise, sooner or later, witness the return of corrupters and corrupted. The members of the tribunal return into the class of simple citizens: in that quality they hasten back with earnestness to their fire-sides, and unite themselves in every particular to the revolutionary citizens to defend the equality, the liberty and the independence of the Republic.

The Envoy from the Republic of Geneva, with the Secretaries of Legation, was introduced to the National Convention of France on the 23d of August, 1794, and after a Speech, which was loudly applauded, presented his Letter of Credit.

In the name of the Nation, the Syndics and Council of the Republic of Geneva, to the French Republic.

VERY dear and good friends, in execution of the law of Feb. 12, 1794, which ordains that the Republic of Geneva will continue to keep a permanent minister with the French Republic, the Sovereign Assembly has chosen citizen Etienne-Salomon Reybaz to reside with you in quality of minister, and to present an assurance of our sincere desire to maintain and cultivate the connections of Geneva with your Republic. Our experience of the zeal, capacity, knowledge, and patriotism of citizen Reybaz, who has hitherto held this place, authorizes us to think that his nomination by the nation itself, cannot but be agreeable to you. In this persuasion, very dear and good friends, we request you to grant him entire confidence, in whatever he shall be instructed to say to you on our part, and above all, when he shall express to you the wishes of the Genevese Republic for the prosperity of the French Republic, and its desire to concur in whatever may contribute to your happiness.

Done

Done at Geneva, under the great seal of the Republic, May 18, 1794, the second year of the Genevese Equality.

Decreed that citizen Reybaz be acknowledged as minister from the Republic of Geneva.

The president to the people of Geneva.

THE descendants of William Tell demand the friendship of the powerful and generous people whom we represent. Geneva is free, and therefore our friend and ally. In the time of the despots of France, traitors decorated with pompous titles, conspired in this very palace, reducing the country of Rousseau to slavery. We have made it the temple of the union of nations, and their sure asylum against tyranny. Your colours and those of America, united for ever to the three-coloured standard, form the basis of the thunder which we are directing against tottering thrones, the ruin of which, the crimes of kings will complete, and all Europe shall soon cherish the reign of liberty. Enjoy the sweet emotion excited by your presence in the National Convention, and receive the fraternal embrace, which I offer you in the name of the French people.

The minister advanced to receive the embrace, and the members stood up and waved their hats, with cries of Long live liberty!

Ordered that the speech of the minister of Geneva, and the answer of the president, be printed and translated into all languages.

The Representatives of the French People, composing the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention, charged by the Decree of the 7th Fructidor, (24th August,) with the direction of Foreign Correspondence, to the Republic of Geneva, the Friend and faithful Ally of France.

Paris, 22d Fructidor, (Sept. 8th) 2d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

WE have nominated citizen Adet to reside with you, and maintain the relations of commerce and interest which connect the two Republics.

He is charged to make known to the people of Geneva and their government, that the French people acknowledge no political principles but those of justice and equality between nations, that they neither afford the aid of their arms nor display their force, but to procure respect for the principles which guarantee respectively the security and the independence of nations.

We invite you to give credit to whatever he shall say to you in the name of the French Republic, and to be convinced that he is especially charged to maintain the harmony that subsists between the two nations.

Speech of Citizen Adet, the Resident of the French Republic, at the Republic of Geneva.

CITIZENS, interest unites nations as sentiment connects men. If these are founded on particular circumstances, on transient events, they must yield to time, which restores human creatures and their passions to their original nothing. Thus we see nations, who follow no law but the will of a despot, making alliances, breaking those alliances, and cutting one another's throats, as the caprice of their tyrants may happen to dictate. Nations, on the other hand, who have elevated themselves to the dignity of the human species, who have founded their governments on the sacred rights of man, have no interest but to maintain entire the principles which secure to them the enjoyment of liberty. This interest, no more admitting of modification than principles, cements between nations a stable and durable amity.

Fear not, then, citizens, that France will break the ties which bind her to Geneva. In her name, I announce to you that her intention is to live in good understanding with you. Whatever may be the resources and the power of the French people, however splendid the success of their arms, however exalted the courage of their numerous battalions, they will never over-run the territory of their faithful friends. Justice and regard to principles will stay without effort the impetuous torrent which overflowed its banks only to sweep away the enemies of liberty.

It is not to make slaves, to trample upon states less powerful than their own, to change, as kings do, cities into tombs, and peopled countries into deserts, that the French have armed. They armed to re-establish and maintain among themselves the sacred principles that ought to reign among men, among nations, and which were to be found only in the writings of the philosophers of Geneva. At his voice it is that the French nation has roused itself from its long torpor, broken her chains, sapped all prejudices, and overturned a throne. The holy tree of liberty, of which Rousseau cultivated the feeble plant, soon sprung up near his grave, and mixed its branches with those that overshadow the tomb of that great man.

It is under their hospitable shade I come to assure you that the French people will never do any thing to the prejudice of your independence. As incapable of exercising as of suffering tyranny, they meddle not in the domestic affairs of any government, and endure no meddling in their own. The sacred word I now give to you the French Republic will keep; for tyrants alone have the shameful prerogative of being perjured.

With this assurance, the people of Geneva will feel no difficulty in complying with the invitation I am charged to give—to be on their guard against every impression which may tend to alter the cordiality that subsists between the two nations. It is this cor-

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liality that constitutes the force of free states, which will introduce the happy epoch of the world, when nations will see under the shade of a durable peace, and the auspices of liberty, days and years glide along, of which tyranny will not appear to interrupt the course.

Speech of Citizen Janot, Syndic President of the Administrative Council, in reply.

CITIZEN resident, the Republic of Geneva never questioned the affection of the French Republic.

Liberty, for which Geneva has combated for two centuries; the present she has made to the world of the most eloquent defenders of the rights of the people; and even the wrongs done her by France when enslaved, were sure pledges of the good will of France free and regenerated.

Impure men may have exerted themselves for a moment, to deprive us of this precious good will; but their success, founded on imposture, could not be of long duration. France herself, as soon as she could raise her voice, long stifled by terror, did us justice. She solemnly proclaimed peace and amity to the sovereign people of Geneva; and the choice she has made of you, citizen resident, to bring us this pleasing assurance, is a new proof of the sincerity of her amicable dispositions.

The day at length dawns, when the amity of the French Republic will not be impeded by jealousies worked up by ambition; when the amity which has never ceased to inspire us for that generous nation, will not be repressed by distrust; when our mutual attachment will acquire daily force by the sweet habit of enjoyment, and by the unfailing progress of liberty and equality, on which it rests.

The Syndics and Council of the Republic of Geneva, having taken into their Consideration by Desire of the Revolutionary Committee, the Order of the States of Holland and West Friesland of the 15th of August last, by which the Orders of the 18th of February and the 21st of March, for sequestering the Goods, Effects, Money, and Merchandize of the French, have been extended to the Inhabitants of Geneva, whose Property in Holland has been in like manner sequestered, published a Proclamation early in Sept. 1794, in which they express themselves in the following manner.

CONSIDERING that it is their duty to prevent the citizens of the Republic of Geneva from experiencing even a temporary inconvenience, the syndics and council, without authorizing reprisals until the States of Holland and West Friesland order the execution of their decree, command provisionally all merchants, bankers,

bankers, and other persons who are connected with the merchants, bankers, and other persons in Holland, to lodge in the hands of the secretaries of the council at the Chancery, within a week from the date hereof, an exact statement of what they owe to the Dutch, and order them not to pay such debts under a penalty equal to the debt, or to the sum that may be paid.

The syndics and council further forbid every person, who has drawn upon Holland, and whose draft has not yet been honoured, to reimburse the bearer of such draft without the permission of the council.

Indorsers of bills of exchange are not included in the present proclamation.

(Signed)

THE SYNDICS AND COUNCIL.

Copy of a Letter from the Magistrates of Geneva to the Magistrates of Frankfort.

A RUMOUR has been spread abroad throughout our city, which gives much uneasiness to our fellow-citizens, and in particular to the merchants who frequent the fairs of Frankfort: it is, that they are henceforth to be excluded from them in such a manner, that they shall not enjoy, as heretofore, the liberty of making purchases.

We wish to persuade ourselves, that this report is totally destitute of foundation; we cannot, indeed, guess what motives could have determined your lordships to adopt a measure against the Genevese, which you have never enforced but against the individuals of a nation with whom you may happen to be at war, or those persons whose proceedings are likely to be repugnant to justice and public order.

If the city of Geneva cannot quote in its own favour, the services rendered to the city of Frankfort, it may at least truly affirm, that it has never done any thing which could be considered by your lordships as an act of hostility.

The effects of the commotions which have lately taken place among us, have been entirely confined to the walls of our city; they are not of a nature to alter our external connections, and still less our political ones.

Geneva is still a free and independent city, whose revolutions are in no wise affected by any foreign power. The object of the revolution which has lately taken place, was never, as has been pretended, to bring it under the dominion of the French, but to execute justice on the internal enemies of our independence and our constitution.

The government, such as it was constituted during the last spring, by our sovereign assembly, and such as it was recognized by our ancient and faithful allies, the worthy cantons of Zurich and Berne, has been preserved within the ordinary boundaries.

The extraordinary measures which have been adopted for some weeks past, are temporary measures of surety, and will cease so soon as the necessary arrangements for precluding future commotions shall have been definitively agreed upon.

There does not therefore exist any thing among us, which can determine your lordships either to break or to suspend the commercial connections between our two cities, which cannot but contribute to their mutual prosperity.

The protection with which your lordships have constantly honoured those of our fellow-citizens, who frequent the city of Frankfort, and for which we beseech you to receive our sincere thanks, affords us room to hope, that you will give a favourable reception to the present letter; and that you will continue your beneficence well as in regard to those in our city, as to those of our fellow-citizens, whose affairs may induce them to sojourn at Frankfort.

We beg your Lordships to be persuaded, that we shall not omit any occasion to give the most effectual testimonies of our devotion and affection.

We are very cordially,
Magnificent and much honoured Lords,

Yours very affectionately,

THE SYNDICS AND COUNCIL OF THE
REPUBLIC OF GENEVA.

Geneva, Sept. 9, 1794.

P O L A N D.

[*The Struggle for Freedom in this unfortunate Country having no Connexion with the French War, none of its State Papers are inserted in this Work, except the following, which, as it relates immediately to French Affairs, claims a place here.*]

The Leyden Gazette having maintained, in several of its Numbers, that the Proceedings in Poland were not influenced by the Party now predominant in France, though the Provisional Council of Warsaw was said to have acknowledged the French Republic, and received a Person, named D'Aigle, as their Chargé d'Affaires, has, in its own Vindication, inserted an Extract of an authentic Letter upon that Subject, dated Warsaw, the 11th of June, and published by Authority of the Polish Government. The Extract is as follows.

IT is with equal surprise and indignation that we read in the foreign gazettes so many absurd calumnies circulated with a design to injure our cause, and blacken a national and courageous effort to shake off the yoke of strangers, and defend those rights which every country has hitherto considered as the most sacred.

This

This noble essay of pure and genuine patriotism has unjustly been treated as the crime of Jacobinism.

Great as the disparity between the cause in which the Poles are engaged, and that of the Jacobins, must appear to all impartial minds, attempts are made to injure them with these powerful courts now so justly leagued against the real Jacobins; they think to impose upon the sagacity of the cabinets of Europe, and deceive those ministers whose penetration nothing can escape. They can, however, only delude the misinformed public, by falsely and injuriously misrepresenting the proceedings of Poland as an effort of Jacobinism. Our enemies wish to brand with so detestable a purpose the generous effort of Poland, united in all its states to recover its liberty, its independence, its integrity, and those civil and political rights which have been wrested from it, with a design to erase its name out of the list of nations.

That designed but important malignity which would blend two causes so opposite, as are those of the Jacobins and Poles, falls into a contradiction which must be injurious to those powers, who, opposing anarchy and irreligion, will war upon the Jacobins; for if the cause of Poland, than which nothing can be more just, is accounted to be criminal; and if there is no difference to be made between them and Jacobins, then the latter must be justified, and the consequences of not making a distinction may soon be felt, though we decline to state them.

To such misrepresentations is owing the mistake of the foreign gazettes, in regarding the events of the 9th of May, as a popular effervescence to which the regular course of justice was obliged to yield; yet, in fact, nothing has been precipitated. The crimes of the persons executed were committed openly in the face of the nation, and they were condemned by the national opinion. The offences being so publicly known, the proofs could not be wanting; the Russian archives furnished the depot of crimes against the state, and the space of three weeks was amply sufficient to collect the necessary evidence of the guilt of the parties. Nothing more remained but the execution of the law, though their punishment might have been retarded, but for some of their secret adherents, who in their imprudent rage provoked the indignation of the people, by circulating the false and perfidious alarm of the 8th of May. The people, then, excited by the enemies of their repose, and being made acquainted with their artifices, demanded, with a general voice, their sentence and execution; which took place the next day, as announced in all the public papers. This was not done, as reported, upon simple suspicion, but upon full proof of guilt, and after wishing (as the subjoined notes of the apostolic nuncio will shew) to submit in the case of a certain bishop, to the laws of the church, if not over-ruled by the imperious necessity imposed

imposed by the public safety in a moment equally critical and extraordinary.

Would it have been prudent, when an enraged people, in arms and confusion, having recourse to the chicanery of forms, and deferring for a time the punishment of the guilty, to give rise to a tumult, in which the innocent may suffer, and the general security be endangered ! Have we not, in a recent instance, had an example of a people, happy, and justly proud of their constitution, and represented by their Parliament ? Have we not seen them, without hesitation, dispense with their habeas corpus, the palladium of their loved constitution, in conformity to the wise proposal of its government, at a moment of exposure and of danger ? This is a sufficient proof, that perilous and urgent situations are not to be subjected to the forms of ordinary procedure.

The foreign gazettes also speak of one D'Aigle, whom they supposed to have been acknowledged here by the government, and introduced to the king as agent of the French Republic ; but the imposture will vanish, when it is known that the same D'Aigle, instead of being received in such a capacity, has been detained as a suspected person in the present circumstances.

As to the other false, malicious, and ridiculous insinuations with which the foreign papers abound, of our revolutionary tribunals, bonnets rouge, cropt hair, sans culotte dress, and impunity for all offences during the revolution, &c. they are absurdities not worthy to be refuted, and arise from an unpardonable ignorance of the character and manners of Poland and its troops. They have even presumed to employ malicious criticism on the religious worship, and the prayers which our generalissimo Kosciuszko is in the habit of offering up to Heaven previous to a battle—a custom which should serve as an example to all others, and furnish the world with a proof that jacobinism and irreligion, so far from being generally adopted, have gained no proselytes in Poland.

A M E R I C A.

AN ample selection of the most important papers relative to the points in dispute which have arisen between Great-Britain and America since the commencement of the present war, as well as of the papers and proceedings between the French government and the United States, is here given ; but it would be as inconsistent with the plan of this work, as inconvenient to its limits, to insert all the state papers, on the non-performance of the stipulations of the treaty of peace in 1783, which have been recently brought into discussion. They are published in two pamphlets by Debrett, and are of much importance in considering the differences

differences between this country and America ; but are of no importance with regard to the French war. The following short statement, however, may be necessary to explain passages and allusions in other papers, afterwards given at full length.

In 1791, Mr. Hammond, the British minister to the United States, began a correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, the American secretary of state ; which had for its object the improvement of the commerce between the two countries, and the termination of all misunderstanding. Mr. Jefferson first entered into the subjects of complaint in a note dated Philadelphia, 15th Dec. 1791, in which he contended, the provisional and definitive treaties, in their 7th article, stipulated that his “ Britannic Majesty should, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the same.”

But the British garrisons were not withdrawn with all convenient speed, nor have ever yet been withdrawn from Michillimackinac, on Lake Michigan ; Detroit, on the strait of Lakes Erie and Huron ; Fort Erie, on Lake Erie : Niagara, Oswego, on Lake Ontario ; Oswegatchie, on the river St. Lawrence ; Point Au-fer, and Dutchman's Point, on Lake Champlain.

2d. The British officers have undertaken to exercise a jurisdiction over the country and inhabitants in the vicinities of those forts ; and,

3d. They have excluded the citizens of the United States from navigating, even on our side of the middle line of the rivers and lakes established as a boundary between the two nations.

By these proceedings we have been intercepted entirely from the commerce of furs with the Indian nations to the northward ; a commerce which had ever been of great importance to the United States, not only for its intrinsic value, but as it was the means of cherishing peace with those Indians, and of superseding the necessity of that expensive warfare we have been obliged to carry on with them during the time that these posts have been in other hands.

On withdrawing the troops from New-York, 1st, A large embarkation of negroes, of the property of the inhabitants of the United States, took place before the commissioners on our part for inspecting and superintending embarkations had arrived there, and without any account ever rendered thereof. 2d. Near three thousand others were publicly carried away by the avowed order of the British commanding officer, and under the view, and against the remonstrances of our commissioners. 3d. A very great number were carried off in private vessels, if not by the express permission, yet certainly without opposition on the part of the commanding officer,

officer, who alone had the means of preventing it, and without admitting the inspection of the American commissioners; and, 4th. Of other species of property carried away, the commanding officer permitted no examination at all.

A difference of opinion, too, having arisen as to the river intended by the plenipotentiaries to be the boundary between us and the dominions of Great-Britain, and by them called the St. Croix; which name, it seems, is given to two different rivers, the ascertaining of this point becomes a matter of present urgency: it has heretofore been the subject of applications from us to the government of Great-Britain.

There are other smaller matters between the two nations which remain to be adjusted; but I think it would be better to refer these for settlement through the ordinary channel of our ministers, than to embarrass the present important discussions with them: they can never be obstacles to friendship and harmony.

Permit me now, Sir, to ask from you a specification of the particular acts, which, being considered by his Britannic Majesty as a non-compliance on our part with the engagements contained in the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the treaty, induced him to suspend the execution of the 7th, and render a separate discussion of them inadmissible.

In answer to this, Mr. Hammond, the British minister, in a memorial, dated the 5th of March, 1792, complains, that, in violation of the treaty, in many of the states the subjects of the crown, in endeavouring to obtain the restitution of their forfeited estates and property, upon refunding the price to the purchasers, have been treated with indignity—menaced, exposed to personal danger, and in some instances imprisoned. Prosecutions have been commenced against his Majesty's subjects for the part which they had taken in the late war. In many of the states, laws have actually passed, delaying the legal investigation of just claims, and abridging the demands of British merchants. Local regulations, in respect to the tender of property in discharge of just debts, have prevailed to such an extent as to amount to a prohibition of suits.

In many of the State courts decisions have taken place, reducing the amount of British debts, in violation of the terms of the original contracts; and some of those courts have positively refused to take cognizance of suits instituted for the recovery of British debts. He then proceeds to shew, more particularly, the difficulties thrown in the way of British subjects endeavouring to recover their property in America; and concludes with observing, that such is the nature of the specific facts which the king, my master, has considered as infractions of the treaty on the part of the United States, and in consequence of which his Majesty has deemed it expedient to suspend the full execution, on his part, of the 7th ar-

ticle of that treaty. On this head also, it is necessary to premise the following evident distinction : That the king has contented himself with a mere suspension of that article of the treaty ; whereas the United States have not only withheld from subjects of the crown that redress to which they were entitled under the terms of the treaty, but also many of the states have, subsequent to the peace, passed new legislative regulations in violation of the treaty, and imposing additional hardships on individuals, whom the national faith of the United States was pledged, under precise and solemn stipulations, to insure and protect from future injury.

On the grounds, therefore, of the irreparable injury which many classes of his subjects have sustained, and of the heavy expense to which the British nation has been subjected by the non-performance of their engagements on the part of the United States, the measure that the king has adopted (of delaying his compliance with the 7th article of the treaty) is perfectly justifiable.

To all the complaints of Mr. Hammond, Mr. Jefferson replied at great length, and with much minuteness, in a memorial dated the 29th of May, 1792, which the British minister transmitted to his court ; but to which, so late as the summer of 1794, he had received no such answer as enabled him to give any further explanation to the United States.

Philadelphia, September 7th, 1793.

Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, to Mr. Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States with Great-Britain.

SIR,

WE have received, through a channel which cannot be considered as authentic, the copy of a paper, styled, " Additional Instructions to the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships of War, and Privateers, &c." dated at St. James's, June 8th, 1793. If this paper be authentic, I have little doubt but that you will have taken measures to forward it to me. But as your communication of it may miscarry, and time in the mean while be lost, it has been thought better that it should be supposed authentic ; that, on that supposition, I should notice to you its very exceptionable nature, and the necessity of obtaining explanations on the subject from the British government ; desiring, at the same time, that you will consider this letter as provisionally written only, and as if never written, in the event that the paper, which is the occasion of it, be not genuine.

The first article of it permits all vessels, laden wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, to be stopped, and sent into any British port, to be purchased by that government,

vernment, or to be released only on the condition of security given by the master, that he will proceed to dispose of his cargo in the ports of some country in amity with his Majesty.

This article is so manifestly contrary to the law of nations, that nothing more would seem necessary, than to observe that it is so. Reason and usage have established, that when two nations go to war, those who chuse to live in peace, retain their natural right to pursue their agriculture, manufactures, and other ordinary vocations ; to carry the produce of their industry, for exchange, to all nations, belligerent or neutral, as usual ; to go and come freely, without injury or molestation : and, in short, that the war among others, shall be, for them, as if it did not exist. One restriction on their natural rights has been submitted to by nations at peace ; that is to say, that of not furnishing to either party implements merely of war, for the annoyance of the other, nor any thing whatever to a place blockaded by its enemy. What these implements of war are, has been so often agreed, and is so well understood, as to leave little question about them at this day. There does not exist, perhaps, a nation in our common hemisphere, which has not made a particular enumeration of them, in some or all of their treaties, under the name of contraband. It suffices, for the present occasion, to say, that corn, flour, and meal, are not of the class of contraband, and consequently remain articles of free commerce. A culture, which, like that of the soil, gives employment to such a proportion of mankind, could never be suspended by the whole earth, or interrupted for them, whenever any two nations should think proper to go to war.

The state of war, then, existing between Great-Britain and France furnishes no legitimate right to either to interrupt the agriculture of the United States, or the peaceable exchange of its produce with all nations ; and consequently, the assumption of it will be as lawful hereafter as now, in peace as in war. No ground, acknowledged by the common reason of mankind, authorises this act now ; and unacknowledged ground may be taken at any time and all times. We see, then, a practice begun, to which no time, no circumstances, prescribe any limits ; and which strikes at the root of our agriculture ; that branch of industry, which gives food, cloathing, and comfort, to the great mass of the inhabitants of these states. If any nation whatever has a right to shut up, to our produce, all the ports of the earth, except her own and those of her friends, she may shut up these also, and so confine us within our own limits. No nation can subscribe to such pretensions ; no nation can agree, at the mere will and interest of another, to have its peaceable industry suspended, and its citizens reduced to idleness and want. The loss of our produce, if destined for foreign markets, or that loss which would result from an arbitrary

trary restraint of our markets, is a tax too serious for us to acquiesce in. It is not enough for a nation to say, we and our friends will buy your produce. We have a right to answer, that it suits us better to sell to their enemies as well as their friends. Our ships do not go to France to return empty; they go to exchange the surplus of one produce, which we can spare, for surplusses of other kinds, which they can spare, and we want; which they can furnish on better terms, and more to our mind, than Great-Britain or her friends. We have a right to judge for ourselves what market best suits us, and they have none to forbid to us the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts which we may obtain from any other independent country.

This act, too, tends directly to draw us from that state of peace into which we are wishing to remain. It is an essential character of neutrality, to furnish no aids (not stipulated by treaty) to one party, which we are not equally ready to furnish to the other. If we permit corn to be sent to Great-Britain and her friends, we are equally bound to permit it to France. To restrain it, would be a partiality which might lead to war with France; and, between restraining it ourselves, and permitting her enemies to restrain it unrightfully, is no difference. She would consider this as a mere pretext, of which she would not be the dupe; and on what honourable ground could we otherwise explain it? Thus we should see ourselves plunged, by this unauthorised act of Great-Britain, into a war, with which we meddle not, and which we wish to avoid, if justice to all parties, and from all parties, will enable us to avoid it. In the case where we found ourselves obliged, by treaty, to withhold from the enemies of France the right of arming in our ports, we thought ourselves in justice bound to withhold the same right from France also; and we did it. Were we to withhold from her supplies of provisions, we should, in like manner, be bound to withhold them from her enemies also, and thus shut to ourselves all the ports of Europe where corn is in demand, or make ourselves parties in the war. This is a dilemma which Great-Britain has no right to force upon us, and for which no pretext can be found in any part of our conduct. She may, indeed, feel the desire of starving an enemy nation; but she can have no right of doing it at our loss, nor of making us the instrument of it.

The president, therefore, desires that you will immediately enter into explanations on this subject with the British government. Lay before them, in friendly and temperate terms, all the demonstrations of the injury done us by this act, and endeavour to obtain a revocation of it, and full indemnification to any citizens of these states, who may have suffered by it. In the mean time, accompany your representations with every assurance of our earnest de-
fire

fire to live on terms of the best friendship and harmony with them, and to found our expectations of justice on their part, on a strict observance of it on our's.

It is with concern, however, I am obliged to observe, that so marked has been the inattention of the British court to every application which has been made to them on any subject by this government (not a single answer, I believe, having ever been given to one of them, except in the act of exchanging a minister) that it may become unavoidable in certain cases, where an answer of some sort is necessary, to consider their silence as an answer—perhaps this is their intention. Still, however, desirous of furnishing no colour of offence, we do not wish you to name to them any term for giving an answer. Urge one as much as you can without commitment; and on the first day of December be so good as to give us information of the state in which this matter is, that it may be received during the session of Congress.

The second article of the same instruction allows the armed vessels of Great-Britain to seize, for condemnation, all vessels on their first attempt to enter a blockaded port, except those of Denmark and Sweden, which are to be prevented only, but not seized, on their first attempt. Of the nations inhabiting the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and practising its navigation, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States, alone are neutral. To declare then all neutral vessels (for as to the vessels of the belligerent powers no order was necessary) to be legal prize which shall attempt to enter a blockaded port, except those of Denmark and Sweden, is exactly to declare that the vessels of the United States shall be lawful prize, and those of Denmark and Sweden shall not. It is of little consequence that the article has avoided naming the United States, since it has used a description applicable to them, and to them alone, while it exempts the others from its operation by name. You will be pleased to ask an explanation of this distinction, and you will be able to say in discussing its justice, that in every circumstance we treat Great-Britain on the footing of the most favoured nation, where our treaties do not preclude us, and that even these are just as favourable to her, as her's are to us. Possibly she may be bound by treaty to admit this exception in favour of Denmark and Sweden, but she cannot be bound by treaty to withhold it from us; and if it be withheld merely because not established with us by treaty, what might not we, on the same ground, have withheld from Great-Britain during the short course of the present war, as well as the peace which has preceded it?

Whether these explanations with the British government shall be verbal or in writing, is left to yourself. Verbal communications are very insecure, for it is only to deny them, or to change their terms, in order to do away their effect at any time. Those

in writing have many and obvious advantages, and ought to be preferred, unless there be obstacles of which we are not apprized.

I have the honour to be,

With great and sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

(COPY.)

Additional Instructions to the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships of War and Privateers that have or may have Letters of Marque against France. Given at our Court at St. James's, the eighth Day of June, 1793, and in the thirty-third Year of our Reign.

1st, THAT it shall be lawful to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as shall be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour, may be purchased on behalf of his Majesty's government, and the ships be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the masters of such ships on giving due security, to be approved of by the court of admiralty, be permitted to proceed to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any country in amity with his Majesty.

2d, That it shall be lawful for the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers, that have, or may have letters of marque against France, to seize all ships, whatever be their cargoes, that shall be found attempting to enter any blockaded port, and to send the same for condemnation, together with their cargoes, except the ships of Denmark and Sweden, which shall only be prevented from entering on the first attempt, but on the second shall be sent in for condemnation likewise.

3d, That in case his Majesty shall declare any port to be blockaded, the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers, that have, or may have letters of marque against France, are hereby enjoined, if they meet with ships at sea, which appear from their papers to be destined to such blockaded port, but to have sailed from the ports of their respective countries, before the declaration of the blockade shall have arrived there, to advertise them thereof, and to admonish them to go to other ports, but they are not to molest them afterwards, unless it shall appear, that they have continued their course with intent to enter the blockaded port, in which case they shall be subject to capture and condemnation, as shall likewise all ships wheresoever found, that shall appear to have sailed from their ports, bound to any port which his Majesty shall have declared to be blockaded, after such declaration shall have been known in the country from which they sailed, and all ships which in the course of

of the voyage shall have received notice of the blockade in any manner, and yet shall have pursued their course with intent to enter the same.

G. R.

SIR,

Philadelphia, 12th September, 1793.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to you a copy of an additional instruction, given by his Majesty's order in council, to the commanders of the British armed vessels, respecting the commerce of neutral nations with France in the articles of grain, and also with regard to such French ports as may in the course of the war, be blocked by his Majesty or of the other powers engaged in the war.

In communicating to you this paper, it is necessary for me to remark, that by the law of nations, as laid down by the most modern writers, it is expressly stated, that all provisions are to be considered as contraband, and as such liable to confiscation; in the case where the depriving an enemy of these supplies, is one of the means intended to be employed for reducing him to reasonable terms of peace.—The actual situation of France is notoriously such, as to lead to the employing of this mode of distressing her by the joint operations of the different powers engaged in the war, and the reasoning which in these authors applies to *all* cases of this sort, is certainly much more applicable to the *present* case, in which the distress results from the unusual mode of war, employed by the enemy himself, in having armed almost the whole labouring class of the French nation, for the purpose of *commencing* and supporting hostilities against all the governments of Europe.—But this reasoning is most of all applicable to the circumstances of a trade which is now in a great measure entirely carried on by the actually ruling party of France itself, and which is therefore no longer to be regarded as a mercantile speculation of individuals, but as an immediate operation of the very persons who have declared war, and are now carrying it on against Great-Britain.—On these considerations, therefore, the powers at war would have been justifiable if they had considered all provisions as contraband; and had directed them as such to be brought in for confiscation.

But the present measure pursued by his Majesty's government, so far from going to the extent which the law of nations and the circumstances of the case would have warranted, only has prevented the French from being supplied with *corn*, omitting all mention of *other* provisions, and even with respect to corn, the regulation adopted is one, which instead of confiscating the cargoes, secures to the proprietors, supposing them neutral, a full indemnification for any loss they may possibly sustain.

With respect to the rule that has been adopted relative to ports blockaded, it is conformable to the general law and practice of all nations,

nations, and the exception there mentioned as to Denmark and Sweden, has reference to existing treaties with those powers; and cannot, therefore, give any just grounds of umbrage or jealousy to other powers, between whom and Great-Britain no such treaties subsist.

Before I conclude this letter, I deem it proper to express my hope that you, Sir, will perceive, in the communication itself of this paper, a proof of my willingness to furnish this government with any intelligence that may be interesting to it, and thereby to anticipate the necessity of inquiries on the subject; and I cannot avoid farther adding my conviction that the explanation I have now given of this measure, will satisfactorily evince the propriety of recurring to it in the present instance.

I have the honour to be,

With sentiments of great respect,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GEO. HAMMOND.

Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, to Mr. Hammond, Minister Plenipotentiary of Great-Britain.

SIR,

September 22, 1793.

I HAVE yet to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 12th instant, covering an additional instruction to the commanders of British armed vessels, and explaining its principles, and I receive it readily as a proof of your willingness to anticipate our inquiries on subjects interesting to us. Certainly none was ever more so than the instruction in question, as it strikes at the root of our agriculture, and at the means of obtaining for our citizens in general, the numerous articles of necessity and comfort which they do not make for themselves, but have hitherto procured from other nations by exchange. The paper had been before communicated to the president, and instructions immediately sent to our minister at London, to make proper representations on the subject, in the effect of which we have all that confidence which the justice of the British government is calculated to inspire. That "all provisions are to be considered as contraband in the case where the depriving an enemy of these supplies is one of the means *intended to be employed*," or in any case but that of a place *actually blockaded*, is a position entirely new. However, the discussion having been transferred to another place, I forbear to enter into it here.

We had conjectured, but did not before certainly know, that the distinction which the instruction makes between Denmark and Sweden on the one hand, and the United States on the other, in the case of vessels bound to ports blockaded, was on the principle explained by

by you, that what was yielded to those countries by treaty, it is not unfriendly to refuse to us, *because not yielded to us by treaty*. I shall not contest the right of the principle, as a right to its reciprocity necessarily results to us.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
Sir, your most obedient servant,
TH. JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR,

London, 5th July, 1793.

THE inclosed copy of additional instructions to the commanders of British men of war and privateers will shew the further embarrassment to which our commerce will be subjected in the present war. These instructions, though dated the 8th of June, were not finally issued to the admiralty till the 28th. Lord Grenville justifies them from the authority of the writers on the law of nations, particularly 2d Vattel, 72, 73, and urges, that by the doctrine there laid down they have not gone so far as they would have been justified in proceeding, considering the prospect they have of reducing their enemy by such means, the instructions not extending to all kinds of provisions, nor to confiscations of those kinds that are mentioned. That the existing circumstances justifying them in considering grain as among contraband articles, they come within the proclamation issued by the president. That the French government are in fact the only importers of grain into that country. That the measure was so guarded by directing the property to be paid for, together with the freight, that the owners could suffer no loss, a liberal price being always allowed in these cases, and he was hopeful the matter would be so conducted as to give satisfaction to the parties concerned. I urged every argument that suggested itself to me, in support of the neutral rights which I contended were injured in this instance, pointed to inconveniencies that would attend the execution of the instructions, and urged that the case put by Vattel, of a well-grounded hope of reducing the enemy by famine, did not exist, provisions being now cheaper in the ports of France than in those of England. Lord Grenville, on being asked, said, Spain would pursue the same line of conduct; and upon its being objected, that even their late convention with Russia did not extend to this object, he answered, that though it was not expressly mentioned, it was fully understood by both parties to be within the intention of it. At the close of the conversation, I told him, I should transmit these instructions to you, accompanied by his reasons in their justification. Lord Grenville spoke in high terms of approbation of the answers to Mr. Hammond's memorials which he received by the packet.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The Secretary of State.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

Mr. Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States with Great Britain, to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

DEAR SIR,

London, August 15th, 1793.

THE frequent interruptions our vessels experience, especially in navigating the European seas, induce me to address you in cypher.

I have had several conversations with Lord Grenville, but do not find that this government will at all relax in the measures they have adopted towards the neutral nations.—I have urged every thing in my power, in opposition to the policy, as well as the right of these measures, and have assured him they will be considered by our government as infringements of the neutral rights. As I cannot speak from authority on this subject, I have not said what measures we shall adopt in consequence, although I have strongly insisted on the detriment to the commercial interests of this country, which must necessarily ensue from the various impediments opposed to a free intercourse, as well as from the ill-will they will excite. I may perhaps estimate too highly the blessings of peace in general, and the advantage of our neutral situation, notwithstanding all the deductions to be made on account of the conduct of this country. But it appears to me, that if the United States should deem it necessary to go beyond the line of remonstrances on this occasion, prudence will dictate, that our opposition should be confined to commercial regulations.

With the utmost respect,

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, &c.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

(COPY.)

MR. PINCKNEY presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and has the honour of inclosing, in conformity to his Lordship's desire, a memorandum relating to the American ship *Eliza*, to which he has added a note concerning two other vessels; these form only a small part of the American vessels brought into the different ports of Great Britain. Mr. P. thinks it unnecessary to add any thing to what he has had the honour of personally mentioning to his Lordship on this subject; but has a firm reliance that in the execution of measures, which he is assured the government of the United States will consider as infringements of the neutral rights, Lord Grenville's endeavours will not be wanting to prevent any unnecessary aggravation of the inconveniences arising therefrom.

Great Cumberland Place, 22d July, 1793.

Mr.

Mr. Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States with Great Britain, to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

DEAR SIR,

London, 28th August, 1793.

HAVING in my former communications related the conduct of this government to the neutral powers, with the reasons assigned by Lord Grenville for this conduct, which reasons, as far as they concern enemy's property on board neutral vessels, his Lordship informed me he had directed Mr. Hammond to represent fully to our government, I have only to add, that from subsequent conversations, there does not appear any probability of the British government relinquishing this point: these measures are attended, for the present, with greater inconvenience, and consequent irritation to our citizens, on account of the court of admiralty having, as yet, given no decision on the freight, demurrage, &c. to be allowed to the vessels brought in; on this subject I have made repeated application, (for although I am convinced of the respect due to the proceedings of the judiciary of every nation, yet if, in any case, a delay of justice may be deemed equivalent to a denial, it certainly may, in the case of vessels, circumstanced as many of our's are,) and the court of admiralty having adjourned to the 4th of September, without any decision on these points, I reiterated my representation to the secretary of state, who appeared to be surprised at the further procrastination; and I am, from circumstances, inclined to think, that he will endeavour to accelerate this business at the time to which the court stands adjourned. As I thought it right that the evidence of our opposition to the measures pursued here, should not rest merely on official conversation, I took an opportunity of bringing forward the discussion in writing, so far at least as to amount to an authentic document of our claim, with some of the reasons in support of it, at the same time that I endeavoured so to guard it, as to leave our government unembarrassed in any line they may think proper to pursue. I inclose a copy of what passed on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

TH. PINCKNEY.

(COPY.)

MR. PINCKNEY has the honour of acknowledging the receipt of Lord Grenville's note of the 31st ult. and of expressing his obligation for the assurance therein contained, that his Lordship's endeavours will be exerted to prevent as far as possible, any inconvenience to which the European commerce of the citizens of the United States of America may be liable, from the measures unavoidably resulting from the existing state of war; and as his Lordship has adverted to an observation contained in Mr. Pinck-

ney's note of the 22d ult. he will take the liberty of briefly stating the principal reasons which suggested his remark, that "some of the measures of this government will be considered by the United States, as infringements on the neutral rights." The measures alluded to are particularly those which contravene the principles, that free ships make free goods, and which prevent certain articles of provision, the produce of the United States, from being carried, in their own vessels, to the unblockaded ports of France. With respect to the first, it is conceived, that as commerce has been more diffusely cultivated, and its principles better understood, the law of nations, relating thereto, has received material improvements since the publication of the most modern and most approved writers on that subject, and that whatever doubts may formerly have existed on this point, that the sense of a considerable majority of the maritime powers of Europe has, within the last twenty years, been clearly expressed in favour of the principle of free ships making free goods, which has been manifested, by their practice in the latter years of the American war, by the stipulations entered into at that time, and by their having inserted the same in their latest treaties. Of these, the treaties entered into between the United States and several European powers, are among the most recent; all of which supported this doctrine by express stipulation; and even Great Britain must admit, that this principle contains nothing dishonourable or improper, since she has adopted it in her commercial treaty with France; and it may not be amiss here to remark, that the commerce of the United States is as advantageous to Great Britain, taking all circumstances into consideration, as that of France has been: supposing, then, the question of right to be waved, would it be deemed unreasonable for the United States to expect equal advantages with those France would have enjoyed in similar circumstances? But the right now contended for, appears not only supported by modern practice, but to be conformable to reason; for, if two nations have the misfortune of being engaged in war against each other, it is evidently contrary to the dictates of reason that a third, who has no concern in the quarrel, and has offended neither party, should be injured thereby, or be debarred from that intercourse with either, which is not immediately connected with military operations. And although people in a state of war have in general, a right to seize or destroy their enemy's property, yet they cannot be justified in going, for that purpose, upon neutral territory; (in conformity to which doctrine, the British ship *Grange*, captured by a French frigate in the bay of Delaware, was lately liberated by order of the American government;) and the distinction drawn between neutral territory and neutral vessels does not appear to form a difference sufficiently substantial to preclude the application of the same principles to both. It may be here added, that in the last war, the Americans adopted, and carried into

into effect, this principle to the advantage of British subjects, having actually liberated several British cargoes captured on board of neutral vessels. Most of the arguments opposed to the first measure will apply, with equal force, to that of bringing American provision vessels, bound to the unblockaded ports of France, into this kingdom.—To which it may be added, that if Mr. Pinckney's information is just, (and he has omitted no opportunity, which his situation has afforded him, of obtaining accurate intelligence on this subject,) the reason assigned by writers on the law of nations for measures of this nature, namely, the well-grounded hope of reducing an enemy by famine, does not apply in the present instance; because the price of the articles pointed out in the additional instructions is lower in the French ports, than in those of this kingdom, where there is, by no means, any scarcity. Arguments founded on the inconvenience attending the execution of measures, may fairly be adduced against their adoption; these are so numerous, and so obviously opposed to both measures now under consideration, that it would be superfluous to select any but those circumstances which press in a peculiar manner upon the citizens of the United States. Under this head, it may be observed, that for want of arrangements being made for the security of American seamen in the ports of this country, they are subject to the various hardships Mr. Pinckney has so frequently detailed to Lord Grenville; of course their being captured and brought into these ports, renders them liable to those disadvantages they would otherwise have avoided. Grain being the principal export of the United States, if they are prevented from carrying that commodity to the French ports, they are not only deprived of that branch of commerce, but are prevented from drawing those commodities from France, for which they have occasion; for in case of the capture and sale of their property here, other regulations prevent remittances being made from hence to France, to purchase the supplies they want. Another inconvenience peculiar to the Americans is, that the similarity of language renders them more obnoxious to the irritation arising from contumelious treatment, too often exhibited by the captors to those whom they have taken; which may, in part, be attributed to those persons being interested in widening the field of capture, who are necessarily employed in executing this measure; it renders them also more accessible to offers of bribery, to commit unworthy actions; on both of which subjects, representations have been already made; but the evil Mr. Pinckney most sincerely deprecates, is the animosity the execution of these measures almost unavoidably generates between the parties concerned therein; which, by extending in their respective countries, may eventually diminish that friendship, which it is the interest, and, he trusts, the desire of both nations to augment.

These arguments might be detailed much more at length, and others adduced to corroborate them : but Mr. Pinckney has deemed it necessary only touch upon some of the reasons on which his observation was founded, to obviate the idea of his wishing to claim, in behalf of the United States, exemptions to which they are not, in reason, entitled. At the same time, he assures Lord Grenville of the due sense which will, at all times, be entertained by his country, for any circumstances of particular attention to their commerce, and of their earnest desire, by a reciprocation of good offices, to increase the mutual advantages of both nations.

Mr. Pinckney begs leave to make his best acknowledgments to Lord Grenville's declaration of personal esteem, and to offer his sentiments of respectful consideration for his Lordship.

(COPY.)

Whitehall, July 31, 1793.

LORD GRENVILLE has had the honour to receive Mr. Pinckney's note of the 22d July, with the memorandum accompanying it ; he has directed inquiry to be made respecting the cases of several ships mentioned by Mr. Pinckney, which he apprehends, however, to be all in a course of legal adjudication, and consequently not in a state to admit of the interference of government.

Mr. Pinckney may be assured of Lord Grenville's best endeavours at all times to prevent, as far as possible, any inconvenience arising to the subjects of the United States in their European commerce, from the measures which unavoidably result from the state of war, in which the maritime countries of Europe are engaged. But it is impossible for him not to remark, in reply to the observations contained in Mr. Pinckney's note, that the steps adopted by this government, so far from being infractions of the neutral rights, are more favourable than the law of nations on that subject, as established by the most modern and most approved writers upon it ; and that the rule laid down here, has been marked with circumstances of particular attention to the commerce of America,* in the instance which Lord Grenville has already had the honour of pointing out to Mr. Pinckney.

Lord Grenville avails himself of this opportunity, to assure Mr. Pinckney of his sincere esteem and consideration.

* This alludes to rice not being included in the prohibition.

Mr. Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States with Great Britain, to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

DEAR SIR,

London, 25th Sept, 1793.

NO alteration has taken place since my last, in the conduct of this government towards the neutral powers; they still assert the propriety of preventing the provisions specified in their additional instructions, from being sent to French ports, and of making prize of their enemy's property, in whatever vessels it may be found—the execution of these measures, of course, creates much uneasiness among our citizens, whose commerce is much injured thereby—I receive assurances that their court will amply redress the irregularities which may be committed by their cruisers, upon proper application; but these are frequently of a nature to be with difficulty brought under the cognizance of the judiciary; and I find our sea-faring people in general, rather inclined to submit to the first inconvenience, than risk the event of a lawsuit. The court of admiralty, in the beginning of the present month, adjudged freight, demurrage, and expenses to an American vessel, whose cargo was condemned. I am hopeful, since this precedent, that it will be allowed in all other cases, which will, of course, prevent so many of our vessels from being brought in. The protection afforded our seamen remains also on the same footing; they profess a willingness to secure to us all real American seamen, when proved to be such; but the proof they will not dispense with—our consuls are allowed to give protections, where the master of the vessel, and the mariner, swear, that the party is an American native, and citizen, which protections, in general, are respected, though some irregularities occasionally take place—so many objections are made to the arrangement we propose on this subject, that I see no prospect of its taking place.

I remain, with great and sincere respect, dear Sir,

Your's, &c. &c.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

[*Here follows the 3d and 4th Articles of the Treaty with the Empress of Russia, for which see Vol. I. p. 4—and also an Abstract of the Treaty with the King of Sardinia, for which see Vol. I. p. 10 and 11.*]

C O N G R E S S.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

THE Secretary of State having reported to me upon the several complaints which have been lodged in his office, against the vexations and spoliations on our commerce, since the commencement of the European war, I transmit to you a copy of his statement, together with the documents upon which it is founded.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

SIR,

Philadelphia, March 2, 1794.

ON my succession to the department of State, I found a large volume of complaints, which the notification had collected, against severities on our trade, various in their kind and degree. Having reason to presume, as the fact has proved, that every day would increase the catalogue, I have waited to digest the mass, until time should have been allowed for exhibiting the diversified forms in which our commerce has hourly suffered. Every information is at length obtained, which may be expected.

When we examine the documents, which have been transmitted from different parts of the union, we find the British, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, charged with attacks upon our commerce.

It is urged against the British,

1. That their privateers plunder the American vessels, throw them out of their course by forcing them, upon groundless suspicion, into ports, other than those to which they were destined; detain them, even after the hope of a regular confiscation is abandoned; by their negligence, while they hold the possession, expose the cargoes to damage, and the vessels to destruction, and maltreat their crews.

2. That British ships of war have forcibly seized mariners, belonging to American vessels, and in one instance, under the protection of a Portuguese fort.

3. That, by British regulations and practice, our corn and provisions are driven from the ports of France, and restricted to the ports of the British, or those of their friends.

4. That our vessels are not permitted to go from the British ports in the islands without giving security (which is not attainable, but with difficulty and expense) for the discharge of the cargo in some other British, or a neutral port.

5. That without the imputation of a contraband trade, as defined by the law of nations, our vessels are captured for carrying

trying on a commercial intercourse with the French West-Indies, although it is tolerated by the laws of the French Republic; and that for this extraordinary conduct, no other excuse is alledged, than that by some edict of a king of France, this intercourse was prohibited;—and,

6. That the conduct of the admiralty in the British islands is impeachable for an excess of rigour, and a departure from strict judicial purity; and the expenses of an appeal to England, too heavy to be encountered, under all the circumstances of discouragement.

Against the French it is urged,

1. That their privateers harass our trade no less than those of the British.

2. That two of their ships of war have committed enormities on our vessels.

3. That their courts of admiralty are guilty of equal oppression.

4. That, besides these points of accusation, which are common to the French and British, the former (the French) have infringed the treaty between the United States and them, by subjecting to seizure and condemnation our vessels trading with their enemies in merchandize, which that treaty declares not to be contraband, and under circumstances not forbidden by the law of nations.

5. That a very detrimental embargo has been laid upon a large number of American vessels in the French ports; and,

6. That a contract with the French government for coin has been discharged in depreciated assignats.

Against the Spaniards the outrages of privateers are urged.

And against the Dutch, one condemnation in the admiralty is insisted to be unwarrantable.

Under this complication of mischief, which persecutes our commerce, I beg leave, Sir, to submit to your consideration, whether representations, as far as facts may justify, ought not to be immediately pressed upon the foreign governments, in those of the preceding cases for which they are responsible.

Among these I class, 1. The violence perpetrated by public ships of war. 2. Prohibitions, or regulations inconsistent with the law of nations. 3. The improper conduct of courts. 4. Infractions of treaty. 5. The imposition of embargoes; and, 6. The breach of public contracts. How far a government is liable to redress the rapine of privateers, depends upon the peculiarities of the case. It is incumbent upon it, however, to keep its courts freely open, and to secure an impartial hearing to the injured applicants. If the rules prescribed to privateers be too loose, and opportunities of plunder or ill-treatment be provoked from that cause, or from the prospect of

impunity, it is impossible to be too strenuous in remonstrating against this formidable evil.

Thus, Sir, I have reduced to general heads the particular complaints, without making any inquiry into the facts beyond the allegations of the parties interested.

I will only add, that your message seems to promise the Congress some statement upon those subjects.

EDM. RANDOLPH.

The President of the United States.

The following resolution was passed in Congress on the 26th of March, 1794:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That an embargo be laid on all ships and vessels in ports of the United States, whether already cleared out or not, bound to any foreign port or place, for the term of thirty days; and that no clearances be furnished, during that period, to any ships or vessels, except under the immediate direction of the president of the United States; and that the president of the United States be authorised to give such instructions to the revenue officers of the United States, as shall appear better adapted for carrying the said resolution into full effect.

FREDERICK AMUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN ADAMS,
Vice-President of the United States, and
President of the Senate.

Approved March 26, 1794.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President of the United States.

CONGRESS IN SENATE.

The following written Message was received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Dandridge, his Secretary.

United States, 16th April, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

THE communications which I have made you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitting zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate John Jay, as an
envoy

envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic Majesty.

My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished : but a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country ; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity.

G. WASHINGTON.

April 21.

The House of Representatives agreed to the following resolution—Ayes 56. Noes 36.

Whereas the injuries which have been suffered, and may be suffered, by the United States, from violations committed by Great Britain on their neutral rights and commercial interests, as well as from her failure to execute the 7th article of the treaty of peace, render it expedient, for the interests of the United States, that the commercial intercourse between the two countries should not be carried on in the extent at present allowed ;

Resolved, That from and after the 1st day of November next, all commercial intercourse between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of the King of Great Britain, or the citizens or subjects of any other nation, so far as the same respects articles of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, shall be prohibited.

April 28.

In the Senate, the bill sent up from the House of Representatives, founded on the resolution of the 21st, was rejected by the casting vote of the vice-president, the numbers on each side being 13.

April 24.

In the House of Representatives, a communication from the French committee of Public Safety was read.

Resolved unanimously, “ That the letter of the committee of Public Safety of the French Republic, addressed to the Congress, be transmitted to the president of the United States, and that he be requested to cause the same to be answered on behalf of this House, in terms expressive of their sensibility for the friendly and affectionate manner in which they have addressed the Congress of the United States, with an unequivocal assurance that the representatives of the people of the United States have much interest in the happiness and prosperity of the French Republic.

*Memorial from Mr. Jay, the American Minister Plenipotentiary
at the British Court, to Lord Grenville.*

THE undersigned Envoy of the United States of America has the honour of representing to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for the department of foreign affairs :

That a very considerable number of American vessels have been irregularly captured, and as improperly condemned, by certain of his Majesty's officers and judges.

That, in various instances, these captures and condemnations were so conducted, and the captured placed under such unfavourable circumstances, as that, for want of the securities required, and other obstacles, no appeals were made in some cases, nor any claims in others.

The undersigned presumes that these facts will appear from the documents which he has had the honour of submitting to his Lordship's consideration ; and that it will not be deemed necessary at present to particularize these cases, and their merits, or detail the circumstances, which discriminate some from others.

That great and extensive injuries having thus, under colour of his Majesty's authority and commissions, been done to a numerous class of American merchants, the United States can for reparation have recourse only to the justice, authority, and interposition of his Majesty. That the vessels and property taken and condemned have been chiefly sold, and the proceeds divided among a number of persons, of whom some are dead, some unable to make retribution, and others, from frequent removals, and their particular circumstances, not easily reached by civil process.

That as for these losses and injuries, adequate compensation, by means of judicial proceedings, has become impracticable ; and considering the causes which combined to produce them, the United States confide in his Majesty's justice and magnanimity, to cause such compensation to be made to these innocent sufferers, as may be consistent with equity : and the undersigned flatters himself, that such principles may without difficulty be adopted, as will serve as rules whereby to ascertain the cases and the amount of compensation.

So grievous are the expenses and delays attending litigated suits, to persons whose fortunes have been so materially affected ; and so great is the distance of Great Britain from America, that the undersigned thinks he ought to express his anxiety, that a mode of proceeding as summary and little expensive may be devised, as circumstances and the peculiar hardship of these cases may appear to permit and require.

And

And as (at least in some of these cases) it may be expedient and necessary, as well as just, that the sentences of the courts of vice-admiralty should be revised and corrected by the court of appeals here, the undersigned hopes it will appear reasonable to his Majesty, to order that the captured in question (who have not already so done) be re-admitted to enter both their appeals and their claims.

The undersigned also finds it to be his duty to represent, that the irregularities before mentioned extended not only to the capture and condemnations of American vessels and property, and to unusual personal severities, but even to the impressment of American citizens, to serve on board of armed vessels. He forbears to dwell on the injuries done to these unfortunate individuals, or on the emotions which they must naturally excite, either in the breasts of the nation to whom they belong, or to the just and humane of every country. His reliance on the justice and benevolence of his Majesty, leads him to indulge a pleasing expectation, that orders will be given, that Americans, so circumstanced, be immediately liberated, and that persons honoured with his Majesty's commissions, do in future abstain from similar violences.

It is with cordial satisfaction that the undersigned reflects on the impressions which such equitable and conciliatory measures would make on the minds of the United States, and how naturally they would inspire and cherish these sentiments and dispositions, which never fail to preserve, as well as to produce, respect, esteem and friendship.

(Signed)

JOHN JAY.

London, July 30, 1794.

ANSWER.

THE undersigned secretary of state has had the honour to lay before the King the ministerial note which he has received from Mr. Jay, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, respecting the alledged irregularity of the capture and condemnation of several American vessels, and also respecting the circumstances of personal severity, by which those proceedings are stated to have been accompanied in some particular instances.

The undersigned is authorised to assure Mr. Jay, that it is his Majesty's wish, that the most complete and impartial justice should be done to all the citizens of America, who may in fact have been injured by any of the proceedings above mentioned. All experience shews, that a naval war, extending over the four quarters of the globe, must unavoidably be productive of some inconveniences to the commerce of neutral nations; and that no care can prevent some irregularities in the course of those

pro-

proceedings, which are universally recognized as resulting from the just rights incident to all belligerent powers. But the King will always be desirous that these inconveniencies and irregularities should be as much limited as the nature of the case will admit, and that the fullest opportunity should be given to all to prefer their complaints, and to obtain redress and compensation where they are due.

In Mr. Jay's note, mention is made of several cases where the parties have hitherto omitted to prefer their claims, and of others, where no appeals have been made from the sentences of condemnation pronounced in the first instance.

As to the cases of the first description, Lord Grenville apprehends that the regular course of law is still open to the claimants; and that by preferring appeals to the commissioners of prize causes here, against the sentence of the courts below, the whole merits of those cases may be brought forward, and the most complete justice obtained.

In the cases of second description, the proceedings might be difficult, from the lapse of the time usually allotted for preferring appeals.—But his Majesty being anxious that no temporary or local circumstances, such as those to which Mr. Jay refers in his note, should impede the course of substantial justice, has been pleased to refer it to the proper officers to consider of a mode of enlarging the time for receiving the appeals, in those cases, in order to admit the claimants to bring their complaints before the regular court appointed for that purpose.

The undersigned has no doubt that in this manner a very considerable part of the injuries alledged to have been suffered by the Americans, may, if the complaints are well founded, be redressed in the usual course of judicial proceeding, at a very small expense to the parties, and without any other interposition of his Majesty's Government than is above stated—until the result and effect of these proceedings shall be known, no definitive judgment can be formed respecting the nature and extent of those cases (if any such shall ultimately be found to exist,) where it shall not have been practicable to obtain substantial redress in this mode.—But he does not hesitate to say beforehand, that if cases shall then be found to exist, to such an extent as properly to call for the interposition of government, where, without the fault of the parties complaining, they shall be unable, from whatever circumstances, to procure such redress in the ordinary course of law, as the justice of their cases may intitle them to expect, His Majesty will be anxious that justice should at all events be done, and will readily enter into the discussion of the measures to be adopted, and the principles to be established for that purpose.

With

With respect to all acts of personal severity and violence, as the King must entirely disapprove every such transaction, so his Majesty's Courts are always open for the punishment of offences of this nature ; and for giving redress to the sufferers in every case where the fact can be established by satisfactory proof ; nor does it appear that any case of that nature can exist, where there would be the smallest difficulty of obtaining, in that mode, substantial and exemplary justice.

On the subject of the impress, Lord Grenville has only to assure Mr. Jay, that if, in any instance, American seamen have been impressed into the King's service, it has been contrary to the King's desire ; though such cases may have occasionally arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen, especially, where there so often exists an interest and intention to deceive :—whenever any representation has been made to Lord Grenville on the subject, he has never failed to receive his Majesty's commands for putting it in a proper course, in order that the facts might be inquired into, and ascertained ; and to the intent that the persons in question might be released, if the facts appeared to be satisfactorily established.

With respect to the desire expressed by Mr. Jay, that new orders might be given with a view to prevent, as far as it is possible, the giving any just ground of complaint on this head, Lord Grenville has no reason to doubt that his Majesty's intentions respecting this point are already sufficiently understood by his Majesty's officers employed on that service : but he has, nevertheless, obtained his Majesty's permission to assure Mr. Jay, that, instructions to the effect desired, will be renewed in consequence of his application.

The undersigned avails himself with pleasure of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Jay his assurances of his sincere esteem and consideration.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

Downing-street, August 1, 1794.

From the London Gazette of the 9th of August, 1794.

Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS, in many of his Majesty's vice admiralty courts in the West Indies, sentences of condemnation have passed against ships and goods belonging to the subjects of the United States of America ; and whereas, from ignorance of the rules respecting the times of appealing, or from inability to find the security required, or from other just and reasonable impediments, the claimants have been prevented from duly entering and prosecuting their appeals from the said sentences : and whereas it hath been represented to his Majesty, on their behalf, that they are desirous of entering and prosecuting the same ; his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with

with the advice of his privy louncil, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the said parties shall be admitted to their respective appeals, notwithstanding the ordinary times for entering and prosecuting the same may have elapsed, provided the same are entered and prosecuted within a reasonable time, to be approved by the lords commissioners of appeals in prize causes.

STEPH. COTTRELL.

[See also the Instructions of the British Court, dated 18th of August, and inserted in page 173.]

To the American Secretary of State.

SIR,

Philadelphia, 22d Oct. 1794.

AT a meeting of the merchants yesterday, they instructed their committee to inform the secretary of state, that it is the wish of the sufferers, by the depredation of the British, that persons be appointed for obtaining the proofs in the West-Indies, and for entering claims and appeals if it should be found necessary, and also for prosecuting those claims in Europe, that they trust the whole business will be prosecuted at the expense of government, and that the claimants will furnish such documents as they may be possessed of to the persons appointed.

At the same time that the committee transmit this resolution, they beg leave to state to the secretary of state their own opinions upon this important subject, and what they believe to be the opinions of such of their fellow sufferers as they have had an opportunity of consulting.

They consider the communication of Lord Grenville to Mr. Jay, as read to them and since published, to amount to nothing more than an extension of the time for entering appeals, and a distant expectation of some compensation from government in case the aggressors shall be unable, and their being called upon at this moment to bring forward their claims, leads them to fear that the American minister may be induced to acquiesce in some such arrangements as is there held out.

If the negotiation should result in any thing like this, we are firmly persuaded that a great proportion of the sufferers would rather abandon their claims than encounter so certain an expense for so uncertain a remedy.—They are too well acquainted with the delays and expense of British courts, and in numerous instances the property, though great in the aggregate, is divided into so many hands as to render it impossible to get a general agreement to join in such a prosecution.

Indeed if the common process of the courts are to be relied on, it can only be an object to those who have large property to pursue it, for after all the expense is incurred and the delay borne, they must have their own remedy against the owners of privateers or captains of men of war who may not have the means of compensation in their power, and then only can they have recourse to the British government.

Under the influence of such opinions as these, it is not to be wondered at that the merchants should be unwilling to concur in any measure that would bind them to a general contribution : those of them who think their claims of sufficient magnitude, and have the means left, will prosecute their claims ; while a number of others will rely on the justice of their own country.

From inquiry of the persons met, it appears that there were but few who had not already obtained authentic copies of the proceedings of the courts, though they were not many who had not entered appeals. It was understood too, that the appeals may be entered in England, without notice to the captors from the appellants.

Should that opinion be well founded, and that the government of the United States think proper to take upon itself the prosecution of the claims in England, it would be reasonable and proper that the merchants should, at their own expense, obtain the proceedings of our courts ; and those who met authorised us to inform you, that under that condition, they would not do so.

We have thought it better, on so important a subject, to communicate to you in writing the instruction given to us and the opinion we entertain, at the same time to assure you, Sir, that we will give every assistance in our power to government in the business for which we are chosen, and will attend at all times when you may think it necessary to call upon us. In the discharge of the trust reposed in us, we shall probably find it necessary to correspond with the merchants in other states to collect their opinions upon this important business, and will communicate freely to you any information we obtain that may be deemed useful.

In behalf and by order of the committee,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

THOS. FITZSIMONS.

SIR,

Philadelphia, November 4, 1794.

ALTHOUGH from my knowledge of the president's anxiety to procure compensation for the sufferers under British depredation, and of the measures which he had pursued, I declare to you my persuasion, that he would approve what was proposed in your letter

ter of the 22d ultimo ; yet I could not speak definitively until his return.

The president has appointed Mr. Samuel Bayard, a gentleman of the law in this city, and of known respectability, of talents and character, to proceed immediately to London, as agent of claims and appeals. He will sail in the *Adriana*, now on the point of departure for Great Britain from this port. He will be authorized to bind the United States, under the direction of Mr. Jay, for the costs and damages attending the prosecutions ; and the necessary counsel will be engaged on the part of the United States.

It will be expected that the stipulation which you have made in your letter be accurately executed, to wit : That the merchants will obtain the proceedings of the courts ; the expense of the records will be reimbursed to the United States.

It will be proper, however, that you obtain such information as is possessed by the department of state, of the records which have been already procured and forwarded ; and I take the liberty of cautioning you against an error, into which you seem to have fallen, “ that there were a few who had not obtained authentic copies of the proceedings of the courts.” Technical precision is not absolutely understood by unprofessional men ; and, therefore, what is fair to the eye, will not always resist the criticism of courts. But as soon as correct records are got, let them be forwarded to our Minister Plenipotentiary in London. What notice may be necessary to the captors, or whether the appeals and claims ought to be entered in the West Indies, I will not undertake to determine ; but this inquiry will be the first made by Mr. Bayard after his arriving in London, and instructions will be given to endeavour to remove every difficulty on this head.

I wish you to correspond with persons interested in British captures in the different towns in the United States. I will send to the governors and custom-house officers, copies of your letter and this, for the inspection of all concerned ; and I mean also to publish the inclosed notice.

I have the honour, Sir, to be, with sentiments of respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

Thomas Fitzsimons, Esq. chairman
of the committee of Merchants.

A Talk from the White Lieutenant of Oaksuskee, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchies, and Alexander Cornell, who are authorised by the Creek Nation to send the same to William Panton, Merchant, in Pensacola.

MR. WILLIAM PANTON,

WE are going to give you a talk, which we do by desire of our chiefs and people of our land, and as it is a talk which concerns peace and happiness, as a nation we must desire that you open your ears and attend thereto.

Our land hath for several years been in great confusion and distress, occasioned by bad talks sent into it, and bad people who have crept into it and imposed upon us: this nation now plainly see that ruin awaits them if matters continue in their present state, and therefore are fully determined to establish a firm and lasting peace with all nations and people. In order that we do not meet with any interruption in accomplishing so desirable an object, this talk is sent to you, to desire that you do not on any account interfere in our national concerns, as heretofore you have done, to the great detriment and injury of ourselves and friends.

We are well acquainted with the talks you send into our land, and the mischief they have made among our foolish young people, and are resolved to have no more such doings; our whole nation also sees that you take by the hand the men of our land who have brought trouble and disgrace upon us, and your talks have prevented justice being done, and satisfaction given by our nation to our neighbours, for the murders and robberies committed upon them: this, Mr. Panton, you had no business with. To repeat all the bad advice our people have had from you since the time the English left this country, will take up too much time at present; but we must say that had our nation taken the advice given by Governor O'Neal of Pensacola, Mr. Panton, and others whom we can mention when it is necessary, our country would now be engaged in a bloody and ruinous war, not only with all the Americans, but with our neighbouring nations of red people. Some of our people were mad enough to take these bad talks, and blood was spilt in consequence; but the wise ones among us put a stop thereto. But yet we cannot forget such wicked bad advice, calculated for our destruction.

Now, Mr. Panton, our advice to you is to mind your trade, and not meddle with our public concerns.

We have been too long blinded by imposition; our eyes are now open, and we plainly discover your views are not for our good. Once more we tell you that our nation is determined not to be longer slaves to your talks, and they are the best judges

judges of their own business, and will conduct it as they think best for their own good.

After this warning, would you or any other person or persons meddle in our national affairs, so as to prevent our establishing peace, we shall consider all such as enemies to our land, and look to them for all the bad consequences that may follow.

There are public agents in our nation from Spain and the United States, to them alone we will listen, and must not be interrupted by any other talks; this is the opinion and voice of of our nation, as well as your friend,

April, 1794.

The WHITE LIEUT. of Oaksuskee,
The MAD DOG of Tuckabatchie,
ALEXANDER CORNELL, of ditto.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY, ff.

Personally appeared before me, John Gibson, one of the associate judges for the above county, Daniel Ranson, who duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that he, this deponent, has traded for some time past at Venango, with the Senecas and other Indians, that a chief of the Senecas called Tiawaneas, or the Broken Twig, came there and informed him it was likely the times would soon be bad, and advised him to move off his family and effects in three or four days; on this he asked the Indian how he knew the times would be bad; he then informed him a belt of wampum had been sent by the British and the Indians, inviting him to a council at Buffaloe Creek, that he had declined going; that the messengers then informed him of the intended plan of the Indians; he said the corn-planter had been bought by British gold, and had joined them; that he intended coming to Venango, on pretence of holding a council respecting the murder of the Indian at Venango by Robinson; that then they expected the British and Indians would land on Presqu'isle and form a junction on French Creek, and then clear it, by killing all the people and taking the posts: that he seemed so much affected that he shed tears, and said, what shall I do, I have been at war against the Western Indians in company with Captain Jeffers, and killed and scalped one of them; if I now go back, after discovering this, the Indians will kill me; that the Indian informed him that a number of canoes were collected at Junishadego, and paid for by the British, for the purpose of conveying the Indians down the river; that on his return from Cussewago to Fort Franklin, he found a chief of the Onondago of the name of Standing Stone, who was a friend of his, who informed him that the corn-planter had taken money from the British, and had joined them; he thought the times would soon be bad,

bad, and pressed him very much to leave Venango, and assisted him in packing up his things at that place ; that from his knowledge of the customs and manners of the Indians, as well as what he had heard from other Indians, he has also reason to believe the above account to be true ; he also says, that seven men who came down the Allegheny river, saw the above canoes at Juni-shadego : that on their landing at the town, the Indians had not planted any corn at that place.

D. RANSON.

Sworn and subscribed this 10th day of June, 1794, at Pittsburgh, before me, JOHN GIBSON.

Authentic Copy of a Reply made by Lord Dorchester in a Deputation from Seven Tribes of Indians, at a Council held at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the City of Quebec, on the 10th Day of February, 1794.

Reply of his Excellency Lord Dorchester to the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, as deputies from all the nations who were at the general council held at the Miami, in the year 1793, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups.

Children—I have well considered your words, and am now prepared to reply.

Children—You have informed me that you are deputed by the seven villages of Lower Canada, and by all the nations of the upper country, which sent deputies to the general council, held at the Miamis, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups.

Children—You remind me of what passed at the council fire held at Quebec, just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their situation and wishes to the King, their father, and expressed my hope that all the grievances they complained of, on the part of the United States, would soon be done away by a just and lasting peace.

Children—I remember all very well ; I remember that they pointed out to me the line of separation which they wished for between them and the United States, and with which they would be satisfied and make peace.

Children—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them ; I hoped I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children—I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children

Children—I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed, would have been minded, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner; here also I have been disappointed.

Children—Since my return I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner which the people of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if we are, a line must be drawn by the warriors.

Children—You ask for a passport to go to New York; a passport is useless in peace; it appears, therefore, that you expect we shall be at war with the States before you return. You shall have a passport, that whether peace or war, you shall be well received by the King's warriors.

Children—They have destroyed their right of pre-emption, therefore all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the King's rights, and when a line is drawn between us, be it peace or war, they must lose all their improvement of houses on our side of it. The people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the king's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will of course be confirmed and secured to them.

Children—What further can I say to you? You are our witnesses that on our part we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience, and I believe our patience is almost exhausted.

Given under my hand, at the castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on the 10th day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1794.

(Signed)

DORCHESTER.

By his Excellency's command,

(Signed)

HEMAN WISSIUS RYLAND,
Secretary.

The following is a Copy of a Message from General Washington to Congress.

May 21, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

I LAY before you certain information, whereby it would appear that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although

although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation for an event, which, notwithstanding the endeavours making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our controul, be forced upon us.

G. WASHINGTON.

From Edmund Randolph to Mr. Hammond.

SIR,

Philadelphia, May 20, 1794.

IT cannot be unknown to you that a speech, said to be addressed on the 10th of February, 1794, to several Indian nations, and ascribed to the governor general of his Britannic Majesty at Quebec, has appeared in most of the public prints in the United States. With so many circumstances of authority, after remaining so long without contradiction, it might have justified us in inquiring from you, whether it was really delivered under British authority. Our forbearance thus to inquire is conformable with the moderation which has directed the conduct of our government towards Great Britain, and indicates, at the same time, our hope, from the declaration of your's, that its views would prove ultimately pacific, and that it would discountenance every measure of its officers having a contrary tendency.

Even now, Sir, while I entertain a firm persuasion that in presuming this speech to be genuine I cannot well err, I shall be ready to retract the comments which I am about to make, if you should think proper to deny its authenticity.

At the very moment when the British ministry were forwarding assurances of good will, does Lord Dorchester foster and encourage, in the Indians, hostile dispositions towards the United States. If it was a part of the American character to indulge suspicion, what might not be conjectured as to the influence by which our treaty was defeated in the last year, from the assembling of deputies from almost all the nations who were at the last general council on the Miami, and where enmity against us cannot be doubtful? How nearly would that suspicion approach to proof, were we to recollect that so high an officer as himself would not rashly hazard this expression! "I should not be surprised if we were at war with the United States in the course of the present year; and if we are, a line must then be drawn by the warriors."

But

But this speech only forebodes hostility; the intelligence which has been received this morning is, if true, hostility itself. The president of the United States has understood, through channels of real confidence, that Governor Simcoe has gone to the foot of the rapids of the Miami, followed by three companies of a British regiment, in order to build a fort there. Permit me to ask whether these things be so? It has been usual for each party in a negotiation to pay such deference to the pretensions of the other, as to keep their affairs in the same posture, until the negotiation was concluded. On this principle you complained in your letter of the 5th of July, 1792, of the jurisdiction exercised under the state of Vermont, within the districts occupied by the troops of your king, and demanded that our government should suppress it, from respect to the discussion which was pending. On this principle, you were assured that proper measures should be adopted. On the same principle you renew, on the 10th of March, 1794, a similar application, and are answered that the measures of the government should correspond with its assurances. Accordingly, although the forts, garrisons, and districts to which you relate, are confessedly within the limits of the United States, yet have our citizens been forbidden to interrupt you in the occupancy of them: what return then have we a right to expect?

But you will not suppose that I put the impropriety of the present aggression upon the pendency of the negotiation: I quote this only to shew the contrast between the temper observed on your part towards us, and on our part towards you. This possession of our acknowledged territory has no pretext of *statu quo* on its side; it has no pretext at all; it is an act, the hostility of which cannot be palliated by any connection with the negotiation: it is calculated to support an enemy whom we are seeking to bring to peace.

A late mission of the United States to Great Britain is an unequivocal proof, after all that has happened, of the sincere wish of our government to preserve peace and a good understanding with your nation; but our honour and safety require that an invasion shall be repelled.

Let me, therefore, inform you, Sir, that I have it in charge from the president of the United States, to request and urge you to take immediate and effectual measures, as far as in you lies, to suppress those hostile movements; to call to mind that the army of the United States, in their march against the enemy, will not be able to distinguish between them and any other people associated in the war; to compare these encroachments with the candour of our conduct, and the doctrines which you have maintained, and to admonish those who shall throw obsta-

cles in the way of negociation and tranquillity, that they will be responsible for all the unhappy consequences.

From Mr. Hammond to Edmund Randolph.

SIR,

Philadelphia, May 22, 1794.

In answer to your letter of the 20th current, which I did not receive until late in the afternoon yesterday, it is necessary for me to premise, that whatever may be my personal opinion with respect to the style and manner in which you have thought proper to address me upon the present occasion, it is not my intention to offer any animadversion upon them, but to proceed with temper and candour to the examination of the subjects of your letter.

Though I never can acknowledge the right of this government to require from me so categorically as you have required it, an explanation of any measure emanating from the governors of Canada, over whose actions I have no controul, and for whose conduct I am not responsible, I am willing to admit the authenticity of the speech to certain Indian nations, to which you have alluded, and which you have ascribed to the governor-general of his Majesty's possessions in North America: but in order to ascertain the precise sense of the only passage of that speech to which you have referred, and of which you have given merely a partial citation, I shall quote the passage at length :

“ Children,

“ Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains ; and from the manner in which the people of the States push on and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year ; and if so, a line must be drawn by the warriors.”

From the context of this whole passage, it is manifest that Lord Dorchester was persuaded that the aggression which might eventually lead to a state of hostility, had proceeded from the United States ; and so far as the state of Vermont, to which I presume his Lordship principally alluded, was implicated, I am convinced that that persuasion was not ill founded ; for, notwithstanding the positive assurances which I received from your predecessor on the 9th of July, 1792, in answer to my letter of the 5th of the same month, of the determination of the general government to discourage and repress the encroachments which the state and individuals of Vermont had committed on the territory occupied by his Majesty's garrisons, I assert with confidence, that not only those encroachments have never been in

any manner repressed, but that recent infringements in that quarter, and on the territory in its vicinity, have since been committed. Indeed, if this assertion of mine could require any corroboration, I would remark, that though the space of fifty days had elapsed between my letter of the 10th of March, 1794, upon this subject, and your answer of the 29th of April, 1794, you did not attempt to deny the facts which I then stated, and which I now explicitly repeat.

In regard to your declaration that Governor Simcoe has gone to the foot of the rapids of the Miami, followed by three companies of a British regiment, in order to build a fort there, I have no intelligence that such an event has actually occurred. But even admitting your information to be accurate, much will depend on the place in which you assert that the fort is intended to be erected, and whether it be for the purpose of protecting subjects of his Majesty, residing in districts dependent on the fort of Detroit, or of preventing that fortress from being straightened by the approach of the American army. To either of which cases, I imagine that the principle of the *statu quo*, until the final arrangement of the point in discussion between the two countries shall be concluded, will strictly apply.

In order, however, to correct any inaccurate information you may have received, or to avoid any ambiguity relative to this circumstance, I shall immediately transmit copies of your letter and of this answer, as well to the governor-general of his Majesty's possessions in North America, and the governor of Upper Canada, as to his Majesty's ministers in England, for their respective information. Before I conclude this letter, I must be permitted to observe, that I have confined to the unrepressed and continued aggressions of the state of Vermont alone, the persuasion of Lord Dorchester that they were indicative of an existing hostile disposition in the United States against Great Britain, and might ultimately produce an actual state of war on their part. If I had been desirous of recurring to other sources of disquietude, I might, from the allusion of his Lordship to the conduct of this government towards the sea, have deduced other motives of apprehension, on which, from the solicitude you evince to establish a contrast between the temper observed on your part towards us, I might have conceived myself justified in dilating. I might have adverted to the privateers originally fitted out at Charles-Town, at the commencement of the present hostilities, and which were allowed to depart from that port, not only with the consent, but under the express permission of the governor of South Carolina. I might have adverted to the prizes made by these privateers, of which the legality was in some measure admitted, by the refusal of the government to restore such as were made antecedently to the 5th of June, 1793. I might

might have adverted to the permission granted by this government to the commanders of French ships of war, and of privateers, to dispose of their prizes by sale in ports of the United States. I might have adverted to the two privateers, *Le Petit Democrate*, (now *La Cornelia*) and *Le Carmagnole*, both illegally fitted out in the river Delaware, and which, in consequence of my remonstrances, and the assurances I received, I concluded would have been dismantled; but which have remained during the whole winter in the port of New York, armed, and now are, as I am informed, in a condition to proceed immediately to sea. I might have adverted to the conduct which this government has observed towards the powers combined against France in the enforcement of the embargo; for, while the vessels of the former are subjected to the restriction of that measure, those of the latter have been permitted to depart from Hampton Road, though three weeks had elapsed subsequently to the imposition of the embargo; though they were amenable to its operations, and though they were chiefly laden with articles calculated to support an enemy whom we are seeking to bring to peace. I might have adverted to the uniformly unfriendly treatment which his Majesty's ships of war, and officers in his Majesty's service, have, since the commencement of the present hostilities, experienced in the American ports; and lastly, I might have adverted to the unparalleled insult which has been recently offered at New-Port, Rhode Island, not by a lawless collection of the people, but by the governor and council of that state, to the British flag, in the violent measures pursued towards his Majesty's sloop of war *Nautilus*, and in the forcible detention of the officers by whom she was commanded.

I have, however, forbore to expatiate upon these points, because I am not disposed to consider them, as I have before stated, as necessary elucidations of the immediate object of your letter, and much less to urge them in their present form as general topics of recrimination.

SIR,

Philadelphia, June 2, 1794.

IF the letter with which you honoured me on the 22d ult. had not entered into a train of recrimination against the United States, I should not now trouble you with a return to its unpleasant topics. Among the reasons, which would have induced me to add nothing to my letter of the 1st of last month, it would have been of some weight, that by silence I should avoid the repetition of a style and manner, which seem to have produced a personal excitement.

As you are willing to admit the authenticity of Lord Dorchester's speech, we will, with your approbation, reserve for a future discussion, on what occasion, and to what degree, an explanation

may be required by the government of the United States from a foreign minister.

I selected only one passage of that speech, because in it was centered the real object of the whole; which was to declare an expectation, that Great Britain would be at war with the United States in the course of the present year, and, if she were, to cause the warriors to draw a line. This is the undisguised sense of the governor-general, unaffected by the preliminary words which you have thought proper to quote: it is your own interpretation. For so far are you from contradicting my assertion, that Lord Dorchester fostered and encouraged in the Indians hostile dispositions towards us, that you confine the greater part of your remaining observations to vindicate his persuasion and your own, that the principal aggression, leading to hostility, proceeded from the United States; and to suggest many others of the same tendency, upon which you would not dilate.

I shall not shrink, Sir, from your charges.

1. Notwithstanding the territory, upon which certain inhabitants of Vermont are represented in your letter of the 5th of July, 1792, to have trespassed, belongs to the United States; yet on the 9th of the same month did my predecessor give you, as is admitted, positive assurances of the determination to discourage and repress the subject of your complaint. The necessary instructions were accordingly forwarded to that state. On examining your correspondence with my department, it does not appear, that, from the 9th of July, 1792, to the 10th of March, 1794, upwards of nineteen months, our government ever understood from yourself, or any authority of his Britannic Majesty, that the original dissatisfaction continued; nor was any discontent heard from that quarter through other channels, except what related to outrages upon our own citizens by British subjects. Then, indeed, thirty days after the hostile tribes of Indians had been assembled by Lord Dorchester at Quebec, you renew your remonstrance. Although it cannot be by any means believed that this was written in order to usher in the intelligence, which soon after arrived, of his speech; yet it is difficult to account for so long an interval under the circumstances supposed; nor ought my answer, although delayed for fifty days, until the 29th of April, 1794, to be construed into an assent to any charge, since at the end of that period having been disappointed, as my letter shews, in one opportunity of information, and no other presenting itself, we were not in a capacity of contradicting your assertions. However, Sir, the instructions issued in consequence of your application, conveyed positive orders for the correction of what, upon examination, should be found irregular.

2. Among the points to which you intimate that you might have adverted, is enumerated the fitting out of two privateers at Charlestown,

Charlestown, South Carolina. Whatever this transaction might have been, 'it probably occurred at the commencement of the war, and before the existence of the war was communicated to our government by any of the powers engaged. Had such a transaction been known to the president in time, you can well judge from his actual conduct what he would then have done. His proclamation on the 22d of April, 1793; his call upon the state governors on the 26th of the same month, to co-operate with him in the work of impartiality and peace; the system of rules which he established, and which were imparted to you, are unerring indications of the spirit of those measures on which he had determined. He suppressed the consular courts, which attempted to pass sentences of condemnation on captures; he restored several vessels to British owners; prosecutions have been instituted against the violators of neutrality. In a word, Sir, what has been required, under the sanction of the law of nations, which has not been fulfilled? How many things have been spontaneously done to evince our impartiality? Let me request you to review my predecessor's letters to you of April 22, May 15, June 5, August 7, 8, 25, Sept. 5 and 12, 1793; and to say if more could be well expected from us? After such demonstrations, it might have been hoped that the equipment of these two privateers would not rise again in the shape of a charge. But the letter of the 5th of June being conceived of itself to be satisfactory, is here inserted.

In the letter which I had the honour of writing you on the 15th of May, in answer to your several memorials of the 8th of that month, I mentioned that the president reserved for further consideration a part of the one which related to the equipment of two privateers in the port of Charlestown; the part alluded to was that wherein you express your confidence that the executive government of the United States would pursue measures for repressing such practices in future, and for restoring to their rightful owners any captures which such privateers might bring into the ports of the United States.

The president, after a full investigation of this subject, and the most mature consideration, has charged me to communicate to you, that the first part of this application is found to be just, and that effectual measures are taken for preventing repetitions of the act therein complained of; but that the latter part, desiring restitution of the prizes, is understood to be inconsistent with the rules which govern such cases, and would therefore be unjustifiable towards the other party.

The principal agents in this transaction were French citizens. Being within the United States, at the moment a war broke out between their own and another country, they determine to go in its defence: they purchase arms, and equip a vessel with their own money, man it themselves, receive a regular commission from their
nation,

nation, depart out of the United States, and then commence hostilities by capturing a vessel. If, under these circumstances, the commission of the captors was valid, the property, according to the laws of war, was by the capture transferred to them ; and it would be an aggression on their nation for the United States to rescue it from them, whether on the high seas, or in coming into their ports. If the commission was not valid, and consequently the property not transferred by the laws of war to the captors, then the case would have been cognizable in our courts of admiralty, and the owners might have gone thither for redress ; so that on neither supposition would the executive be justifiable in interposing.

With respect to the United States, the transaction can in no wise be imputed to them. It was in the first moment of the war—in one of their most distant ports—before measures could be provided by the government to meet all the cases which such a state of things was to produce, impossible to have been known, and therefore impossible to have been prevented by that government.

The moment it was known, the most energetic orders were sent to every state and port in the Union, to prevent a repetition of the accident. On a suggestion that citizens of the United States had taken part in the act, one, who was designated, was instantly committed to prison for prosecution ; one or two others have been since named, and committed in like manner ; and should it appear that there were still others, no measures would be spared to bring them to justice. The president has gone even farther ; he has required, as a reparation of their breach of respect to the United States, that the vessels so armed and equipped shall depart from our ports.

You will see, Sir, in these proceedings of the president, unequivocal proofs of the line of strict right which he means to pursue. The measures now mentioned are taken in justice to the one party ; the ulterior measure, of seizing and restoring the prizes, is declined in justice to the other ; and the evil, thus early arrested, will be of very limited effects ; perhaps, indeed, soon disappear altogether.

As to the permission from the governor of South Carolina for the departure of those privateers from port, you may assure yourself of a proper inquiry ; and I take the liberty of requesting any evidence which you may have of it.

3. With so many direct proofs in your hands, of the opinion constantly maintained by our government against the legality of captures in general made by illegal privateers, it is not easily explained why the validity of those before the 5th of June, 1793, should be argued, from a refusal to restore them. The above recited letter of that date neither affirms nor disaffirms their validity ; but declines the granting of restitution, as being inconsistent with

the rules which govern in such cases. These rules are, that if the commission be good, the capture is good ; if the commission be bad, the capture is bad ; but whether it be good or bad is not decided ; it being enough to prove that the transaction, for the reasons assigned, can in no wise be imputed to the United States. But if captures of this kind, prior to the 5th of June, 1793, do really amount (as is conceived by some) to no very considerable value, this would of itself lessen the importance of the insinuation.

4. The secretary of war has undertaken to ascertain the precise state of the privateers *Le Petit Democrate* and *Le Carmagnole*, and the result will be communicated to you. In the mean time it is a matter of some surprize, that vessels, whose single employment and profit must consist in cruizing on the ocean, should have remained in the port of New York during the whole winter, and probably up to the date of your letter (May 22d, 1794.) May it not be presumed, that their activity has been checked by the intervention of the government ? But, Sir, if they have not been dismantled, your letter brings the first notice of the omission.

5. It is true that the sale of prizes made by French cruizers has not been prohibited in the United States, and that our treaty with France has been so interpreted, as not to contemplate a freedom to sell. The next resort was to the law of nations, which was scrupulously searched by the executive, with the pure desire of discovering truth and justice to all. Upon this, as on many other occasions, the civilians differ ; Vattel declaring, that a privateer may carry his prize into a neutral port, and there freely sell it ; Martens affirming the same doctrine, if it has not been otherwise regulated by treaty : and others opposing it. In this schism among the writers, it was resolved by the president of the United States to impose no restraint upon those sales ; and to refer them, as affairs of legislation, to Congress, at the earliest moment of their session. Thus much has been observed, not as my final answer, but merely to introduce an assurance, that I will follow you in the main discussion, whensoever you shall bring it forward in detail.

6. Undoubtedly, Sir, you have been misinformed, that the vessels of France have been permitted to depart from our ports, notwithstanding the embargo. As the history of the executive proceedings is neither long nor entangled, it shall be frankly stated to you. As soon as the embargo was laid, expresses and advice boats were dispatched, to notify the officers of the customs and revenue cutters, and all others concerned in its execution. The resolution imposing it, involved all foreign nations ; the instructions from the president of the United States favoured no nation, directly or indirectly. A French snow, *La Camille*, which had descended the river Delaware as low as Newcastle, on her voyage, was stopped by an officer of the United States, and the president, adhering to perfect impartiality, could not think himself justified, to gratify the
minister

minister of the French Republic with a passport. Passports being kept under the special view of the president, were issued only after his examination of each case ; and the total number of them does not exceed twenty-six. Among them was one to yourself ; one to an agent who was sent to the West Indies, upon a business connected with the late captures and condemnations in various British courts of admiralty ; one to a citizen, whose vessel was under trial in Bermuda, and who was anxious to forward the British instructions of the 8th of January, 1794, with a hope of rescuing her from confiscation ; one to the friends of Joshua Barney, then in Jamaica ; twenty for the accommodation of several unfortunate inhabitants of St. Domingo, to some of whom our government was advancing money for their support, and who could no longer endure their separation from home ; one to some other persons in peculiar circumstances, desirous of returning to the West Indies ; and, in the last instance, one to the minister of the French Republic. If, therefore, by any other passport or permission, the embargo has been relaxed, it was unauthorised by the president, and unlawful. The distance of Hampton Road from this city being more than 300 miles, the officers of government resident here could not learn at the moment what was passing there. No intelligence of an official nature, or of any real importance ; no complaint from any other foreign minister, or any other person, has since reached us. If, Sir, you should happen to possess the information, I ask it as a favour of you to designate who granted the permission, and under what circumstances the French vessels left that road. An investigation, however, has been and shall be pursued, on our part, without delay. If the law has been violated, it shall be vindicated ; but a violation of law is very remote from a permission of the government.

7. The uniformly unfriendly treatment which the British officers are said to have experienced in the United States, cannot be answered until it shall be more explicitly defined. Did this treatment break forth in words or actions not cognizable by law ? If so, no complaint can be offered to government. Or in words or actions which were so cognizable ? Our courts are free to foreigners against citizens, and independent of influence. To yourself let me appeal, that on the representations which you thought proper to lay before the president in relation to the British consul at Baltimore, the British consul at Norfolk, and the commander of the *Dædalus* frigate, the necessary measures were promptly adopted ; the result has been transmitted to you, and no objection has been returned : nor was the government backward in its interference in the late affair of Philadelphia. And these being the only occurrences of the kind within my knowledge, I trust that no example can be produced of government refusing to extend its protection on every seasonable occasion.

8. The

8. The events at Newport, in Rhode-Island, are accurately detailed in the proceedings, which I have the honour of enclosing to you. Within the limits of the present letter, I cannot do more; as it might be an useless task to detain you with my remarks, when none of them might be adapted to the animadversions which you meditate. It is enough, therefore, for me to engage, that these animadversions, whenever they shall appear, shall receive particular attention.

Although, Sir, your charges against the United States are sketched only; the impression, which may have been intended, cannot be counteracted too soon, by such general elucidations, as at a future day may be more minutely unfolded. But let these facts be as they will; are they indicative of a hostile disposition in the United States, and ought they ultimately to produce a state of war? This is not the place for us to report our complaints. But compare them with the whole of your catalogue; and say, what may our feelings be? Yet we prefer peace.

9. As Lord Dorchester's endeavour to stir up the Indians against us is without justification; so is the expedition of Governor Simcoe without pretext.

That you have received no intelligence of such an event having actually occurred, leaves room to conjecture, that you may not be without intelligence of it having been designed; and that it has, therefore, probably taken place. But you insist, that much will depend on the place intended for the fort. Let the point allotted for it on the Miami, be known; the place is for our immediate purpose, adequately marked out by being on that river. A single glance of the eye over the map, proves that its source is within the limits of the United States. In its whole length it is flanked on each side by our territory: its very mouth is to the southward of our line, as recognised by our treaty with his Britannic Majesty. On no part therefore of the rapids can a fort be built, but within our country.

This being fixed, your argument is, that if the fort be for the purpose of protecting subjects of his Majesty, residing in districts dependent on the fort of Detroit, or of preventing that fortress from being straitened by the approach of the American army; the principle of *statu quo*, until the final arrangement of the point in discussion between the two countries shall be concluded, will strictly apply.

To change by hostile movements the condition of a thing, concerning which a treaty is opened, not being consonant with a spirit of adjustment, the principle of *statu quo* has been generally adopted. The nearest point of the rapids to Detroit cannot be less than fifty miles: they have never been considered, they never could be considered, as appending to Detroit. But you proceed to say, that the proposed assumption of territory may depend on

districts which depend on Detroit. It is too obvious to dwell upon the remark, that if Detroit which lies within the United States, becomes the first station from which a district still farther in, may arise, and that from this district another district may be generated, one encroachment may beget another *ad infinitum*. It will, however, be very acceptable to understand with accuracy, how much of our territory towards the Miami was actually possessed by the military establishment of Detroit at the time of peace. I mention the military establishment; because if any subjects of his Britannic Majesty reside beyond the line of actual possession, they are, as being within our limits, under our jurisdiction.

To prevent the fortress of Detroit from being straightened by the approach of the American army, is either a new modification of the preceding idea, or founded upon an untenable suspicion. For the question must recur, are the rapids an appendage to Detroit? Were they connected with it at the peace? If convenience only were to be consulted, and a wide range of unsettled territory, by being suitable to the momentary circumstances of one nation, is to be transferred for that reason alone from another, which is the true proprietor, we might even then controvert the convenience of the rapids to Detroit. If right be consulted, our right is complete. Is then our territory to be thus seized? Nay, more Sir, I am authorised to say to you explicitly, that the American army has no instructions to straighten or annoy that post; and that if the descent on the rapids was dictated by this consideration, it ought to be discontinued, as being without cause.

I have the honor, Sir,

To be with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

Mr. Hammond, Minister
Plenipotentiary of his
Britannic Majesty.

True Copy.

GEO. TAYLOR, jun.

SIR,

Philadelphia, Saturday, 7th June, 1794.

HAVING, in conformity to the assurance expressed in my letter of the 22d ult. immediately transmitted copies of that letter and of your's of the 29th ult. to the governor-general of his Majesty's possessions in North America, to the governor of Upper Canada, and to his Majesty's ministers in England, I concluded that any further communication between us on the subject of those letters would for the present have been suspended: but as you have resumed the discussion at some length in your letter of the 2d current, (which I had the honour of receiving on the afternoon of the 4th,) it is incumbent upon me to reply in detail to the several points
you

you have stated, and which you have been pleased to represent as “ a train of recrimination against the United States ;” although, one alone excepted, I had merely collaterally adverted to them, as referring to the allusion of Lord Dorchester “ to the conduct of this government towards the sea,” and had expressly asserted that I was not disposed to urge them as general topics of recrimination.

I am perfectly willing to reserve for a future period any general discussion that you may institute with regard to the occasions upon, and the degrees to, which “ an explanation may be required by the government of the United States from a foreign minister :” but I must be permitted, Sir, to repeat, that “ I never can acknowledge the right of this government to require from me so categorically as you have required it,” any explanation of measures pursued by other servants of the crown in other departments, over whose actions I have no controul, for whose conduct I am not responsible, and with whom I have no other public connection than that which results from the circumstances of being employed in the service of the same master.

Your extract from Lord Dorchester’s speech appearing to be a partial mutilated citation, inasmuch as it was not a detached, separate position, but a member of a sentence immediately connected with and flowing from parts which preceded it, I esteemed proper to quote the whole passage. From this it is manifest that Lord Dorchester founded his expression, that he should not be surprised if Great Britain was at war with the United States in the course of the present year, on his knowledge of the conduct of the inhabitants of the United States as well on the side of Canada as towards the sea. I therefore, Sir, cannot but imagine that the sense of “ the governor-general” is materially affected by the preliminary words : for certainly there is an evident distinction between the expression of an opinion that the conduct of the United States might eventually lead to a state of hostility between them and Great Britain, and the detached, unconnected assertion, that it would not be a matter of surprise to him, if Great Britain should be at war with the United States, in the course of the present year. With respect to your declaration, that I have not contradicted your “ assertion that Lord Dorchester fostered and encouraged the Indians in hostile dispositions towards the United States,” I have no difficulty in confessing that, as those few words contain the whole of your assertion upon this matter, they really escaped my notice. Had I attended to them, I should certainly not have omitted remarking, that I deduced from the whole tenor of the speech, an inference different from your assertion, which can apply to those passages only of the speech, wherein Lord Dorchester demonstrates his regret at the continuance of the war, and his concern that his hope of a pacification being effected had been disappointed—or to those

in which he alludes to the infringements by American citizens on the territory occupied by his Majesty's arms. In none of those passages, however, has his Lordship expressed any personal sentiment relative to the origin of the Indian war, or to the causes that have hitherto retarded the restoration of peace, which can be construed into a disposition to impute more of blame in either case to one party than the other. But even if I had admitted your assertion to the fullest extent, I could not have been deterred by that consideration from meeting the disquisition, when I reflected, that I could contrast with that assertion a precedent in the annals of the United States of no very ancient date. For it cannot be unknown to you, Sir, that on the 6th of January, 1789, at a period of profound peace between Great Britain and the United States, Governor Sinclair assured the Indians, whom he had convened at Muskingum, that Great Britain at the conclusion of the war had ceded the Indian islands as the price of peace for herself. His words (after an endeavour to explain the nature of the claims of the United States to the lands of the Indians by a comparison adapted to the local relations of the latter) are just so, "Brothers, it was with the British and you. Contrary to your solemn engagements, you joined them in the war against us, and did us much harm. After a long struggle we got the better. They asked for peace, and your lands were given up as part of the price." Surely, Sir, language cannot be devised more capable of inspiring implacable hostility in the Indians than this, which assumes as a fact of notoriety, that at the peace, the British Government abandoned the interests of those whom it had deluded into a co-operation with it during the war, and whose lands it formerly ceded as the price of pacification for itself. Indeed this government seemed afterwards sensible of the impropriety of this language, since the 31st day of July, 1793, Messrs. Lincoln, Randolph, and Pickering, informed the Indians that this construction of the part of the treaty of peace, which settled the boundary between the possessions of Great Britain and those of the United States, was erroneous: "for as the King had not purchased the country of the Indians, he of course could not give it away."

I shall now, Sir, proceed to offer some observations on those parts of your letter which are intended to serve as answers to what you have denominated my "charges."

1st. I have never for a moment denied that the territory on which I represented encroachments to have been committed by the state and individuals of Vermont was within the boundary of the United States; but I presumed that, until the points in discussion between our respective countries should be amicably arranged, no part of the territory occupied by persons residing under the protection of his Majesty's garrisons, should be forcibly wrested

wrested from that protection, either by the enterprizes of the state of Vermont, or by the unauthorised aggressions of individuals. Under this presumption, I addressed my letter of the 5th of July, 1792, to your predecessor, and on the same principle I stated in my letter to you of the 10th of March, 1794, that the grievances of which I then complained, had never been redressed. It is true that nineteen months elapsed between the dates of those different letters; but if from this circumstance it be inferred as a matter deserving of attention, that during this space “ this Government never understood from myself or any other authority of his Britannic Majesty, that the original dissatisfaction continued, it is no less remarkable that I should never have received any thing but assurances that that source of dissatisfaction should be removed, and that in this interval and to this moment, no facts of it having been removed have ever been communicated to me by your predecessor or yourself, to oppose those which I formerly advanced, and have since repeated. Through casual channels of communication, I had collected that the interposition of the government had not produced the effect, which from its assurances, I had expected, but the evidence did not appear to me of importance sufficient to found any complaint upon it. The first authentic intimation of these circumstances was, indeed, communicated to me by Lord Dorchester in a letter which I received three or four days antecedently to the date of mine to you of the 10th of March, and in which his lordship, who had not long before returned from England, acquainted me that those encroachments, the first acts of which had occurred during his absence, still continued unredressed. Here it is necessary for me to observe, with respect to your repetition of the assertion you advanced in your letter of the 20th ult. of the Indians to whom his speech was addressed, having been assembled by Lord Dorchester’s directions, that unless your means of intelligence are more accurate than mine, I entertain a firm conviction, that the information on which you have founded your assertion, is totally erroneous. For I can assure you, Sir, that I have reason to believe that those Indians were not assembled by Lord Dorchester, but that the speech in question was an answer to a message brought by a deputation of Indians, who had proceeded to Quebec, spontaneously and unsolicited by his lordship. This belief is farther confirmed by the second paragraph of the speech itself, “ children, you have informed me that you are deputed by the seven villages of Lower Canada, &c.” I shall not however dwell on this part of your letter, as the passage of it to which I have last referred connected with the succeeding sentence—“ although it cannot be by any means believed that this was written in order to usher in the intelligence which soon after arrived of his speech, yet it is difficult to

account

account for so long an interval under the circumstances supposed" —seem to convey an insinuation so unmerited, that I feel too much the respect that I owe to the court which I have the honour of serving, and to my own character, to urge farther any argument which might be construed into a solicitude to refute it. Though your letter of the 29th of April, after a delay of 50 days, may not be regarded as an assent to any charge I had made, I nevertheless do not esteem myself guilty of any impropriety in having imagined that that space of time might have enabled you to return me an answer more conclusive than a renewal of the assurances which I had received nearly two years before. You will, I am persuaded, Sir, recollect that in almost every conversation which I had with you during this interval, I requested you to acquaint me when I might expect a reply to my letter, and that you imputed the delay to the pressure of other business and to a desire of obtaining some information from Mr. Williamson of the Genessee country who was then in town. To this last circumstance you have alluded in your answers of the 29th of April; but however accurate might be the knowledge of Mr. Williamson, or of any other private gentleman, of the places to which I had referred, I cannot avoid remarking, that in the course of fifty days such evidence might have been obtained from the highest public authority of Vermont (the Governor) as would have either confirmed or contradicted the facts I had specified.

2d. In adverting to the privateers illegally fitted out at Charlestown, and allowed to depart from that port under the express permission of the governor of South Carolina, I surely cannot have been considered as imputing that aggression to the general government. But when Lord Dorchester had alluded to "the conduct of American citizens towards the sea," this transaction naturally occurred to me, as indicative of the existence of an hostile disposition to the powers combined against France in the chief magistrate and in individuals of the state of South Carolina: and I trust you are yourself convinced from evidence which I have recently submitted to you, that that disposition continues to exist unimpaired. How far Mr. Jefferson's letter of the 5th of June appeared satisfactory to me, you will collect from my memorial of the 7th of the same month in answer to it, which (in conformity to your example) I subjoin to this letter. From that memorial it is evident, that though I rendered justice to the assurances of the general government, I recited as matters of notoriety the different facts of the illegal equipment of the privateers in question, and expressly and unequivocally asserted, as a circumstance equally notorious, that "they were suffered to pass the fort near Charlestown under a written permission from the governor of South Carolina." I have never yet

yet learned, however, that any inquiry has been instituted into the conduct of that officer from any quarter whatsoever.

3d. From the same paper it is also evident that I have never acquiesced in the propriety of the determination of this government not to restore vessels captured previously to the 5th of June—as well as for the reasons which I have here stated, as because I have never perfectly comprehended the principles which could legalize the prizes antecedently to that period, and invalidate those which were made subsequently to it. The list of those prizes annexed to the memorial will evince that (whatever may have been “conceived by some”), their value was not inconsiderable. But even if their amount had been less considerable, the question in a national point of view could not have been effected by that circumstance.

4th. I derive great satisfaction from your assurance that “the secretary of war has undertaken to ascertain the precise state of the privateers, *Le Petit Democrat* and *La Carmagnol*,” since from the latest accounts I have received from New York, I am inclined to apprehend that they both continue there completely armed, have numerous crews on board, and are in every respect in a condition immediately to proceed to sea. It is indeed a matter of some surprize that they should have so long remained in that port, but it is not less singular that you should regard my letter of the 22d ultimo, as “bringing the first notice of the omission of their having been dismantled:” for if you refer to a letter from me to your predecessor of the 27th of December, 1793, you will find the following expressions:

“The dangers to be apprehended from these last mentioned vessels” (privateers illegally fitted out in ports of the United States) “still continues to exist to a very alarming degree. Since, notwithstanding the repeated assurances I have received from the federal government of its determination to exclude those privateers from any future asylum in its ports, and the sincerity of its desire to enforce this determination, I have reason to infer that in other quarters means have been successfully devised either to elude its vigilance or to render nugatory its injunctions. This inference arises from the information I have received—that the privateers *Le Citoyen Genet* fitted out at Charlestown, was on the 21st of August last permitted to return to the port of Philadelphia for the second time; to remain there some days, and then to proceed to sea for the purpose of commencing new depredations, which, as it appears from the public prints, she is now prosecuting in the adjacent seas—that the *Le Petit Democrat* and *La Carmagnol*, both fitted out in the Delaware, were permitted to enter the port of New York, and to continue therein unmolested during a great part of the months of August, September and October last—that the latter vessel is

still in that port ; and that the former, having sailed from thence in company with the French fleet, under the command of Admiral Sercy, and having separated from it at sea, proceeded first to Boston, and afterwards returned for a second time to New York, where she at present remains.

I have thought it my duty to state these last mentioned particulars in the manner in which they have been communicated to me ; but if my information has been erroneous, it will afford me the sincerest pleasure to have my error corrected.

5th. As you have not controverted the propriety of my alluding to the permission of this government to the commanders of French armed ships to dispose of their prizes by sale in the ports of the United States, but have admitted that “ your treaty with France has been so interpreted as not to contemplate a freedom to sell,” and that writers on the law of nations entertain different sentiments upon the subject, it is necessary for me to make only one remark, that as by the treaty with France, prizes made by vessels belonging to the greatest part of the powers combined against her are excluded from admission into the American ports, the operation of the permission to sell, that was granted by the government, has been partial, and has been solely beneficial to France.

6th. In my assertion that the vessels of France had been permitted to depart from Hampton roads, notwithstanding the imposition and continuance of the embargo, I certainly did not mean to insinuate that they were allowed to sail under an express permission from the government ; but it is a fact of universal notoriety, that the whole of the convoy under Rear-admiral Vanstale, amounting to about one hundred and fifty-six vessels (including ships of war and merchant ships) did sail from Hampton roads on the 17th of April, although the imposition of the embargo had been known there for more than a fortnight antecedently to that date, and had been rigidly enforced with respect to all other merchant ships whatsoever : and I really cannot perceive any very material distinction between an implied permission to those particular French vessels to depart from Hampton roads, and a neglect of employing any coercive means of preventing them from departing. But I must farther remark, that not only these French vessels were not so prevented, but also, that on the 7th of April, Rear-admiral Vanstale issued an order to Mr. John Cooper (an American citizen) forcibly to take possession of the American brig Venus, which was laden with flour on account of the French government, and which was detained in Norfolk harbour in consequence of the embargo—that in conformity to this order, Mr. Cooper forcibly took possession of the brig Venus, and on the 8th of April delivered her to Rear-admiral Vanstale ; and that Mr. Wilson, lieutenant-colonel commandant of Norfolk county, whose duty it was to prevent any infraction of the law, previously (on the 5th of April) gave his
official

official sanction to the propriety of this vessel's (the *Venus*) proceeding to join the French fleet, notwithstanding the provisions of the embargo. The whole of this transaction is contained in the inclosed copies, from authenticated documents in my possession, of the letters of Rear-admiral Vanstable, Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Wilson. At the very moment when these measures of partiality and favour were pursued at Norfolk towards the French ships, the most scrupulous caution was, as I before stated, employed to prevent any other vessels from contravening the embargo. One or two which had attempted to sail immediately after the receipt of the intelligence of its being imposed, were brought back and detained during its continuance : and a small schooner named the *Berry*, belonging to, or being under the direction of Mr. Hamilton, his Majesty's consul at Norfolk, was on the 5th of April forcibly seized and stripped of her sails, by order of a General Matthews, under pretence that she was preparing to elude the embargo, although Mr. Hamilton had assured General Matthews that it was not his intention to allow the vessel to depart until its expiration : although no master was appointed nor any seamen engaged for her, nor had she any provisions or water on board. From this minute statement of the transaction in the only port to which I alluded, I conceive myself fully justified in having adverted to the conduct which had been observed by this government, or the officers acting under its authority, towards the powers combined against France in the enforcement of the embargo.

7th. With respect to the uniformly unfriendly treatment which British officers have experienced in the ports of the United States, I had, exclusively of those instances, on which I have addressed specific complaints to you, several other cases of a similar nature in my contemplation, which it is needless for me at the present to enumerate. They are, however, all of them imputable solely to the unauthorized aggressions and insults of individuals, and not in any manner to any ill disposition in the government itself. In fact, in no instance whatsoever, have any British officers been implicated in any kind of immediate original discussion with the government, except in the case of the passport which I solicited in behalf of certain British officers, who were prisoners of war ; anxious on every consideration to return to their native country ; and which was refused.

8th. I consider the insult offered at Newport to his Majesty's sloop of war *Nautilus*, to have been unparalleled, since the measures pursued there were directly contrary to the principles, which in all the civilized states regulate cases of this nature ; for if on the arrival of a ship of war in a European port, information be given that the ship of war has on board subjects of the sovereign of that port, application is made to the officer commanding her who himself conducts the investigation, and if he discovers that any such

subjects be on board of his vessel, he immediately releases them ; but if he be not satisfied that there be any such, his declaration to that effect, on his word of honour, is universally credited. But the legislature and judges of the state of Rhode Island refused to accept the assurances of the commander of the Nautilus, or to allow him to originate or prosecute the inquiry himself, and forcibly detained him and his lieutenant prisoners, by virtue of the act of assembly, until the vessel was searched, and the American or pretended American seamen were liberated. I am certainly not inclined to dispute the merit which the governor of Rhode Island ascribes to himself for limiting the supplies granted to the Nautilus to such an amount as was merely necessary to carry her to her destined port, though this limitation in the stipulations of the treaty with France is confined to privateers only, and does not extend to royal or national ships of war.—But I must contend that those individuals of the legislative or judiciary departments of Rhode Island, who were concerned in this transaction, conducted themselves neither with moderation, with decency, nor with that respect which was due to the commander of a vessel belonging to a sovereign with whom their country was at peace.

9th. Having in the preceding part of this letter vindicated Lord Dorchester from the accusation of his having “endeavoured to stir up the Indians against the United States,” it is needless for me to enlarge upon that topic. In regard to the expedition of Governor Simcoe, as I have really no accurate knowledge of the precise situation, in which it is asserted that officer has erected or intends to erect a fort, so I must desire to decline all further discussion upon this subject, until I shall receive such information from Governor Simcoe, or from the Governor-general of his Majesty’s possessions in North America, as will enable me to enter into correct and definite explanations of the measures they may have pursued in this respect. But from the distinguished character and reputation of both those officers, I entertain no doubt that whatever those measures may have been, they will appear to have been adopted on a sense of their expediency, and to have been prosecuted on just and equitable principles.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

GEO. HAMMOND,

On board the Tigre, Monday,
being the 7th of April, 1794.

(COPY.)

MR. COOPER,

I HAVE repeatedly sent to the captain and owners of the snow Venus, now lying in Norfolk, to proceed in Hampton roads, being chartered

chartered by T. H. Le Compté and Richard Gernon, agents for the French Republic, who have shipped on her nineteen hundred barrels of flour on account of the Republic, as appears by Captain M'Connell's receipts. But to this moment I have not seen the said snow, and am informed she does not intend to join my convoy; I then request you, Sir, to order and see her under way, and should she not obey your orders, I request you to force her to proceed, being my duty to take all French property under my convoy.

Your friend,

VANSTABLE.

John Cooper, Esq. commander of
the ship Vanstable, at Norfolk.

The above is a true copy of General Vanstable's orders to me, and in consequence of which I take possession of the snow Venus, in order to deliver her to General Vanstable, now on board the Tigre, in Hampton road.

(Signed)

JOHN COOPER.

I, John Cooper, commander of the ship Vanstable, lying in the port of Norfolk and Portsmouth, do hereby certify that I have taken possession of the snow Venus, commanded by Alexander M'Connell, laden with 1900 barrels of flour, on freight for the French Republic, agreeable to General Vanstable's orders, to proceed to join his convoy: and to proceed to France, a sight of the General's orders previously shewn to Captain M'Connell by me.

(Signed)

JOHN COOPER.

April 8th, 1794.

SIR,

Ship Tigre, April 5th, 1794.

GENERAL Vanstable tells me you are under his convoy—
You have therefore a right to come down and join the fleet.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. WILSON.

Capt. M'Connell, brig Venus.

SIR,

Philadelphia, 10th June, 1794.

AS I did not receive your letter dated the 2d current, until late in the afternoon of the 4th, I was incapacitated by that circumstance from returning you an answer on an earlier day than Saturday last.

K k k 2

But

But your letter having been printed, I venture to hope from the President's impartiality and candour, that he will be pleased to direct my answer also to be published.

I have honour to be,

With great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GEO. HAMMOND.

The Secretary of State.

SIR,

Philadelphia, June 10th, 1794.

BEFORE I had the honour of receiving your letter of this date, I had requested and obtained from the President of the United States permission to publish your other letter of the 7th inst. and it was immediately given.—The clerks in my department having been particularly engaged to-day, the transcription for the press shall be begun to-morrow.

Being at present anxious only to make a few observations on a matter of fact, permit me to sum up the material parts of your reasoning in this short reply ; that neither the whole passage of Lord Dorchester's speech, nor the whole speech itself, nor yet the manner of the Indians assembling, whether by invitation, or of their own accord, varies the hostile tendency of the sentence which I quoted ; that when the conduct of Governor St. Clair, in 1789, and of the commissioners in 1793, is introduced as a justification of the effort on the part of Lord Dorchester to the extent which I have ascribed to him, it may be answered, among many other considerations, that you have, perhaps unintentionally, afforded room to suppose, that this effort was dictated by a spirit of reprisal ; that if the measures of the governor or of the commissioners, which were directed to peace for ourselves with the savages, not to war against any other nation, had been justly exceptionable, they would have been probably remonstrated against before this day ; that it might be reasonably presumed that the dissatisfaction expressed against the people of Vermont was removed, after an acquiescence of nineteen months without a complaint ; since we could communicate from hence nothing on that head which was not better known, to those who were on the spot ; that the declaration in my letter of the 2d inst. was not that my predecessor's letter of the 5th June, 1792, was satisfactory to you, but only that it was conceived of itself to be satisfactory ; that there is a clear distinction between an express permission to sell prizes, and the not prohibiting of such sales, when the writers on the law of nations were divided on the right so to prohibit ; that we must wait further facts before the insinuation concerning the embargo is again discussed ; but that any unlawful violation of an embargo, or the want of coercive means for preventing a fleet of 156 vessels, including ships of war and merchandize,

merchandize, from departing from Hampton road, which is not many miles distant from the sea, is not even an implied permission; that the fate of the small schooner Berry is no other than the fate of the French snow La Camille; that, as you impute all the instances of ill treatment to the British officers, to which you have alluded, "Solely to the unauthorized aggressions and insults of individuals, and not in any manner to any ill disposition in the government itself," it is enough to repeat the freedom and probity of our courts for granting full redress to suitors of every nation; that it was the incontrovertible privilege of our government to refuse the passport solicited for the British officers, without infringing its maxims of impartiality; and that no sense of expediency can justify a further penetration into our territory.

The matter of fact, to which I have now referred, respects your letter of the 27th of December, 1793. It was received before I came into office; filed away with an indorsement indicating it to be unnecessary for me to act upon it; and marked as relating to the vessel Hope only. The contents of your letters having been generally noted on the back with accuracy, it was imagined that no other case than that of the Hope was contained in this letter, and that it was unconnected with the question before us. This then will account for the passing of it over, if indeed it should be necessary to do so, when it is not contended that from the 27th of December, 1793, to the 22d of May, 1794, near five months, our government heard any thing from yourself upon the subject; and when during the time of those privateers continuing idle in the port of New York, they could be of no injury to their enemies. I trust, however, that I shall soon be in a capacity of transmitting to you the whole transaction.

Reserving for a future examination and a less pressing moment your comments upon the affair of Rhode Island,

I have the honour, Sir, to be,

With great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

The Minister Plenipotentiary
of his Britannic Majesty.

Department of State, 12th June, 1794.

I HEREBY certify that the foregoing letters of 7th and 10th inst. with the inclosure in the former from Mr. Hammond, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, to the Secretary of State, together with the Secretary of State's answer of the 10th inst. are true copies of the originals on file in the office of the department of state.

GEO. TAYLOR, jun.

Mr.

Mr. Randolph to Mr. Hammond, on Governor Simcoe's Conduct.

SIR,

Philadelphia, September 1, 1794.

IF, after the information upon which my letter of the 20th May, 1794, was founded, any considerable doubt had remained of Governor Simcoe's invasion, your long silence, without a refutation of it, and our more recent intelligence forbid us to question its truth: it is supported by the respectable opinions which have been since transmitted to the executive, that, in the late attack on Fort Recovery, British officers and British soldiers were on the very ground aiding our Indian enemies.

But, Sir, as if the governor of Upper Canada was resolved to destroy every possibility of disbelieving his hostile views, he has sent to the Great Sodus, a settlement begun on a bay of the same name on Lake Ontario, a command to Captain Williamson, who derives a title from the state of New York, to desist from his enterprise. This mandatè was borne by Lieutenant Sheaffe under a military escort; and in its tone corresponds with the form of its delivery, being unequivocally of a military and hostile nature.

Declaration of Lieutenant Sheaffe, in his Britannic Majesty's Service, to Captain Williamson, in the Service of the United States.

I AM commanded to declare, that, during the inexecution of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, and until the existing differences respecting it shall be mutually and finally adjusted, the taking possession of any part of the Indian territory, either for the purposes of war or sovereignty, is held to be a direct violation of his Britannic Majesty's rights, as they unquestionably existed before the treaty, and has an immediate tendency to interrupt, and in its progress to destroy, that good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America. I therefore require you to desist from any such aggressions.

R. H. SHEAFFE, Lieutenant 5th Regiment of Foot, and Q. M. G. D. of his Britannic Majesty's service.

G. Sodus, August 16, 1794.

Captain

Captain Williamson being from home, a letter was written to him by Lieutenant Sheaffe, in the following words :

SIR,

Sodus, August 16, 1794.

HAVING a special commission, and instructions for that purpose, from the lieutenant-governor of his Britannic Majesty's province of Upper Canada, I have come here to demand by what authority an establishment has been ordered at this place, and to require that such a design be immediately relinquished, for the reasons stated in the written declaration accompanying this letter, for the receipt of which protest I have taken the acknowledgment of your agent, Mr. Little. I regret exceedingly, in my private as well as public character, that I have not the satisfaction of seeing you here ; but I hope, on my return, which will be about a week hence, to be more fortunate.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

R. H. SHEAFFE,

Lieutenant 5th regiment, Q. M. G. D.

The position of Sodus is represented to be seventy miles within the territorial line of the United States, about twenty from Oswego, and about one hundred from Niagara.

For the present all causes of discontent, not connected with our western territory, shall be laid aside ; and even among these shall not be revived the root of our complaints, the detention of the posts.

But, while peace is sought by us through every channel which honour permits, the governor of Upper Canada is heaping irritation upon irritation. He commenced his operations of enmity at the rapids of the Miami ; he next associated British with Indian force to assault our fort ; he now threatens us, if we fell our own trees and build houses on our own lands. To what length may not Governor Simcoe go ? Where is the limit of the sentiment which gave birth to these intrusions ? Where is the limit of the principle which Governor Simcoe avow ?

The treaty, and all its appendages, we have submitted to fair discussion more than two years ago. To the letter of my predecessor, on the 29th of May, 1792, you have not been pleased to make a reply ; except that on the 20th June, 1793, the 22d November, 1793, and 21st February, 1794, no instructions had arrived from your court. To say the best of this suspension, it certainly cannot warrant any new encroachments, however it may recommend to us forbearance under the old.

It is not for the governors of his Britannic Majesty to interfere with the measures of the United States towards the Indians within their territory. You cannot, Sir, be insensible that it has
grown

grown into a maxim, that the affairs of the Indians within the boundaries of any nation exclusively belong to that nation. But Governor Simcoe, disregarding this right of the United States, extends the line of usurpation in which he marches, by referring to the ancient and extinguished rights of his Britannic Majesty. For, if the existing condition of the treaty keeps them alive on the southern side of Lake Ontario, the Ohio itself will not stop the career.

You will pardon me, Sir, if, under these excesses of Governor Simcoe, I am not discouraged by your having formally disclaimed a control over, and a responsibility for, the governors of his Britannic Majesty, from resorting to you on this occasion. You are addressed from a hope, that, if he will not be restrained by our remonstrances, he may at least be apprized through you of the consequences of self-defence.

I am, &c. &c.

EDWARD RANDOLPH.

To Mr. Hammond, Minister
Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty.

SIR,

New-York, 3d September, 1794.

I THIS day received your letter of the 1st current, copies of which I will transmit, by the earliest opportunities that may occur, to Lieutenant-governor Simcoe, and to his Majesty's ministers in England.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

The Secretary of State.

GEO. HAMMOND.

From Governor Simcoe to Mr. Hammond.

UPPER CANADA.

SIR,

Navy Hall, Oct. 20, 1794.

I WAS last night honoured with your Excellency's dispatch, inclosing the copy of a letter to you from Mr. Randolph, secretary of state, dated on the 1st of September, and your answer, which intimates the intention of transmitting it to me by the first opportunity.

It appears upon the perusal of Mr. Randolph's letter, that I am called upon by the respect due to his official situation, publicly to state the misrepresentations of that gentleman; and on this consideration, not to pass them over in that silence which
would

would otherwise best become the language and manner which the Secretary of State permits himself to make use of in his animadversions on my conduct.

My having executed the orders of his Majesty's commander in chief in North America, Lord Dorchester, in re-occupying a post upon the Miami river, within the limits of those maintained by the British forces, at the peace in the year 1783, upon the principles of self-defence, against the approaches of an army which menaced the King's possessions, is what I presume Mr. Secretary Randolph terms "Governor Simcoe's invasion."

The motives which led to this re-occupation furnish the true grounds for discussion; but the establishment of a military post, from its own nature, must have been so unquestionable, as not to have required from you, Sir, on the part of Mr. Randolph, an avowal or a denial; nor does it appear to me, that he has introduced so public an event as a matter of doubt in itself, but solely as a ground-work for ushering into the world "opinions" transmitted to the executive government of the United States, which, however respectable, are but "opinions," that British officers and British soldiers aided an attack made by the Indians on Fort Recovery. Such an insinuation, Sir, introduced as subsidiary evidence of a fact which required no proof, will, undoubtedly, on the undiscerning, impress a belief that the British troops, instead of adhering to that principle of self-defence on which a post at the Miami was re-established, were united in arms with the Indians in an attack upon a post held by the United States.

As if to promote such a belief, Mr. Randolph proceeds to comment on the protest delivered to Mr. Williamson at the harbour of the Great Sodus; he terms this protest, which I transmitted in obedience to Lord Dorchester's orders, "a mandate borne by Lieutenant Sheaffe, under a military escort, and in its tone corresponding with the form of its delivery, being unequivocally of a military and hostile nature."

Mr. Randolph seems peculiarly anxious to consider every transaction of the King's government, in its mode, as well as in its substance, as hostility, otherwise he could not but have seen in the protest delivered by Lieut. Sheaffe to Mr. Williamson, not a tone of hostility, but a spirit of conciliation, explanatory of the just principle on which the settlement in question is termed an aggression; the inexecution of the treaty on the part of the United States: nor is it possible to conceive that less offensive language could be made use of, consistent with the formality necessary to substantiate a protest, requiring the suspension of the exercise of a controverted claim.

Had Mr. Secretary Randolph made due inquiry, he would have found that the military escort consisted of an officer ex-

preſſly ſent to accompany Lieut. Sheaffe, and ſeven perſons to row the boat, ſoldiers moſt certainly, but unarmed, without military habiliments, and in the dreſs they wear for the purpoſes of fatigue. It alſo might be preſumed from Lieut. Sheaffe's letter, that he was perſonally acquainted with Capt. Wiſſamſon, and in truth this circumſtance was of ſome weight in the appointment.

The general language and conduct of Mr. Wiſſamſon, particularly in the propoſals of his ſpeculation at the Sodus, have, of late, manifeſted a diſpoſition ſo incompatible with thoſe views of conciliation which are the true intereſts of Great Britain and the United States, that it became proper to ſelect ſuch a perſon as Mr. Sheaffe for this duty, being a gentleman of great diſcretion, incapable of any intemperate or uncivil conduct, and certainly not diſqualified by being a lieutenant in his Maſteſty's ſervice.

Such, Sir, are the circumſtances of this tranſaction, which Mr. Randolph is pleaſed to term my "hoſtile views."

The following paragraphs do not ſeem to require illuſtration: it can eſcape no perſon that what in the beginning of Mr. Randolph's letter to you he has ſtated as reſpectable "opinions," tranſmitted to the executive government, is no longer confined to "opinions;" but the Secretary of State aſſerts, as a matter of fact, "that the governor of Upper Canada aſſociated Britiſh with Indian force to aſſault our fort."

In reſpect to Mr. Randolph's aſſertion, and his appeal to you, Sir, that "it is grown into a maxim that the affairs of the Indians within the boundaries of any nation, excluſively belong to that nation," I cannot admit ſo general and ſo novel a principle, as applicable either to the territory or boundary under conſideration; I do not recogniſe its birth, nor any ſtate of its exiſtence. It will be difficult for the Secretary of State to prove, that it has governed the conduct of the United States; it is not to be found in the expreſs provisions of the treaty of Utrecht; it was never aſſumed by the Britiſh nation prior to that compact; it is incompatible with the natural rights, and injurious to the acknowledged independency of the Indian Americans.

The Britiſh government has not involved itſelf in diſputes with the Indians by acting in ſo vague and indeterminate a manner: it has ever done juſtice to their natural rights; nor has it violated the ſtipulations purpoſely made for their ſupport and definition; in conſequence of ſuch an uniform conduct, Sir, the Indians are conſtantly ſolicitous for the preſence of ſome of the King's officers or ſubjects at their public meetings; and I have the moſt full perſuaſion, that had the United States concurred with the confederacy in their requeſt, that the King would extend his good offices to the mediating power between
them

them in the present war, and that in consequence his Majesty had graciously permitted as requested, or with more obvious propriety, yourself, to have been present at the late treaty; in such a case, I am confident that peace would have been established on this continent, to the satisfaction of the United States, and the comfort of the Indian nations; and scarcely in a lesser degree to the benefit of his Majesty's subjects in this province, who are materially interested that their neighbours should on all sides flourish in wealth, peace, and prosperity.

As the close of the Secretary of State's letter seems intended through you, Sir, "to apprize me of the consequences of self-defence, should I not be restrained by remonstrances," the date of it cannot possibly escape my notice; it bears that of the 1st day of September, and on the 22d of August General Wayne advanced to the post at the Miami, laid waste the possessions of the King's subjects under its protection, and summoned it to surrender. It may here be proper to observe, that so ill informed was that officer of the very principles on which he made his invasion, or "self-defence," that in his summons he requires "the garrison to remove to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty in 1783." Had this requisition been complied with, the garrison must have advanced up the Miami river into the Indian country, beyond the post whose evacuation had been demanded.

The discretion, good conduct, and magnanimity of Major Campbell, the commander of that garrison, prevented the commencement of war, and all its dreadful consequences.

Upon the comparison of circumstances, the march of General Wayne, the date of Mr. Randolph's letter, I cannot but conjecture that it was written not to remonstrate against "my excesses," but to prepare the minds of men for whatever consequences might have arisen from the movement of General Wayne's army; and could the temperate forbearance of Major Campbell, and the event of the enterprize have been foreseen, (if I may be permitted to revert to the object of this letter) I cannot believe that I should have been spared the necessity of taking notice of Mr. Secretary Randolph's publication, or of controverting the assumptions of a gentleman for whom I have always entertained the most profound respect.

To all, Sir, who knew my private sentiments, to yourself, Sir, who are acquainted with my public conduct, to his Majesty's ministers, and the officer chief in command, who have approved of my strict adherence to their orders, and the consequent impartiality which I have maintained between the United States and the Indian Americans, any justification or exposition of my sentiments is unnecessary; even Mr. Secretary Randolph has officially in his possession sufficient proofs of my good will to

the government and people of the United States. They ought to have sheltered me from the imputations to which I have been exposed. I have ever shewn the utmost inclination to cultivate the most perfect harmony between his Majesty's subjects and those of the United States; and have looked forward to an honourable termination of existing differences with the most anxious solicitude.

From Mr. Randolph to Mr. Hammond.

SIR,

Philadelphia, Nov. 30, 1794.

UNDER any aspect of the affairs of the United States in relation to Great Britain, I should decline a discussion with the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. The minister of his Britannic Majesty is the proper correspondent for the Secretary of State, upon subjects affecting their two nations; and his communications will be always received with the attention due to his character, and with a temper flowing from a love of truth and of harmony.

But before I could enter, Sir, even with yourself, into any examination of the letter which the Lieutenant-governor thought proper to address to you on the 20th ultimo, I should take the liberty of asking, whether it has been transmitted to me as a paper which I am free to estimate according to its merits, by waving a reply, without violating my respect for your functions; or whether it is adopted as the sense of your government? This preliminary inquiry would be rendered absolutely necessary; since on a former occasion you disavowed a responsibility for the conduct of the British governors in Canada; and in your letter of the 27th inst. enclosing that of the Lieutenant-governor, you leave it too uncertain how far you approve its doctrines, its assertions, and its statements.

If it is to be understood, that to all these your assent is given, and it were expedient now to revive our former controversy, I should request you to define precisely, what is meant by the apology for the fort at the Rapids of the Miami, as being the "re-occupying of a post upon the Miami river, within the limits of those maintained by the British forces, at the peace in the year 1783." I should urge an explicit declaration, whether British officers and soldiers did or did not aid the attack made by the Indians on Fort Recovery; and would at the same time detail the evidence, upon which we have been induced to believe it. I should beg to be informed how the nature and spirit of the mandate, borne by two British officers and seven British soldiers, were in fact, or on principle, transformed into the garb of peace, by the absence of arms, and "military habiliments," the dress
of

of fatigue, or the friendship of Lieutenant Sheaffe for Mr. Williamson. I should wish to know whether Governor Simcoe derives from his instructions, or any other warrant of his Britannic Majesty, an authority to deny that it is inadmissible for one nation to intermeddle with the Indians within the territories of another.

I should oppose the conclusion, that what may not be found in the treaty of Utrecht does not exist, under the sanction of the law of nations, and especially in regard to the usages of America. But, for reasons which may be easily conceived, I would not, without the most clear necessity, recur to the circumstance which prevented a treaty with the northern tribes of Indians in the last year. Nor should I waste a moment in refuting the suspicion, that my letter of the 1st of September was "written to prepare the minds of men for whatever consequences might have arisen from the movement of General Wayne's army," because on the 20th of May I complained of the erection of the fort, and you were then informed that the army of the United States, in their march against the enemy, would not be able to distinguish between them and any other people associated in the war.

These, however, and many other striking features in the letter, and conduct of Governor Simcoe, will, I hope, at no distant day, be consigned to oblivion by the reparation of our injuries, and the restitution of our rights. Until, therefore, I shall be disappointed in this hope, I shall not willingly open a new source of altercation.

From Mr. Hammond to Mr. Randolph.

SIR, *Philadelphia, Dec. 1, 1794, four o'clock, P. M.*

IN answer to your letter of yesterday, which I have this moment received, it is expedient for me merely to remark, in addition to the motives that I have already assigned, as inducing me to transmit to you a copy of the letter addressed to me by the Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada; that, as in your letter of the 1st December, you considered me to be the proper medium of conveying to that officer the remonstrances of this government against his conduct, I am not sensible that I have been guilty of any impropriety in communicating to you, in lieutenant-governor Simcoe's own language, his expositions of the principles by which he was actuated in the two transactions, on which you had especially animadverted.

Being equally unwilling with yourself, Sir, "now to revive our former controversy," or, "to open new sources of altercation,"

tion," and persevering in my resolution, (from which I trust I have not deviated in this instance) not to esteem myself responsible for the conduct of his Majesty's officers in Canada, or in any other of the King's possessions, it is totally unnecessary for me to express my personal approbation of, or dissent from, "the doctrines, assertions, and statements," contained in Lieutenant-governor Simcoe's letter.

From the London Gazette, Oct. 18, 1794.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-governor Simcoe, to Mr. Secretary Dundas, dated Navyhall, August 30, 1794.

I TAKE an opportunity of sending this dispatch by means of Mr. Hammond, to whom I lose no time in giving information of the important event, that Mr. Wayne, with the army of the United States, penetrated to the fort at the Miami, which he summoned to surrender, and upon Major Campbell's refusal, at present appears to have retreated.

It is impossible to express the sense I entertain of Major Campbell's most wise, firm, and temperate conduct, in his very peculiar and difficult situation: such notice as the military part of it highly deserves, I presume will be offered to you by Lord Dorchester, who must be fully competent to judge of its merit; but I should do injustice to myself, did I not state to you, Sir, my humble and earnest hope that the conduct of this gentleman, which in substance may have prevented the greatest miseries to the province under my government, and who in his manner and language, has, in a very trying situation, most nobly supported the national character, will recommend him to your attention, and be found worthy of his Majesty's approbation.

Proclamation at Trenton, Nov. 10, 1794.

WHEREAS it has been officially communicated to me, that Mr. Fauchet, minister of the French Republic, apprehends, from circumstances which have been experienced, that unless prompt and decisive measures are adopted in the several ports of the United States, with regard to vessels hostile to the French nation and bringing in French prizes, the 17th article of the treaty of commerce between that nation and the United States will become null, which article is expressed in the following words: "it shall be lawful for the ships of war of either party, and privateers, freely to carry whithersoever they please, the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged

to pay any duty to the officers of the admiralty, or any other judges, nor shall such prizes be arrested or seized when they enter the ports of either party, nor shall the searchers or other officers of those places search the same, or make examination concerning the lawfulness of such prizes, but they may hoist sail at any time, and depart, and carry their prizes to the places expressed in their commissions, which the commanders of such ships of war shall be obliged to shew; on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports, to such as shall have made prizes of the subjects, people, or property of either parties; but if such shall come in, being forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea, all proper means shall be vigorously used that they go out and retire from thence as soon as possible."

And whereas it is the duty and interest of this state, as a constituent member of the union, with sincerity and good faith to observe solemn stipulations, I have thought proper, by and with the advice of the honourable the privy council of the state, to issue this proclamation, hereby requiring the citizens of this state carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene the said article, enjoining all officers civil and military, according to the duties of their respective stations, to be vigilant and active in preventing any infraction thereof. And I do by these presents further require the officers of the different ports within this state, to report to the executive of the state, from time to time, the conduct of any person or persons who may be guilty of any violation of the injunction aforesaid, should any such there be.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at arms, at Trenton, the eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the independence of the said state, the nineteenth.

THOMAS HENDERSON.

By the Vice-President,
Tho. Adams, Sec.

From the London Gazette, Nov. 22, 1794.

Downing-street, Nov. 19.

THIS day a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Majesty and the United States of America, was signed by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, being duly authorised for that purpose on his Majesty's part, and the Honourable John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having like authority on the part of the said States.

In the Sitting of the National Convention of France on the 14th of August, 1794, the following Letter was read :

James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, to the Citizen President of the National Convention of the French Republic.

CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

HAVING arrived some days ago, with a commission from the President of the United States of America to represent those states, in quality of minister plenipotentiary to the French Republic, and not being informed of the competent department, or of the forms established by law to recognize my character, I thought it my duty to make known my mission directly to the representatives of the nation. To them it belongs to determine the day, and prescribe the mode in which I shall be recognised as the representative of their ally and republican sister. They will also have the goodness to point out the department to which I must apply to be received in the character I bear. I make the communication with the more pleasure, as it gives me an opportunity, not only of expressing to the representatives of the free citizens of France my personal attachment to the cause of liberty, but of assuring them, at the same time, in the most positive manner, of the profound interest which the government and the people of America take in the liberty, the success, and the prosperity of the French Republic.

(Signed)

JAMES MONROE.

Referred to the committee of Public Safety, to be reported upon in the course of the sitting.

Eschasseriaux soon afterwards reported in the name of the committee of Public Safety.—The minister of a free people presents himself, and you have directed us to offer our ideas on the mode of receiving him. We know of no mode but that of the friendship and fraternity which characterise a free nation. The fall of the throne has drawn with it the rubbish of the old diplomatic system, and the tradition of all the ridiculous ceremonies which the pride of courtiers had invented. The true diplomatic system of free states is mutual defence and mutual benefits. Let despots place their glory in a vain representation; the high spirited republican disdains the false shew of monarchies. The majesty of the people is like their liberty, frank and simple. The first sight formerly presented to a foreign minister in France, was a corrupted court and haughty slaves. He was immediately surrounded by all that cringed at the feet of a master. One tyrant caressed in his person the pride of another

other tyrant. Friendship, frankness, the people and their representatives, form the spectacle which we must present to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America. The public square, in which were the people, the temple of the laws, the senate, was the place where a great people formerly received ambassadors. Such ought to be our republican ideas on the admission of foreign ministers. It is in vain that despots coalesce; an eternal pact of freedom and power is going to unite free nations. They are going to ally themselves for the happiness of the world. Guilt has united kings; nature has created a secret alliance in the hearts of independent nations. Nature repels from our frontiers the slaves that surround them; she now seeks out for us brethren beyond the ocean. Let French liberty be this day allied anew in the face of the world, with American liberty. Let the ambassador of that Republic, which set us the example of breaking the chains of tyrants, and recovering our rights, come and swear amid the representatives of the French nation, the confirmation of the fraternal alliance which must make the liberty of the two continents triumphant. Let him be admitted among us as a friend; let all proud ceremony vanish at the moment when the souls of the two republican nations correspond and unite. Let friendship be his only introducer; in the body of the Convention, after declaring his mission, let him receive from the President the expression of the sentiments of fraternity of the French people, of their desire to form an alliance which may be the beginning of the enfranchisement of the human race. Your committee proposes:

That the minister plenipotentiary of the United States shall be introduced into the body of the Convention, and present the object of his mission. The President shall give him the fraternal embrace, in token of the friendship which unites the American with the French people.

That the President of the Convention shall write to the President of the American Congress, inclosing a copy of the minutes of the sitting.

Decreed amid the warmest applauses.

28 Thermidor, Friday, August 15.

The President.—The committee of Public Safety informs me, that they wait for the order of the Convention to introduce the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America.—Ordered that he be introduced immediately.

The minister entered, attended by his secretaries of legation, and the hall resounded with applauses.

The President.—As the American minister does not speak French, one of the secretaries will read a translation of his speech.

Speech of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

Citizen President, and representatives of the French people, my admission into this assembly, in presence of the French nation (for all the citizens of France are represented here) to be acknowledged as the representative of the American Republic, affects my sensibility to a degree which I cannot express. I consider it as a new proof of the friendship and esteem which the French nation has always testified for its allies, the United States of America.

Republics ought to be connected with one another. In many respects, they have all the same interest; but this maxim is especially true with regard to the republics of America and France. Their governments have a great analogy; they both cherish the same principles, and rest on the same basis, the equal and unalienable rights of man. Even the remembrance of common dangers will augment their harmony and cement their union. America has had her days of oppression, of difficulty, and of war, but her sons were virtuous and brave, and the tempest that so long obscured her political horizon has dispersed, and left her in the full enjoyment of peace and independence.

France, our ally, our friend, who assisted us in our conflict, is now also started in the same honourable career; and I am happy to add here, that while the perseverance, the magnanimity, the heroic valour of the troops command their admiration and the applauses of the astonished world, the wisdom and the firmness of her councils promise equally the most happy consequences. America is not an unconcerned spectatress of your efforts in the present crisis. I lay before you, in the declarations of each branch of our government, declarations founded on the affection of the great body of our citizens, the most convincing proofs of their sincere attachment to the liberty, the prosperity, and the happiness of the French Republic. Each branch of the Congress, conformably to the mode of deliberation established in it, has required the President to inform you of its disposition; and in fulfilling the desire of these two branches, I am instructed to declare to you, that the President has expressed his own sentiments.

The powers entrusted to me being recognized by you, I promise myself the greatest satisfaction in the exercise of my functions, because I am convinced that in following the impulse of my own heart, in wishing happiness and liberty to the French nation, I express the sentiments of my country; and that in doing every thing in my power to preserve and perpetuate the harmony that so happily subsists between the two Republics, I shall promote their mutual interest.

It is to this grand object that all my efforts shall be directed. If I have the good fortune to conduct myself so as to deserve
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the approbation of the two Republics, I shall consider it as the happiest event of my life; and I shall retire with the consolation which is exclusively the portion of those whose intentions are pure, and who serve the cause of liberty.

(Signed) JAMES MONROE.
[Warm and repeated applauses.]

Letters of Credit for James Monroe, &c.

George Washington, President of the United States of America, to the Representatives of the French People, Members of the Committee of Public Safety of the French Republic, the great Friend and good Ally of the United States.

HAVING been informed of the desire of the French Republic that a new minister should be sent to it by the United States, I have resolved to manifest my sense of the promptitude with which my desire of a similar nature was complied with, by complying with that of your government. Some time elapsed before a man could be found worthy of the important commission of expressing the wishes of the United States, for the happiness of our allies, and of drawing closer the bonds of our amity. I have now made choice of James Monroe, one of our distinguished citizens, to reside with the French Republic, in quality of minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America. He is charged to express to you our sincere solicitude for your prosperity, and to cultivate with zeal, the cordiality which so happily subsists between us.

From my knowledge of his fidelity, probity, and good conduct, I have full confidence that he will render himself agreeable to you, and that he will fulfil our desire of maintaining and promoting, on all occasions, the interests and connections of the two nations. I therefore request you to give entire credit to whatever he shall say in the name of the United States, especially when he shall assure you that your prosperity is an object of our affection, and I pray God to have the French Republic in his holy keeping. [Applauses.]

Done at Philadelphia, May 28, 1794, by the President of the United States of America.

(Signed)

GEORGE WASHINGTON.
EDM. RANDOLPH, Sec. of State.

Philadelphia, June 16, 1794.

THE undersigned secretary of state of the United States of America has the honour to inform the committee of Public Safety of the French Republic, that on the 25th April of the present year it

was unanimously resolved by the House of Representatives, that the letter from the committee of Public Safety of the French Republic, addressed to Congress, should be transmitted to the President of the United States, and that he should be requested to reply to it in the name of the said House, expressing its sense of the amicable and affectionate manner in which the committee addressed the Congress of the United States, and adding a positive assurance that the representatives of the people of the United States take a lively interest in the happiness and the prosperity of the French Republic.

The President of the United States having confided this honourable and interesting task to the department of state, it cannot be more conveniently executed, than by seizing this occasion to declare formally to the allies of the United States, that the cause of liberty, for the defence of which the Americans have lavished so much blood and treasure, is cherished by our Republic with increasing enthusiasm ; that wherever the standard of liberty shall be displayed, the affection of the United States will always be roused, and that the success of those who rise to assert the cause of liberty, will be celebrated by the United States, and felt as it were their own, and that of the other friends of humanity.

Yes, representatives of our ally, your communication was addressed to men who participate in your fate, and take the warmest interest in the happiness and the prosperity of the French Republic.

(Signed)

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Declaration of the Senate.

Philadelphia, June 10, 1794.

THE undersigned secretary of state of the United States of America has the honour to communicate to the committee of Public Safety of the Republic of France, that on the 24th April, 1794, it was ordered by the Senate of the United States, that the letter of the committee addressed to Congress should be transmitted to the President, and that he should be requested to reply to it in the name of the Senate, in a manner to manifest the sincere friendship of that House, and its good dispositions towards the French Republic.

In fulfilling this task, committed by the President to the department of state, the generous succour which the United States received from the French nation in their struggle for independence, occurs strongly to our memory. It is on this basis that the friendship between the two nations was at first founded. It is on this basis and mutual regard shewn since, that their friendship has increased, and supported by these motives, it will be firm and constant.

stant. For this reason, the Senate presents to the committee of Public Safety sincere wishes for the Republic of France. The Senate will hear with pleasure of every success which advances the happiness of the French nation, and the complete establishment of the peace and liberty of France will be considered by the Senate as an instance of good fortune for the United States, and for humanity.

(Signed) EDMUND RANDOLPH.
[Repeated and most ardent applauses.]

The President to the American Minister.

THE French people have not forgotten that it is to the American people they owe the beginning of liberty ; it was by admiring the sublime insurrection of the American people against Albion, once so proud, now so degraded ; it was by taking arms themselves to second the courageous efforts of that insurrection ; it was by cementing the independence of America with the blood of their bravest warriors, that the French people learned to break the sceptre of tyranny in their turn, and to erect the statue of liberty on the ruins of a throne, founded on fourteen centuries of corruption and crimes.

How then should not they be friends ? How should they not be associated by reciprocal means of prosperity, which commerce and navigation present to two nations become free by mutual aid ? But this is not an alliance purely diplomatic ; it is the sweetest, the frankest fraternity that ought to unite them ; it is this fraternity that unites them in effect ; and the union will be for ever indissoluble, as it will be for ever the scourge of despots, the safeguard of the liberty of the world, the conservation of all the social and philanthropic virtues.

In bringing up the pledge of this union so dear to us, you cannot fail to be received with the most lively interest. Five years ago, the usurper of the sovereignty of the people would have received you with the pride which befits only vice, and he would have thought that he did much in granting to the minister of a free nation some marks of his insolent protection. To-day it is the sovereign people represented by faithful mandatories that receives you ; and you see with what tenderness, and what effusion of heart, this simple and touching ceremony is accompanied. Let me not delay to crown it by the fraternal embrace which I am charged to give you in the name of the French people ! Come and receive it in the name of the American people ; and may this picture complete destroying the last hope of the impious coalition of tyrants !

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The whole assembly rose up with one emotion, and exclaimed, *Vive la Republique !*

The minister of the United States was conducted to the President of the Convention, who gave him the fraternal embrace : he then took his seat among the representatives of the people, who redoubled their acclamations.

Moise-Bayle.—I move, that, to consecrate the fraternity which ought to exist between the two greatest Republics of the two worlds, an American and a French flag be united and hung up in the place of our sitting, as a sign of eternal amity and alliance.—
[*Decreed with unanimous applause.*]

Decreed, That James Monroe is acknowledged by the representatives of the people as minister plenipotentiary from the American to the French Republic.

Decreed, That the papers and speeches relating to this business be printed, and translated into all languages.

25 *Fruetidor*, Thursday, Sept. 11.

The President.—I have received a letter, written in English, announcing that the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America sends a flag to be placed in the hall of the Convention, beside the French flag.—The flag is borne by an American officer.—It was unanimously decreed that the officer should enter the hall.—He entered amidst the loudest acclamations of the assembly, bearing the American flag unfurled. He presented the following address from the minister :

The Minister of the United States of America to the President of the National Convention.

Paris, 23 *Fruetidor*.

Citizen President, the Convention having decreed that the flags of the American and French Republics shall be united, and fly together in the place of the sitting of the National Convention, in testimony of the union and friendship which ought ever to subsist between the two people, I thought that I could not better manifest the profound impression which the decree made upon me, and the acknowledgments of my constituents, than by preparing their colours, in order to offer them, in their name, to the representatives of the French people.

I have had them executed after the manner last decreed by the Congress ; and I have entrusted them to Captain Barnery, an officer of distinguished merit, who rendered us great services by sea during the revolution. He is charged to present them to you, and to place them wherever you shall appoint. Accept, then, this flag,

flag, Citizen President, as a new pledge of the sensibility with which the American people always receive the proofs of interest and friendship given to them by their good and brave allies, as well as of the pleasure and eagerness with which they improve every circumstance that tends to cement and consolidate the union and concord of the two nations.

(Signed)

JAMES MONROE.

Speech of Captain Barnery, on presenting the Flag.

Citizen President, having been charged by the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to bear to the Convention the flag which they desired—the flag under the auspices of which I had the honour to fight with our common enemy, in the war which accomplished our liberty and independence, I fulfil my honourable commission with the most lively satisfaction, and remit it into your hands.

From henceforth, suspended beside that of the Republic, it shall become the symbol of the union which subsists between the two nations, and which shall endure, I trust, as long as the liberty which they have so bravely achieved, and so wisely ratified.

The American officer advanced, with his flag streaming, to the President's chair, who gave him the fraternal kiss, amidst the unanimous and reiterated applause of the hall.

Parliamentary Papers.

On the 21st of January, 1794, his Majesty went to the House of Lords, and opened the Fourth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great-Britain with the following Speech from the Throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE circumstances under which you are now assembled, require your most serious attention.

We are engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion ; and the security of all civil society.

You must have observed, with satisfaction, the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe since the commencement of the war. The United Provinces have been protected from invasion ; the Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained ; and places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontiers of France. The re-capture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine, have, notwithstanding the advantages recently obtained by the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause. Powerful efforts have been made by my allies in the south of Europe ; the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon has greatly distressed the operations of my enemies ; and in the circumstances attending the evacuation of that place, an important and decisive blow has been given to their naval power, by the distinguished conduct, abilities, and spirit of my commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

The French have been driven from their possessions and fishery at Newfoundland, and important and valuable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies.

At sea our superiority has been undisputed, and our commerce so effectually protected, that the losses sustained have been inconsiderable, in proportion to its extent, and to the captures made on the contracted trade of the enemy.

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The circumstances by which the farther progress of the allies has hitherto been impeded, not only prove the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, but, at the same time, confirm the expectation of ultimate success.

Our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion, from a system which has enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, and which openly violates every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion: but these efforts, productive as they necessarily have been of internal discontent and confusion in France, have also tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country.

Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should ill consult the essential interests of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. The attainment of these ends is still obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France, equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

Under this impression, I thought proper to make a declaration of the views and principles by which I am guided. I have ordered a copy of this declaration to be laid before you, together with copies of several conventions and treaties with different powers, by which you will perceive how large a part of Europe is united in a cause of such general concern.

I reflect with unspeakable satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent among all ranks of my people. These sentiments have been eminently manifested in the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and in the distinguished bravery and spirit displayed on every occasion by my forces both by sea and land: they have maintained the lustre of the British name, and have shewn themselves worthy of the blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the necessary estimates and accounts to be laid before you, and I am persuaded you will be ready to make such provision as the exigencies of the time may require. I feel too sensibly the repeated proofs which I have received of the affection of my subjects, not to lament the necessity of any additional burdens. It is, however, a great consolation to me to observe the favourable state of the revenue, and the complete success of the measure which was last year adopted for removing the embarrassments affecting commercial credit.

Great as must be the extent of our exertions, I trust you will be enabled to provide for them in such a manner as to avoid any pressure which could be severely felt by my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In all your deliberations, you will undoubtedly bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war.

An attack was made on us, and on our allies, founded on principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

It only remains for us to persevere in our united exertions; their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace. Impressed with the necessity of defending all that is most dear to us, and relying, as we may, with confidence, on the valour and resources of the nation, on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the incontestable justice of our cause, let us render our conduct a contrast to that of our enemies, and, by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, endeavour to merit the continuance of the Divine favour and protection which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms.

In the House of Lords, Lord Stair moved the following Address to the King, in Answer to his Speech.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we shall enter with the most serious attention into the consideration of the present circumstances of our country, knowing that on the issue of the contest in which we are engaged depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society.

We congratulate your Majesty on the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and on the favourable change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe, since the commencement of the war. We have seen

with great satisfaction the United Provinces protected from invasion, the Austrian Netherlands recovered and maintained, and places of considerable importance acquired on the frontiers of France: we consider the re-capture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine, as having, notwithstanding the late advantages of the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause; and we are also justly sensible of the powerful efforts which have been made by your Majesty's allies in the south of Europe.

We reflect with particular satisfaction on the manner in which the operations of your Majesty's enemies have been impeded during so great a part of the campaign by the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon; on the important and decisive blow which, in the evacuation of that place, has been given to their naval power, and on the distinguished conduct, abilities, and spirit, manifested on that occasion by your Majesty's commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

We beg leave to express the satisfaction which we also feel in seeing that, during the course of the present year, the French have been driven from their possessions and fishery at Newfoundland; that important and valuable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies; and that while our naval superiority has been undisputed, our commerce has been so fully and effectually protected.

We can assure your Majesty, that we are strongly impressed both with the necessity of vigorous and persevering exertions, and with the expectations of ultimate success from the consideration of the means by which the farther progress of the allies has hitherto been impeded, and of the system from which our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion; such a system, disposing arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, and violating every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion, has necessarily been productive of internal discontent and confusion, and has tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country.

While we join with your Majesty in regretting the necessary continuance of the war, we are confident that your Majesty's concern for the essential interests of your people will induce your Majesty to persevere in the pursuit of those objects, by which alone the solid blessings of peace can be secured; and to take such measures as may most effectually provide for the permanent safety of your Majesty's people, and for the independence and security of Europe. It is impossible for us not to see that the attainment of these ends is still obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France, equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations; and, under this impression, we fully concur in the

just and benevolent sentiments manifested in the declaration which your Majesty has graciously been pleased to communicate to us; and we have seen with the utmost satisfaction so large a part of Europe united in a cause of such general concern.

We acknowledge, with pride and gratitude, the gracious manner in which your Majesty is pleased to express your Majesty's sense of the unshaken loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent among all ranks of your Majesty's subjects. The zeal and alacrity of the militia; and the distinguished bravery displayed on every occasion by your Majesty's forces both by sea and land, have afforded eminent proof of the same spirit which pervades and animates every class of the nation; and encouraged, as your Majesty's forces have been, by the distinguished example of your Majesty's illustrious progeny, and by the sense of the blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve, they have maintained the lustre of the British name, and have shewn themselves worthy of the cause in which they are employed.

We entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that, in all our deliberations, we shall bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war. We remember with just indignation the attack made on your Majesty and your Majesty's allies, grounded on principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

We will, on our parts, persevere with union and vigour in our exertions, sensible that by discontinuing or relaxing the present efforts we could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could certainly never obtain either security or peace. Deeply impressed with the necessity of defending all that is most dear to us, and relying with confidence on the valour and resources of our country, on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the incontestable justice of our cause, we will afford to your Majesty all possible support in the just and necessary system in which your Majesty is embarked; and we trust that all classes of your Majesty's subjects will endeavour, by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, to merit the continuance of the Divine favour and protection, which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms.

The Earl of Guilford moved in Amendment, that after the third or fourth Paragraph of the Address the following Words be inserted.

That this House do thank his Majesty for the gracious declarations which he has been pleased to make of the views and principles by which he is guided in the prosecution of the present war ; but they hoped his Majesty would seize the earliest opportunity to conclude a peace, by which the permanent safety of his subjects, and the independence and security of Europe, may be provided for ; and that they humbly hope no difficulty may prevent the attainment of so desirable an object from the form of government which may be established in France.

On the question being put, there appeared,

Contents for the amendment - 12

Non-contents - 97

The Address was then put and carried.

In the House of Commons Lord Clifden moved the following Address in Answer to the same Speech.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The circumstances under which we are assembled will not fail to command our most serious attention, as we are sensible that, on the issue of the contest in which we are engaged, depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society.

We have observed, with satisfaction, the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers in different parts of Europe, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of affairs upon the continent since the commencement of the war ; and we must, in a particular manner, congratulate your Majesty on the valuable possessions which have been acquired from the enemy ; on the undisputed superiority at sea, which has enabled your Majesty to afford such effectual protection to the commerce of your subjects ; and on the important and decisive blow which has been given to the naval power of your enemies, under circumstances which reflect the highest honour upon the conduct, abilities, and spirit, of your Majesty's commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

The system from which our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion, founded as it is upon the violation of every

every principle of justice, humanity, and religion, evidently productive of internal discontent and confusion in France, and tending rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country, appears to prove, in the strongest manner, the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, and to afford in itself a just expectation of ultimate success.

We must undoubtedly join with your Majesty in regretting the necessary continuance of the war; but we are persuaded that it would be inconsistent with the essential interests of your Majesty's subjects to look to the restoration of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe: and it is impossible for us not to perceive that the attainment of these ends is obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France, equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

We acknowledge your Majesty's goodness in having directed to be laid before us copies of the declaration which your Majesty has thought proper to issue, and also of the several conventions and treaties which your Majesty has concluded.

We most cordially rejoice that your Majesty has so much reason to reflect with satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent amongst all ranks of your Majesty's subjects. The zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and the distinguished bravery and spirit displayed on every occasion, by your Majesty's forces, both by sea and land, are the natural result of these sentiments, and might well be expected from a brave and free people, animated by the example of your Majesty's illustrious progeny, and sensible of the value of those blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve.

Although we must, at all times, lament the necessity of any additional burthens, we feel it our indispensable duty to make a speedy and ample provision for the public service; and we shall endeavour to defray those expenses which the exigencies of the time must require, in such a manner as to avoid, as far as possible, any pressure which could be severely felt by the nation.

Your Majesty may be assured, that in all our deliberations we can never lose sight of the true grounds and origin of the war. We have been called upon, by every motive of duty and self-preservation, to repel an attack made upon your Majesty and your allies, founded upon principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which,

as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful, but useful, lesson to the present age, and to posterity.

We are sensible that the discontinuance, or relaxation, of our exertions could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace : and we trust that all your Majesty's subjects, impressed with the necessity of defending whatever is most dear to them, and relying with confidence on the valour and resources of their country, on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the incontestable justice of their cause, will study to render their conduct a contrast to that of their enemies ; and by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, will endeavour to merit the continuance of the Divine favour and protection, which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms.

Mr. Fox moved in Amendment to insert these Words.

To recommend to his Majesty to treat, as speedily as possible, for a peace with France upon safe and advantageous terms, without any reference to the nature or form of government that might exist in that country.

[*Mr. Fox's Amendment was negatived by a Majority of 277 against 59, after which the Original Address was put and carried.*]

On Thursday, 23d January, his Majesty's answer to the address of the House of Lords, was read to their Lordships as follows :

My Lords,

I RETURN you my warmest acknowledgments for this very dutiful and loyal address. The sentiments you express respecting the present important situation of public affairs, and the zeal and union you have manifested in support of those measures, which can alone tend to maintain the dearest interests of my people, and to secure the tranquillity and independence of Europe, cannot fail of producing the happiest effects both at home and abroad. You may be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part to employ with energy and vigour, in a cause of such deep concern, those resources which I derive from the wisdom and firmness of my Parliament, and from the general attachment of my people to the constitution and government of their country, and to the interests of humanity, order, and religion, throughout all Europe.

On Friday, 24th January, the Speaker acquainted the House of Commons, that in pursuance of their resolution, the address had been presented to his Majesty, who was graciously pleased to ex-
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press his thanks to the House for their loyal address, and for their cordial coincidence with his Majesty's wishes in the continuance of the war.

On the 23d of January, 1794, Earl Stanhope moved in the House of Lords,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to represent to his Majesty, that the French nation have expressly recognized the sacred principle, that no country possesses the right to interfere with another independent nation. To state to his Majesty, that in the 118th and 119th articles of the constitution of France, they have declared, that the French are the friends and the natural allies of every free people, and that it does not interfere with the government of other nations.—Humbly, therefore, to beseech his Majesty, in his equity and justice, to acknowledge the French Republic, and thereby lay the foundation of a speedy reconciliation and permanent peace.”

The question being put, the address was negatived without a division.

On the 27th of January, Mr. Dundas presented to the House of Commons the following message from his Majesty ; and two days afterwards Lord Grenville presented the same message to the House of Lords.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that a corps of Hessian troops, taken into the pay of Great Britain, to be employed on foreign service, having been brought to the appointed place of rendezvous off the Isle of Wight, his Majesty has found it necessary, with a view to the preventing any sickness taking place among the said troops from their continuance on board of the transports, to order them to be disembarked, and to be stationed, for the present, on the Isle of Wight, at Portsmouth, and at places adjacent.

G. R.

An address of thanks to his Majesty for his gracious communication was voted.

On the 10th of February Mr. Grey moved in the House of Commons,

“ That to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the consent of Parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law.”

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The previous question was moved upon Mr. Grey's motion, and carried by a majority of 184 against 35.

In the House of Lords, on the 19th of February, the Duke of Norfolk moved, when the motion for referring the mutiny bill to a Committee of the House was put,

That instruction be given to the Committee on this bill to introduce a clause for regulating foreign troops in this kingdom, and subjecting them to military law.

The Duke of Norfolk withdrew his motion, on hearing that the subject was to be argued on the 21st inst.

On the 21st of February the Earl of Albemarle brought in a bill, indemnifying ministers for landing foreign troops without the consent of Parliament; which was rejected by a majority of 89 against 12.

Protest of Earl Stanhope, upon the Rejection of the Earl of Albemarle's Motion (on the 21st of February, 1794) respecting the introducing of Foreign Troops into this Country without the previous Consent of Parliament.

Dissentient.—First, Because “It is contrary to law for the Crown to keep an army in this kingdom, either in time of peace or in time of war, without the previous consent of Parliament;” and it is essential, that this important constitutional principle (which was unequivocally admitted in the debate) should be for ever maintained inviolate in this country. And the friends of public liberty ought ever to bear in memory the admirable vote of the House of Commons, on the 5th day of May, 1641, when it was resolved, “That this House doth declare, that whosoever shall give counsel or assistance, or join in any manner, to bring any foreign force into the kingdom, unless it be by command of his Majesty, with the consent of both Houses in Parliament, shall be adjudged and reputed a public enemy to the King and kingdom.”

Secondly, Because the annual mutiny bill is a proof that the Crown cannot perpetuate or assume a prerogative which Parliament annually bestows, nor exercise, at its own discretion, that power which the legislature specially limits.

Thirdly, Because it is a most dangerous doctrine, that the Crown has a right (by virtue of an “undefined prerogative,”) to do any act which is not warranted, either by common, or by statute law, under the frivolous pretence of its appearing to ministers to be useful. And the supineness of Parliament, in the reign of King James the Second, when so many acts, notoriously illegal,

were committed by the Crown, and yet passed unnoticed by the two Houses, clearly proves, that, from the want of vigilance in certain Parliaments, precedents may be established, subversive of the first principles of national freedom.

Fourthly, Because the maintaining of a foreign army on the establishment, or within the territory of this kingdom, is in open defiance of the very act of Parliament which settles the crown on the present Royal Family (namely, the 12th and 13th of William III. chap. the 2d.) which expressly enacts, “ That no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized, or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military.” And the act of the 29th George II. chap. the 5th, is a proof that the legislature deemed a special act of Parliament necessary, to enable the King to employ even a limited number of subaltern foreign officers in America, only under certain restrictions and qualifications.

Fifthly, Because “ foreign mercenaries have always been useless, or dangerous to those who employ them. Their conduct, at first, has generally been peaceable and ensnaring ; at last, seditious and destructive ; and those states that have carried the points which they intended, by their assistance, have usually in the event been enslaved by them.”

And Sixthly, Because a prerogative in the executive power, to introduce any number, without limit, of armed foreign hirelings into any country, without the previous and express consent of the legislature, is totally incompatible with any form of a free constitution ; for, not only that government is tyrannical, which is actually tyrannically administered, but that government also is tyrannical (however administered) where there is no sufficient security against its being tyrannically administered in future. And I solemnly protest against a measure which tends to endanger the rights and liberties of my fellow-citizens, of whom I consider myself only as a trustee.

STANHOPE.

Protest against the Rejection of the Indemnity Bill, for the Landing of Troops in this Kingdom without the Consent of Parliament; which was moved by the Earl of Albemarle.

I. Because, with the exception of only one noble Lord, not one of his Majesty's ministers, it was in the debate unanimously admitted, that the keeping in this country troops, whether native or foreign, in time either of war or peace, without the consent of Parliament, is unconstitutional. And as it was also admitted, unanimously and unequivocally, that the troops in question are here upon grounds

grounds of fitness and expediency ; and as the consideration of fitness and expediency, though they render, and in fact in the present instance do render, not only justifiable, but highly meritorious, do in no degree so change the nature as to make it more or less constitutional.

II. This bill, though of a nature to be very sparingly adopted, yet was of particular propriety ; for in a matter of great moment, it declared the law, saved the constitution, and did justice to the motives of the executive government.

III. Because the stopping of this bill leaves the troops here, without any consent of Parliament.

IV. Because the effect of the declarations, by which the right of the Crown so to keep troops here was disclaimed, however strong, general, and unequivocal, is yet transitory and fugitive ; but the fact that troops are so here, is notorious and recorded ; and when the motives which justified, and the declarations that reconciled to the House the measure, are forgotten, may be turned into precedent.

RADNOR.

On the 14th of March Mr. Grey moved in the House of Commons,

That leave be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying all persons who shall have advised his Majesty to order the landing of any foreign troops that may now be in this country.

The motion was rejected by a majority of 170 against 41.

On the 17th of February the Marquis of Lansdowne moved in the House of Lords,

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty,

To represent to his Majesty, that the events of the last campaign have demonstrated the extreme improbability of conquering France, even under the singular circumstance of a general confederacy formed against her ;

That the duration of an extensive confederacy, necessarily slow and ill-combined in its operations, is not to be depended on from day to day, and formed, as the present is, with powers, who it is to be apprehended from the exhausted state of their finances, wasted by profusion and war, can only fulfil their engagements to us by being subsidized, the great burden of expense and odium must ultimately fall upon Great Britain and Ireland :

That the war to be in future as successful, as it has hitherto proved adverse, it ought not in sound policy to be continued, because no acquisitions of territory can be of real, and much less of adequate benefit, at the risk of prolonging the present, and laying the foundation of future wars :

That a loss to the nation incalculable, and almost beyond imagination, must follow from the diminution of product and consumption ; the stagnation and destruction of capital, and the general decay of trade, which have arisen in the place of that reduction of debt and taxes, which we were taught to expect, and which is so essential to our external independence, and to our internal tranquillity and happiness :

That the dismemberment of France, if attainable, so far from securing the balance of power in Europe, must endanger, if not overturn it, as it cannot fail to augment the strength of the greater European powers, who, from their ambition, and the policy which they have lately adopted, of acting in concert, already threaten the extinction of the independent states of the second and third order, upon whose preservation the liberties of Europe essentially depend :

That opinions and sentiments once widely disseminated cannot be controlled by arms, and therefore it behoves every government, which would guard against the progress of democratic principles, to avoid the evils which gave birth to them in France :

That the obedience paid by the French nation to its provisional government, when in the act of opposing a confederacy attempting to control its interior, though a strong proof that the present war is more likely to confirm than to destroy such a government, yet is no proof that the French nation will continue that obedience to it, provided we suffer them to return to a state of external peace, while it may be yet time for the national good sense to operate :

That experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of France, even if the justice of it were problematical, and that we must deserve the deepest reproach which a nation can incur, if, to serve the mere occasional purposes of the confederacy, we encourage farther revolts in that country, where we find that we are unable to fulfil our promises of present support, or to save those who have put a confidence in us, from ruin and extermination :

Therefore to implore his Majesty to declare, without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such disinterested and liberal terms, as are best calculated to render the peace between any two nations lasting, and to communicate such declaration to his allies, that an immediate end may be put to that daily effusion of human blood, which, if suffered to proceed, must change the character of the nations of Europe, and in the place of that improving spirit of humanity, which has till lately distinguished modern times, substitute a degree of savage ferocity unexampled in the annals of mankind.

The address was negatived.

On the 18th of February Mr. Fox moved in the House of Commons.

That it be referred to a committee to inquire into the protection given to the trade of his Majesty's subjects, by convoy or otherwise, during the present war.

The motion was negatived by a majority of 202 against 48.

On the 6th of March Mr. Whitbread, jun. moved in the House of Commons :

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty, that his faithful Commons having taken into their serious consideration the various treaties which have, by his Majesty's command, been laid before this House, cannot forbear to express their deep concern that his Majesty should have been advised to enter into engagements, the terms of which appear to this House to be wholly incompatible with the declarations repeatedly made to this House from the Throne, relative to the professed objects of the present unfortunate war.

To present to his Majesty the affliction and alarm of his faithful Commons, that his Majesty should have been advised to make a "common cause" with powers whose objects are unavowed and undefined, but from whose conduct his faithful Commons have too much ground to dread that they carry on war for the purpose of dictating in the internal affairs of other countries; views which have been repeatedly and solemnly disavowed by his Majesty and his Ministers, and which are utterly abhorrent from those principles upon which alone a free people can with honour engage in war.

To represent to his Majesty, that if the present war had been what his Majesty's message in the last sessions of Parliament stated it to be, a war of aggression on the part of France, and of defence on the part of Great Britain, that by a treaty previously in existence between his Majesty and the king of Prussia, the co-operation and assistance of that power were insured to this country. That it does not appear to this House, that the succours stipulated by the defensive treaty of 1788, have been required by his Majesty, but that a convention has been entered into, the stipulations of which have no other tendency than the involving us in schemes, as foreign to the true interest, as they are repugnant to the natural feelings of Englishmen, and of imposing a restraint upon his Majesty's known disposition to avail himself of any circumstances which might otherwise enable him, consistently with the honour of his Crown, and the welfare and security of the country, to relieve his people from the present burdensome and calamitous war.

To represent to his Majesty, that the irruptions of the French into Savoy, and their possession of that part of the dominions of the
King

king of Sardinia, did not appear to his Majesty so far to endanger the balance of power in Europe as to induce his Majesty, on that account, to commence hostilities against France. That his faithful Commons do therefore express their disapprobation of that part of the treaty, recently concluded between his Majesty and the king of Sardinia, by which his Majesty is bound not to lay down his arms until the restitution of Savoy shall have been accomplished: a species of engagement which it can at no time (excepting in cases of the greatest emergency) be either prudent or proper to contract, and much less for an object which was not deemed in his Majesty's wisdom to be so connected with the interest of this country, as to occasion a declaration of war, which cannot now be considered by his faithful Commons as of sufficient importance to be made the indispensable condition of peace.

To represent to his Majesty, that it appears to his faithful Commons to be the general tendency of these engagements, to involve us in connections of undefined extent, for objects which we disapprove, and have disavowed; and this, with powers on whose principles of equity and moderation we are instructed by experience to have no reliance, and whose complete success may, in our opinion, prove fatal to the liberties of Europe.

To represent to his Majesty, that having thus expressed our sentiments upon the engagements which his Majesty has been advised to contract, we feel it our bounden duty most humbly and earnestly to implore his Majesty to consider of such measures, as to his royal wisdom shall seem adapted, consistently with that national faith which, in common with his Majesty, we desire to preserve religiously inviolate, to extricate himself from engagements, which oppose such difficulties to his Majesty's concluding a separate peace, whenever the interests of his people may render such a measure adviseable, and which certainly countenance the opinion, that his Majesty is acting in concert with other powers, for the unjustifiable purpose of compelling the people of France to submit to a form of government, not approved by that nation.

The above address was negatived by a majority of 138 against 26.

On the 18th of March the Earl of Guildford moved in the House of Lords,

That it is the opinion of this House, that his Majesty has entered into engagements, which have the obvious tendency of promoting the interests of other nations, in which this country has no concern, and motives which have been repeatedly disavowed by the King's ministers.

The above question was negatived by a majority of 96 against 9.

On the 17th of March General Fitzpatrick moved in the House of Commons,

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty, that it appeared to that House, that the detention of General La Fayette, Alexander Lambet, Bureau de Puzy, and Latour Maubourg, in prison by order of his Majesty's ally the king of Prussia, was injurious to his Majesty and the cause of his allies, and humbly to beseech his Majesty most graciously to intercede in such a manner as to his royal wisdom shall seem most proper for the deliverance of these unhappy persons.

The question was negatived by a majority of 155 against 48.

On the 25th of March, the following message from the King was presented by Lord Grenville to the House of Lords, and by Mr. Dundas to the House of Commons.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that, for the purpose of more effectually guarding against any attempt which may be made, on the part of the enemy, to execute their professed design of invading the kingdom, his Majesty has ordered a farther augmentation of his land forces, the estimate for which he has directed to be laid before the House. It is also his Majesty's intention to take measures in order to be able, in case of emergency, to assemble speedily a large additional force in any part of the kingdom where it may become necessary: and his Majesty relies, with confidence, on the cordial and effectual support of Parliament, and on the zealous and spirited exertions of his people, in carrying into execution such measures as may be requisite for the general security. G. R.

For the papers laid before Parliament, see page 85, and for the bill afterwards passed, see page 87.

On the 26th of March, Lord Grenville in the House of Lords and Mr. Dundas in the House of Commons, moved,

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, thanking his Majesty for his communication given to them by his message, and assuring his Majesty that they were desirous to give him every possible aid in carrying on the just and necessary war in which he was engaged.

The address was passed by both Houses.

On the 28th of March, the Earl of Lauderdale moved in the House of Lords, and Mr. Sheridan moved in the House of Commons,

That it is a dangerous and unconstitutional measure for the people of this country to grant to the executive government any
private

private aid, benevolence, or subscription, for public purposes, without the consent of Parliament.

The previous question was moved in both Houses, and carried in the Lords, by 104 against 7.—In the Commons, by 204 against 34.

On the 4th of April, Earl Stanhope moved a Resolution in the House of Lords, declaring it ought to be deemed felony without benefit of clergy, for his Majesty's Ministers, or any others to interfere in the internal affairs of France, either by bribing them to insurrections, or dictating as to their form of government.

The resolution was negatived and ordered to be expunged from the Journals.

On the 10th of April, the Hon. Thomas Maitland moved in the House of Commons,

That this House will resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the causes which led to the failure of the army commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of York at Dunkirk, and the causes which led to the evacuation of the port and town of Toulon, by the army and fleet under the command of Major-general Dundas, and Vice-admiral Lord Hood.

Which was negatived by 168 against 35.

On the 28th of April, Lord Grenville presented to the House of Lords, and Mr. Dundas to the House of Commons, the following message from his Majesty.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty has ordered copies of a treaty, which has been signed at the Hague, by the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces on the one part, and by the Plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia on the other part; and likewise of a convention agreed upon between the respective Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty and the States General, to be laid before the House: and his Majesty, relying on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful Commons, in the vigorous prosecution of the war in which he is engaged, recommends it to this House to consider of making provision towards enabling his Majesty to fulfill the engagements which his Majesty has entered into, as well as to defray any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred for the service of the present year, and to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require.

G. R.

For the treaty, see the treaties in the beginning of this volume.

On

On the 30th of April, the House of Lords voted by a majority of 99 against 6,

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to thank him for the gracious notification of the treaty concluded with the King of Prussia, and to assure his Majesty that they would concur in the measures necessary to fulfil his part of the same.

On the same day it was moved in the House of Commons in a committee of the whole House,

That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty for the service of the year 1794, to enable his Majesty to make good his engagement with his Majesty the King of Prussia, to be raised by way of loan on Exchequer bills, &c /

Mr. Fox moved in amendment, to insert the sum of 1,150,000l. instead of the sum of 2,500,000l. which was negatived by 134 against 33.—The original motion was then put and carried.

On the 2d of May, on reading the report of the committee, Mr. Sheridan moved, that all the part of the resolution which related to the fulfilling the engagement by the King of Prussia be omitted, and that the resolution be confined merely to a vote of 2,500,000l.

This amendment was rejected by 82 against 32.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Dundas presented the following message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, and on the 17th of the same month Lord Grenville presented the same message to the House of Lords.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty having received information, that the seditious practices which have been for some time carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with societies in different parts of the country, have lately been pursued with increased activity and boldness, and have been avowedly directed to the object of assembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of Parliament, and on principles subversive of the existing laws and constitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for seizing the books and papers of the said societies in London, which have been seized accordingly; and these books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greatest importance to the public interest, his Majesty has given orders for laying them before the House of Commons; and his Majesty recommends it to the House to consider the same, and to take such measures thereupon as may appear to be necessary for effectually guarding against the further prosecution of those dangerous designs, and for preserving to his Majesty's

subjects the enjoyment of the blessings derived to them by the constitution happily established in these kingdoms. G. R.

In consequence of this message a secret committee was appointed by each House, to inquire into the conduct of these societies, and they produced several reports which are published by Debrett. It was also voted by both Houses to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, so far as related to persons suspected of conspiring against his Majesty's person or government, and the following bill was passed :

An Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government, passed on the 23d of May, 1794.

WHEREAS a traiterous and detestable conspiracy has been formed for subverting the existing laws and constitution, and for introducing the system of anarchy and confusion which has so fatally prevailed in France : therefore, for the better preservation of his Majesty's sacred person, and for securing the peace and the laws and liberties of this kingdom ; be it enacted, &c. That every person or persons that are or shall be in prison within the kingdom of Great Britain, at, or upon the day on which this act shall receive his Majesty's royal assent, or after, by warrant of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, signed by six of the said Privy Council, for high treason, suspicion of high treason, or treasonable practices, or by warrant, signed by any of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, for such causes as aforesaid, may be detained in safe custody, without bail or mainprize, until the first day of February one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five ; and that no judge or justice of the peace shall bail or try any such person or persons so committed, without order from his said Majesty's Privy Council, signed by six of the said Privy Council, till the said first day of February one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five ; any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding,

2d Clause enacts, that an act in Scotland of 1791, for preventing wrongous imprisonment, so far as may relate to treason, &c. be suspended till Feb. 1, 1795.

The 3d clause enacts, That the privileges of Parliament are not invalidated by this act.

An Act to continue, for a limited time, an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, an Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government, passed on the 5th of February, 1795.

WHEREAS an act passed in the last session of Parliament, intituled, " An act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person

person and government," which act was to continue in force until the first day of February one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and no longer: and whereas it is necessary, for the public safety, that the provisions of the said act should be further continued; for the better preservation therefore of his Majesty's sacred person, and for securing the peace of the kingdom, and the laws and liberties thereof, be it enacted, &c. That persons for such causes as aforesaid, may be detained in safe custody, without bail or mainprize, until the first day of July next.

[*The second and third clauses are the same as the former act.*]

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted, That it shall be lawful to alter or repeal this present act, and every or any thing therein contained, in this present session of Parliament.

The passing of the preceding bill was strongly opposed by the minority in both Houses, for the proceedings on which see De-brett's debates.

The following Protests were entered on the Journals of the House of Lords.

Die Jovis, 22do Maii, 1794.

Moved, That the bill, intituled, "An act to impower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government," be read a first time.

The question was put thereupon.

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Then the said bill was read the first time.

Dissentient,

Because I abhor the idea of establishing a dangerous and unconstitutional system of *letters of Cachet* in this country.

STANHOPE.

Die Jovis, 22do Maii, 1794.

Moved, That the Habeas Corpus suspension bill be read the third time.

Read accordingly.

The question was put, "Whether this bill shall pass?"

Contents, 95; Not contents, 7.

Resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

ist, Because no evidence has been laid before us, that this kingdom is at present in those circumstances of imminent danger and imperious necessity which alone, in our opinion, would justify even the temporary surrender of that sacred fundamental law which is the sole guardian of the personal liberty and security of our fellow-subjects. None of these circumstances, either of foreign invasion or of domestic insurrection, or of formidable conspiracy, now exist.

exist which induced our ancestors to commit their liberties to the perilous guardianship of a despotical authority. Instead of such an unequivocal public danger, which silences all deliberations and over-rules all laws, we are now required to vest an arbitrary power in his Majesty's ministers upon the authority of a detail of the offences of individuals or societies, whose strength and numbers are not proved to our apprehension to be such as would justify such a measure as the present, especially as the ordinary operations of the law is sufficient to check the spirit which is supposed to prevail. One of the worst effects of the conduct of these societies is their having operated as the instrument for former artificial panics, and as a pretext for former measures, in our opinion the most hazardous and pernicious. They continued the same conduct without injury experienced by the public, without accession of strength, without the proof of any change in their systems or designs. We cannot therefore without betraying the trust reposed in us, consent to resign the liberties of all our fellow subjects to the discretion of the servants of the crown, on no better ground than that of a catalogue of offences which have been long notorious to the whole kingdom.

2dly, Because even the proof that some individuals entertain those desperate designs which have been ascribed to them would not, in our opinion, form any justification of the present measure. From the revolution to the complete defeat of the pretensions of the House of Stuart the wisdom of our ancestors did not deem the existence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable Jacobite party a sufficient reason, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual existing conspiracy, for subjecting the personal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of ministers. Miserable, indeed, and precarious is our condition, if, at the pleasure of a handful of visionaries and incendiaries (characters which every age produces, and disguises which the agents of every government may assume,) our liberties are to be laid under a legal interdict, and ministers are to be vested with an arbitrary power over the persons of all the freemen of this realm.

3dly, Because, even if the danger had been as real and imminent as is pretended, it might have been provided against by measures far less odious than that of depriving the subject of those rights of personal security which distinguish the British constitution beyond any other free government ancient or modern, and changing it for the time from a government of law to a government of will. One expedient, comparatively more moderate, is obvious, namely, to put the law respecting bail for misdemeanors which affect the State for a limited time on the same footing with bail in cases of treason.

4thly, Because this bill appears to us, under a still more melancholy and alarming aspect, when we combine it with declarations which

which have been made by considerable persons during the dependence of this bill. Even this, the utmost extremity to which our ancestors were ever driven, by the pressure of the greatest danger, is but the prelude to a system of measures (if possible) still more violent and arbitrary. These menaces too forcibly illustrated by some past measures, in our opinion of a rigour equally impolitic and odious, fill us with the most melancholy apprehensions that designs are entertained by a progressive series of encroachments, to annihilate all the rights of Englishmen, and to extinguish all the free principles of the British constitution.

5thly, Because the precipitation with which this bill has been hurried through the House is both indecent in itself, and directly repugnant to two standing orders of this House, one of the 28th of June, 1715, and the other of the 28th April, 1699, standing orders which insure to this House the advantages of mature deliberation, and to the subject the invaluable privilege of petitioning against measures which, like the present, are subversive of his fundamental rights.

ALBEMARLE.
BEDFORD.
LAUDERDALE.
DERBY.

The following Address to the King was afterwards voted by the Majority of both Houses.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our most serious consideration the communications which your Majesty has been pleased to make to us, respecting designs against the public peace and safety carried on within this realm, think it our bounden duty, at this period, humbly to lay before your Majesty those sentiments to which we are led by the result of that examination.

We have seen, with the utmost concern and indignation, that there has existed within this realm a seditious and traitorous conspiracy, directed to the subversion of the authority of your Majesty and your Parliament, and to the utter destruction of the established constitution and government of these your Majesty's kingdoms; and that, for the execution of those wicked and detestable designs, means of open violence were preparing, and acts meditated, leading to all the horrors of insurrection, anarchy, and rebellion.

That, with the fullest conviction of these designs, thus deliberately entertained, openly avowed, and on the very point of being attempted

attempted to be executed, we feel ourselves bound to express to your Majesty our gratitude for the paternal care which your Majesty has shewn for the dearest interests of your people, in having taken such measures as might best tend to defeat all such purposes, and to bring the authors and abettors of them to public justice.

We have, on our part, proceeded without delay, after the example of our ancestors, and under the just impression of the exigency of such a situation, to vest in your Majesty, by law, such additional powers as seem best calculated to provide for the public peace and tranquillity: and we rely with confidence on your Majesty's employing all legal and constitutional means for the punishment of such crimes; for the suppression of the first appearance of any tumult or disorder connected with them; and, generally, for the giving, as the circumstances manifestly require, full energy and vigour to the execution of the laws by which all your Majesty's subjects are equally protected, and from which alone they can derive the secure enjoyment of property, of liberty, and of life itself.

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that, as we are determined to defend with resolution and vigour, against our foreign enemies, the rights of your Majesty's crown, the safety and welfare of our country, and the existence of good order and civil society, so we will, on every occasion, afford to your Majesty the fullest support and assistance in maintaining inviolate the free constitution of these realms, in preserving internal peace and tranquillity, and in resisting the desperate purposes of those who would introduce among us the miseries which now prevail in France; such being the conduct which we feel to be due from us, as faithful and affectionate subjects, and as men deeply impressed with the value of the blessings which we enjoy.

On Friday the 30th of May, the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords, and Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, moved the following resolutions, which were negatived in the first by 113 Lords against 13, and in the second by 208 Commoners against 57.

Resolved, I. That it appears to this House, that during the several changes which took place in the constitution and government of France, before the commencement of hostilities, and more particularly after the events of the 10th of August, 1792; when his Majesty was advised by his ministers to suspend all official communication with France, it was, and continued to be, the professed principle and policy of his Majesty's government, carefully to observe a strict neutrality, and uniformly to abstain from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France. That when his Majesty was advised to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land at the beginning of the last year, it was for the declared purpose of opposing views of aggrandisement

ment and ambition on the part of France; and that when his Majesty acquainted Parliament, that acts of hostility had been directed by the government of France against his Majesty's subjects, and after war had been declared against his Majesty and the United Provinces, the then avowed object of prosecuting the war on our part was to oppose all views of further aggrandisement imputed to France, and that the prosecution of the war on this ground, and for the attainment of this object, was approved by both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved, II. That it appears to this House, that at, or before, the end of April, 1793, the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and to retire within their own territory; and that the Prince of Cobourg, commander in chief of the Emperor's forces in Flanders did, on the 5th of April, engage and declare that he would join and co-operate with General Dumourier, to give to France her constitutional King, and the constitution which she had formed for herself; and that the Prince of Cobourg did also then declare, on his word of honour, that if any strong places should be delivered over to his troops, he should consider them no otherwise than as sacred deposits; and that on the 9th of the same month, all the preceding declarations of the Prince of Cobourg were revoked.

Resolved, III. That it appears to this House, that, by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the 10th of April, 1793, his Majesty's ministers were of opinion that the situation of affairs had then entirely changed its aspect, in consequence of which his Majesty might not have occasion for the Hessian troops, and might be at liberty to relinquish their service, on certain conditions of compensation to be made to the Landgrave.

Resolved, IV. That it appears to this House, that, on the 14th of July, 1793, a convention was concluded between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, in which their Majesties reciprocally promised to continue to employ their respective forces as far as their circumstances would permit, in carrying on a war equally just and necessary.

Resolved, V. That it appears to this House, that, on the 23d of August, 1793, Lord Hood declared to the people of Toulon, that he had no other view but that of *restoring peace* to a great nation, upon the most just, liberal, and honourable terms.—That the inhabitants of Toulon did in return declare, that it was their unanimous wish to adopt a monarchical government, such as it was originally formed by the Constituent Assembly of 1789; and that Lord Hood, by his proclamation of the 28th of August, accepted of that declaration, and did then repeat what he had already declared to the people of the south of France, that he took possession of Toulon, and held it in trust only for Louis the XVIIth.

Resolved,

Resolved, VI. That it appears to this House, that the constitution, to which the declaration and acceptance stated in the preceding resolution are applied, was the same which his Majesty's ambassador at the Hague did, in a memorial presented to the States General on the 25th of January, 1793, describe in the following terms, viz. "It is not quite four years since certain miscreants, assuming the name of philosophers, have presumed to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society; in order to realize this dream, the offspring of vanity, it became necessary for them to overturn and destroy all established notions of subordination, of morals, and of religion;" and that this description was applied by the said ambassador to a government with which his Majesty continued to treat and negotiate from its institution in 1789 to its dissolution in August, 1792; and that his Majesty's ambassador was not recalled from Paris until that government was dissolved.

Resolved, VII. That it appears to this House, by the declaration made by his Majesty's ministers, and dated on the 29th of October, 1793, "That his Majesty demands only of France, that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining with other powers, the accustomed relations of union and peace;" and that his Majesty, in treating for the re-establishment of general tranquillity with such a government, "would propose none other than equitable and moderate conditions, not such as the expenses, the risks, and the sacrifices of the war might justify;" and that his Majesty hoped to find in the other powers, engaged with him in the common cause, sentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

Resolved, VIII. That it appears to this House, that, at the commencement of the war, the prosecution of it was considered by his Majesty, as a cause of general concern, in which his Majesty had every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who were united with his Majesty by the ties of alliance, and who felt an interest in the same cause.

Resolved, IX. That it does not appear to this House, that in the prosecution of a war, considered by his Majesty as a cause of general concern, and as a common cause, his Majesty has received that cordial co-operation, which we were led to expect from those powers who were united with him by the ties of alliance, and who were supposed to feel an interest in the same cause.

Resolved, X. That, on a review of the conduct of the several powers of Europe, from whom, if the cause was common, and if the concern was general, such cordial co-operation might have been expected, it appears to this House that many of those powers have not co-operated with his Majesty; that the Empress of Russia has not contributed in any shape to the support of this common cause;

cause ; that the crowns of Sweden and Denmark have united to support their neutrality, and to defend themselves against any attempt to force them to take part in this common cause ; that Poland is neither able nor inclined to take part in it ; that Switzerland and Venice are neutral ; that the King of Sardinia has required and obtained a subsidy from Great Britain, to enable him to act even on the defensive ; that the King of the Two Sicilies, professing to make common cause with his Majesty in the war against France, is bound to it by nothing but his own judgment, in the course of events which may occur, and that he is at liberty to abandon the common cause whenever he shall judge that he cannot any longer with justice and dignity continue the war ; that the efforts of Spain and Portugal have been completely ineffectual.

Resolved, XI. That with respect to the powers who were principals in the present war, (viz. the States General, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor) it appears to this House, that the States General, having refused to contract for the payment of their portion of the subsidies to be paid to the King of Prussia, beyond the term of the present year, have thereby reserved to themselves a right to withdraw from the support of the war, at that period, and to throw the whole burden of it upon Great Britain—That the King of Prussia being bound by the Convention of July, 1793, to act in the most perfect concert and the most intimate confidence with his Majesty, upon all the objects relative to the present war ; and having then promised to continue to employ his forces, as far as circumstances would permit, in carrying on the war ; and his Majesty having since been obliged, by the Treaty of the 19th April, 1794, to grant to the King of Prussia an enormous subsidy, in order to engage him to continue to co-operate in the prosecution of the war, it follows that the King of Prussia is no longer a principal party, nor even an auxiliary in the said war ; but that he basely lends out his troops to this country in return for a most profitable pecuniary compensation, at our expense ; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper share of the burthen of a war, which is said to be the common cause of every civilized state—Finally, that if it were expedient or necessary to purchase the King of Prussia's co-operation on such terms, the Emperor, whose interests are more directly at stake, was full as much bound in reason and justice as his Majesty or the States General could be, to contribute equally to that expense ; and that, if at any future period of the war, the Emperor's finances should be so exhausted as to make it impossible for him to maintain it on his part, at his own charge, his Imperial Majesty will be invited and encouraged, if not justified, by the example and success of the King of Prussia, to call upon this country to defray the whole expense of whatever army he may continue to

employ against the French ; nor does it appear to this House by what distinction in policy or in argument the terms granted to the King of Prussia can be refused to the Emperor, whose efforts and expenses in the course of the war have infinitely exceeded those of Prussia ; or how this country can, in prudence or with safety, decline a compliance with such demands, if it be true, as has been declared, that the destruction of the present French government is essential to the security of every thing which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation.

Resolved, XII. That it appears to this House, that in consequence of the events of the war on the continent and elsewhere, all views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, supposing the French to entertain such views, are evidently unattainable, and must be relinquished by France ; and that therefore the object of the war, as it was originally professed on our part, viz. the restoration of peace on terms of permanent security, is now attainable, and may be secured, provided that on one side, the French shall be content with the possession and safety of their own country ; and that we, on the other, should adhere to the principle of justice and policy, so often declared by his Majesty and avowed by his ministers, of uniformly abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France.

Resolved, XIII. That it is the duty of his Majesty's ministers to avail themselves of the present circumstances of the war, and to promote a pacification by every means in their power, by proposing to France equitable and moderate conditions, and above all things, by abstaining from any interference in the internal affairs of France.

Resolved, XIV. That it is the opinion of this House, that in every possible case, it is equally desirable that his Majesty should make an explicit declaration of his views. If it is the intention not to interfere in the internal government of France, nothing can contribute so much to advance a negotiation with those who now exercise the power of government in that country, as such a declaration solemnly and explicitly made. If on the other hand it is intended to interfere, it is highly essential to make the degree of interference precisely known, to induce such parts of the French nation as are dissatisfied with the present government, to unite and exert themselves with satisfaction and security.

On the 10th of July, Mr. Sheridan made the following motion in the House of Commons, which was negatived without a division, " That there be laid before the House, an account of monies issued to and received by the King of Prussia, in pursuance of the treaty concluded between his Majesty and the King of Prussia,

Prussia, signed at the Hague, the 19th of April, 1794, together with an account of the troops which have been employed in concert with his Majesty's troops, in pursuance of the same treaty."

On Friday, 11th July, his Majesty went in State to the House of Peers; and being seated on the Throne, and the Commons attending at the Bar, delivered the following most gracious Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE state of public business enables me to close this session of Parliament, in doing which I have again to acknowledge that assiduity and zeal for the interests of my people, of which you had before given me so many proofs, and which have been so particularly manifested in the present year.

I am persuaded that you entertain too just a sense of the nature and importance of the contest in which we are engaged, to suffer your zeal to be abated, or your perseverance shaken, by the recent successes of the enemy in the Netherlands.

In a moment which so strongly calls for energy and vigour, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to reflect on the uniform skill and bravery of my fleets and armies, the undaunted spirit and unwearied exertions of my officers and troops in every situation, and the general public spirit of my people, which have never at any period been more conspicuous.

I have observed with the highest satisfaction the rapid and valuable acquisitions made in the East and West Indies, the successful operations which have been carried on in the Mediterranean, and the brilliant and decisive victory obtained by my fleet under the command of Earl Howe, an event which must ever be remembered as one of the most glorious in the naval history of this country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my warmest thanks for the cheerfulness and liberality with which you have granted the large supplies which were necessary for the service of the year, and for the maintenance of a cause equally important to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I feel it incumbent upon me particularly to acknowledge your diligence in the investigation of the designs which had been formed against the government and constitution of these kingdoms, and to thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me on this occasion. It will be a principal object of
my

attention to make a vigorous and prudent use of the additional powers vested in me for the protection and security of my people; and relying, as I do, with the utmost confidence, on the uniform loyalty and public spirit of the great body of my subjects, I have no doubt of speedily and effectually repressing every attempt to disturb the public peace, and of defeating the wicked designs which have been in agitation.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that these designs against our domestic happiness are essentially connected with the system now prevailing in France, of which the principles and spirit are irreconcilably hostile to all regular and established government: and that we are therefore called upon by every consideration of our own internal safety to continue our efforts in conjunction with my allies, and to persevere with increased vigour and exertion in a contest, from the successful termination of which we can alone expect to establish on a solid and permanent foundation the future security and tranquillity either of this country, or of the other nations of Europe.

*A Return to the Order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated the 5th day of January, 1795, for
An account of the Monies issued to, and received by the King of Prussia, and what times, in pursuance of the Treaty concluded at the Hague, in April 1794.*

	£.	s.	d.
By Warrant dated 4th June, 1794, payable to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for the value of silver delivered by them to Messrs. Harman, Hoare and Harman, to be by them remitted to Berlin — — — — —	600,000	0	0
By Warrant dated 4th June, 1794, payable to Messrs. Harman, Hoare, and Harman, to be by them remitted to Berlin — — — — —	100,000	0	0
By Warrant dated 13th June, 1794, ditto, ditto — — — — —	100,000	0	0
————— 28th June, 1794, payable to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for the value of silver delivered by them to Messrs. Harman, Hoare, and Harman, to be by them remitted to Berlin — — — — —	120,000	0	0
By Warrant dated 22d July, 1794, payable to Messrs. Harman, Hoare, and Harman, to be by them remitted to Berlin — — — — —	100,000	0	0
By Warrant dated 13th August, 1794, ditto, ditto — — — — —	106,495	0	0
————— 24th Sept. 1794, ditto, ditto — — — — —	50,000	0	0
————— 4th Oct. 1794, ditto, ditto — — — — —	130,000	0	0
	£. 1,306,495	0	0
17th December, 1794, Messrs. Harman, Hoare, and Harman, repaid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, on account of the Paymaster General of the Forces — — — — —	80,000	0	0
And it appears by the account current of Messrs. Harman, Hoare, and Harman, that the sum of 2,299l. 3s. 4d. remains in their hands to be repaid to the Paymaster General — — — — —	2,299	3	4
	82,299	3	4

GEO. ROSE.

Treasury Chambers,
Jan. 7, 1798.

£. 1,224,195 16 8
APPEN.

APPENDIX.

HISTORY OF THE WAR

DURING THE YEAR 1794,

Between GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, RUSSIA, ITALY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, HOLLAND, &c. &c. on the one Side, and of FRANCE on the other; as recorded in the *London Gazette*, taken faithfully and only from that State Paper.

NAVAL EVENTS.

Admiralty-Office, January 28, 1794.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Lucas, of his Majesty's Ship Sphynx, to Mr. Stephens, dated Plymouth, the 21st Instant.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, being on a cruize off Cape Clear, on Sunday the 12th instant, we saw a sail to the westward, standing before the wind: we tacked after her. At noon she bore up to cross us, which was prevented. At two P. M. she began an unsuccessful fire, hoisted the national flag, and in about ten or twelve minutes struck to his Majesty's colours.

She proves to be the *La Trompeuse*, a National brig, mounting 18 six-pounders, commanded by Mons. Biller, a second captain, three lieutenants, and 105 men; quite a new vessel, cutter built, and stores complete for three months.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 10, 1794.

Rear-Admiral Macbride, in his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated 31st ult. mentions, that Sir John Borlase Warren, captain of his Majesty's ship *Flora*, being on a cruize on the coast of France, had captured, and sent to Portsmouth, a French republican brig, named *La Vipere*, of 16 six-pounders, 105 men, quite new, coppered, and only four days from Havre.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 11, 1794.

On Sunday, the 9th instant, a letter was received from commodore Ford, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships at Jamaica, addressed to Mr. Stephens, dated the 7th of December, 1793, of which the following is an extract; with a copy of the letter to which it refers.

"I request you will be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that since my letter of the 24th of November last, by the Antelope packet, nothing material has happened to the squadron under my command, except the capture of the Inconstant French frigate, by the Penelope and Iphigenia, the particulars whereof are stated in Captain Rowley's letter to me herein inclosed; and to which I shall add (in justice to the commendable zeal, activity, and enterprise of those officers on all occasions, the high condition and discipline of their ships), that, in my opinion, either of them alone would have accomplished what fell to their united efforts."

Penelope, Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, Nov. 30, 1793.

"Sir,

"I beg leave to acquaint you, that I sailed from Mole St. Nicholas on the 20th instant, having received intelligence that the Inconstant frigate was expected to leave Port au Prince, to convoy a large armed merchantman. On the day following, I fell in with his Majesty's ship Iphigenia, Captain Sinclair, to whom I gave orders to keep company, and was proceeding to Port au Prince, when I was informed from Leoganne, that the Inconstant had sailed with two small vessels for Petit Treu, but was daily expected back.

I immediately made sail with intention of trying to take or destroy her in the harbour; but on the night of the 25th, we had the good fortune to fall in with her, and after exchanging a few broadsides, she struck her colours to the frigates.

The Penelope had one man killed and seven wounded; amongst the latter is Mr. John Allen, midshipman. The Inconstant had six killed, amongst whom was the first lieutenant, the captain, and twenty wounded; of whom three are since dead.

From the gallant behaviour of lieutenant Malcolm, the officers, and ship's company, I have every reason to flatter myself, that, had either of his Majesty's frigates been single, they would have been equally fortunate in capturing her.

I beg leave to add, that captain Sinclair's very favourable report of the conduct of his officers and ship's company, is such as does them the greatest honour.

-I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. S. ROWLEY.

*John Ford, Esq. Commodore and
Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

Admiralty

Admiralty-Office, April 28, 1794.

The letters, of which the following are extracts, were this day received from Rear-Admiral Macbride.

Minotaur, Plymouth Sound, April 26, 1794.

Sir,

Be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Echo sloop arrived here yesterday morning, bringing with her a letter from Sir John Warren, of his Majesty's ship Flora, who was on his passage to Portsmouth with the Pomone and La Babet, French frigates, captured by the squadron detached under his command.

The Concorde and La Nymphe arrived yesterday evening with L'Engageante, another French frigate, captured by the Concorde. Inclosed are the letters from the captains, Sir John Warren and Sir Richard Strachan, to me on the occasion. The Resolu, another frigate that was in company escaped by her outfailing the Melampus and La Nymphe, who chased her into Morlaix.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

JOHN M^rBRIDE.

Philip Stephens, Esq.

Sir,

Flora at Sea, April 24.

In pursuance of your orders, I proceeded with the ships Arethusa, Melampus, La Nymphe, and Concorde, to cruize on the coast of France; and on the 23d inst. from variable winds being to the westward of Guernsey, Rock Dover bearing E. by S. four or five leagues, the Seven Islands S. S. W. four or five leagues, Guernsey N. E. half east seven or eight leagues, I discovered at four in the morning four sail, standing out to sea upon the larboard tack, the wind S. S. W. and, as the morning began to break, I saw from their manœuvres and firing of guns they were some of the enemy's ships of war. They soon afterwards appeared in a line of battle on the larboard tack; and as our ships from having chased, were not collected, I made the signal to form in succession. We crossed each other on contrary tacks, and the enemy began the action at a considerable distance; their sternmost ship having passed over, they again tacked; but the wind changing two points in our favour, I perceived it was possible to weather them, and therefore made the signal for the ships to engage as they came up, so as to prevent the enemy gaining their own shore, and to oblige them to come to a close action: I am happy to say we succeeded in this object.

The engagement lasted nearly three hours, when two of the ships struck: I then made the signal for those who were coming up to pursue and engage the enemy, as from the situation of this ship, having led the line into action, she was incapable of continuing the pursuit.

I am much indebted to Sir Edward Pellew in the Arethusa, who was

my second astern, and to the other officers and ships under my command, who exerted themselves in engaging and pursuing the enemy.

I have since been informed, that another of the enemy's ships struck to the *Concorde*, Sir Richard Strachan, in the evening; but, as that ship, and the *Nymph*, have not yet joined me, I cannot yet make any return of their state and condition.

The French squadron consisted of *L'Engageante*, 36 guns, 18 pounders, 300 men, *Monf. Desgarceaux* chef d'escade; *la Pomone*, 44 guns, 24 pounders, 400 men; *le Resolue*, 36 guns, 18 pounders, 320 men; *la Babet*, 22 guns, 9 pounders, 200 men; they sailed from Concal bay the evening before we met them.

I owe every obligation and acknowledgment to the officers and crew of this ship for their zeal and exertions upon this and every former occasion in the service of their king and country, and trust you will recommend them to their lordship's notice and protection.

Enclosed are lists of the killed and wounded, and also of the ships taken from the enemy.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,
your most obedient humble servant,
JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

Rear Admiral M'Bride.

A LIST of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships *Flora* and *Arethusa*, on the 23d of April, 1794.

Flora—1 seaman killed, 3 ditto wounded.

Arethusa—1 master's mate killed, 2 seamen killed, 5 seamen wounded.

A LIST of the killed and wounded on board the Conventional frigates *la Pomone* and *la Babet*, on the 23d of April, 1794.

La Pomone, between 80 and 100 killed and wounded.

La Babet, between 30 and 40 killed and wounded.

John Warren, Captain.

Flora at Sea, April 24, 1794.

An account of the Conventional frigates taken by the squadron, under the command of Sir J. B. Warren, Bart. on the 24th of April, 1794.

La Pomone—44 guns, 24 pounders; 400 men—143 feet keel—42 feet beam—1100 tons—5 years old, and supposed to be the finest frigate they had.

La Babet—22 guns, 9 pounders; 200 men.

(Signed)

J. B. Warren, Captain.

Flora, at Sea, April 24, 1794.

Sir,

La Concorde, Plymouth Sound, April 24, 1794.

I have the honour to acquaint you of my arrival here with his Majesty's ship under my command, with a French frigate which we took in the afternoon of the 23d instant. The early transactions of that day has been detailed to you by Sir John Warren, but as the *Flora* was at

too great a distance to observe my proceedings in the afternoon, I beg to relate the particulars of my conduct from the time we passed the Pomone after she had surrendered. About eleven A. M. we were near enough to receive and return the fire of the enemy's two frigates which were making off. It was my intention to endeavour to disable the sternmost, and leave her for the ships of his Majesty which were following us, and push on to attack the leading ship; but in this I was disappointed; for the leading ship bore down, and closed to support his second, and laying herself across our bows, soon disabled us in our sails and rigging so much, that we dropped astern. We soon got our sails on the ship again, and I purposed to keep the enemy's two ships in checque till ours arrived, as the only means of taking them both; but finding the day far advanced, and little probability of our being assisted, as our ships rather dropped, and expecting our main-top-mast, which was shot through, to go every minute, knowing that if our mast went, both the ships must escape, I determined to secure the one I was nearest. She was assisted for some time by her second, but, changing sides in the smoke, it prevented him from annoying us. She was defended with the greatest bravery from twelve till a quarter past two P. M. when being silenced, and totally unmanageable, they called they had surrendered. She proved to be L'Engageante, of 34 guns and four carronades, with 300 men. The other frigate, le Resolue, after firing a few shot, stood on, and our ship, much cut up in her sails and rigging, was not in a condition to follow her. The mast of the l'Engageante, in the evening, as we attempted to tow her, fell; and expecting ours to go also, I availed myself of seeing the Nymph and Melampus, returning from the chase of the Resolue, to make the signal for assistance. The Nymph joined us at night, and we steered for this port.

I must request you will please to inform their lordships that the zealous, cool, and steady conduct of the officers and ship's company was highly meritorious in the action; and their efforts in refitting the ship, after the fatigue they had experienced, exceeded any exertion I ever saw before. As the first lieutenant, Charles Apthorp, was mostly with me, I had an opportunity of observing the spirit of enterprise which pervaded his conduct, and I must acknowledge the great assistance he was of to me, from the able manner in which he performed the various duties I employed him upon; and am convinced also of the good conduct of lieutenants Boys and Evans, who commanded on the main deck. I enclose a report of the damages and state of the ship. And have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Rear Admiral McBride, &c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, May 6.

The following returns of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ship Melampus, captain Thomas Wells, and Concorde, captain Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart. in the engagement with the French frigates,

frigates on the 23d ult. have been received at this office since the publication of the Extraordinary Gazette of the 28th, viz.

Melampus—1 officer (Mr. S. R. C. Chamberlain, master), 3 seamen, and 1 marine, killed—1 officer (lieutenant John Campbell, of marines), 3 seamen and 1 marine, wounded.

Concorde—1 seamen killed ; 12 ditto wounded.

Admiralty Office, May 21.

Rear Admiral Kingsmill, in his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated Cork, the 17th instant, gives an account of the arrival of captain Boyles, of his Majesty's ship Swiftsure, with the French frigate l'Atalante, of 38 guns and 274 men, commanded by Monf. Linois, which he captured the 7th instant, after a chase of thirty-nine hours.

The Swiftsure had one man killed by a random shot ; the frigate 10 men killed and 32 wounded.

Admiralty Office, June 9.

Extract of a letter from Francis Laforey, Esq. Captain of his Majesty's ship Carysfort of 28 guns, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Plymouth Sound, the 7th instant.

On the 29th of last month, being in latitude 46 deg. 38 min. north, longitude 9 deg. 40 min. west, his Majesty's ship fell in with, and, after an action of an hour and fifteen minutes, captured a French frigate (late his Majesty's ship the Castor) commanded by Monf. L'Auilier, mounting 32 guns, and manned with 200 men.

She had parted company from the French squadron on the 24th in chase of a Dutch brig, which she had in tow when we first discovered her, and which, upon our coming up, was enabled to effect her escape.

I have the satisfaction of reporting to their lordships the uniform good conduct of the officers and crew of his Majesty's ship I have the honour to command ; and I feel myself indebted to lieutenants Worsely and Sayer for the spirited example they set to a new ship's company.

Herewith I transmit a return of the loss sustained by his Majesty's ship in killed and wounded, with as accurate a one as we have been able to obtain of that of the enemy.

Carysfort—1 seaman killed ; 5 seamen, 1 marine wounded.

Le Castor—16 seamen killed ; 9 seamen wounded.

Admiralty Office, June 7.

The following is an Extract of a Letter from William Parker, Esq. Captain of his Majesty's Ship Audacious, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Plymouth Sound, on the 3d instant.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for their lordships information, that, on the 28th ult. in the morning about eight o'clock, his Majesty's fleet, under the command of Earl Howe, then in the latitude 47 deg. 33 min. north, longitude 14 deg. 10 min. west, got sight of that of the enemy.

The

The wind blew strong from the southward, and the enemy's fleet directly to windward.

Every thing was done by his Majesty's fleet, per signals from the Earl Howe (preserving them in order) to get up with the enemy, who appeared to be forming in order of battle. But, as I apprehend his lordship considered their conduct began rather to indicate an intention of avoiding a general action, at fifty-five minutes after one o'clock he directed a general chace.

It was just becoming dark when his Majesty's ship under my command arrived up with the rear ship of the enemy's line. I immediately commenced a very close action, which continued near two hours without intermission; never exceeding the distance of half a cable's length, but generally closer, and several times in the utmost difficulty to prevent falling on board, which, as his last effort to appearance, at about ten o'clock he attempted to effect. At this time his mizen-mast was gone by the board, his lower yards and main top-sail yard shot away; his fore top-sail being full (though flying out from the top-sail yard, the sheets being shot away) he fell athwart our bows, but we separated without being entangled any time. He then directed his course before the wind, and, to appearance, passed through or close astern of the ships in the rear of our line.

When the enemy separated from athwart our bows, the company of his Majesty's ship, under my command, gave three cheers, from the idea, taken from the people quartered forward, that his colours were struck. This I cannot myself take upon me to say, though think it likely, from his situation obliging him to pass through or near to our line: but certain it is, he was completely beaten; his fire slackened towards the latter part of the action, and the last broadside (the ships' sides almost touching each other) he sustained without returning more than the fire of two or three guns.

His Majesty's ship under my command, at the time we separated, lay with her top-sails aback (every brace, bowline, most of her standing and all her running rigging shot away), in an unmanageable state. It was some time before I could get her to wear, to run to leeward of the French line, under cover of our own ships, which, by what I could judge by their lights, were all pretty well up, and tolerably formed.

This being effected, I turned all hands to the repairing our damages, to get into readiness (if possible) to resume our station at day-light.

The rear of the French line had been engaged, at a distance, by rear-admiral Pasley's division, and some other ships that did not fetch so far to windward, a considerable time before I arrived up with them; and this very ship was engaged by one of his Majesty's ships, at some distance to leeward, the time I did.

The night being very dark, I could form but little judgment of the situation of our fleet with respect to the French, in point of distance, other than, not hearing any firing after our own ceased, I concluded they were scarcely far enough to windward.

Soon after day-light the next morning, to our uttermost chagrin and
astonishment,

astonishment, we discovered nine sail of the enemy's ships about three miles to windward.

The Audacious then, with her standing rigging but very indifferently scoppered, her fore-sail and top-sails unbent, main top-sail in the top in the act of bending, we put before the wind, with the main and fore top-mast stay-sails only, ill set, from the stays being shot away; but, it being hazy with rain, and soon becoming thick, we, for a time were covered from their view, and before, as I apprehend, they had formed a judgment of what we were.

The greatest exertion was used by every officer and man in the ship to get the other fore-sail and main top-sail bent. The fore top-mast being so badly wounded, the fore top-sail was of but little moment; however, the people brought the damaged sail to the yard again, though it could not be hoisted; but, before we got the fore-sail and main top-sail set, the haze cleared off, and we soon discovered ourselves to be chased by two of the enemy's ships. At this period we saw the ship we had engaged, without any mast standing, and passed her about a mile and a half distance. The ships coming up with us very fast, our situation became very alarming, until we got the main top-gallant-sail, main top-mast, and top-gallant studding-sails set, when it was judged we nearly preserved our distance. However, from the fore-mast being in a tolerable state of security, at half past nine we were about setting a lower studding-sail, when three sail, that had been discovered to the eastward some time before (*viz.* two ships and a brig), coming pretty near to us, hoisted French colours.

The state of our masts did not admit of making alteration in our course; they observing our shattered state, and two ships in chace of us, stood athwart us boldly within fire, and shot were exchanged; the one a large frigate and the other two corvettes; but, as we had so much sail out, they fell astern for a considerable time: at length the frigate came within shot of us again, and harassed us, by a distant cannonade upon the quarter, upwards of an hour, but without doing us any material injury, we only firing some of our after-guns upon each deck at her. She was observed to make a signal to the ships astern, and soon after, *viz.* about half past twelve o'clock, with the two corvettes, hauled her wind, and, by its becoming hazy, the whole were soon out of sight.

Having been chased twenty-four leagues directly to leeward, and the crippled state of the bowsprit being such as judged impossible to stand if the ship was hauled to the wind, I considered the endeavouring to find the fleet again might put his Majesty's ship (in her defective state), to too much risque, and therefore judged it most advantageous for the service to proceed to port without loss of time to refit; which I hope may meet with their lordships approbation.

I must beg you will be pleased to represent to their lordships, that the conduct of the lieutenants of his Majesty's ship, under my command, during the action, merits all the praise I can bestow upon them; as also that of lieutenant Crofton, of the 69th regiment, whose alertness and activity with his men at small arms, in supporting the
seamen

seamen armed to defend the boarding (which occurred twice during the action) gave me perfect satisfaction.

The conduct of my ship's company, also that of the soldiers of the 69th regiment, exceeded every possible expectation; in fact, the whole of the officers and men, in their different departments, behaved in a most exemplary manner.

'Tis wonderful, after such an action, that I have the happiness to say, the whole number killed and wounded are but twenty-two: Three were killed on the spot. One died soon after, and the life of two more is despaired of.

The captain and some of the officers of a French corvette, which we took possession of, and burnt a few mornings before, by the Earl Howe's order, viewed the ship we had engaged, while passing her in the morning, and were of opinion she is called la Revolutionnaire, formerly the Bretagne.

In case their Lordships should have any enquiries to make further, I have dispatched lieutenant Joseph Bingham, my senior lieutenant on board, with the charge of this letter, who is a very excellent officer, and an intelligent young man, and, I trust, capable of giving every requisite information.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, June 10.

Sir Roger Curtis, first Captain to the Admiral Earl Howe, arrived this evening with a dispatch from his Lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy:

*Queen Charlotte at Sea, June 2, 1794.
Ushant, E. Half N. 140 leagues.*

Sir,

Thinking it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this dispatch, to the occurrences when in presence of the enemy yesterday.

Finding, on my return off Brest on the 19th past, that the French fleet had, a few days before, put to sea; and receiving, on the same evening, advices from Rear-Admiral Montague, I deemed it requisite to endeavour to form a junction with the Rear-Admiral as soon as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the Venus.

But having gained very credible intelligence, on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to suppose the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather gage having been obtained, in the progress of the last mentioned day, and the fleet being in a situation for bringing the enemy

enemy to close action the 1st instant, the ships bore up together for that purpose, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed to his Majesty's fleet of twenty-five (the Audacious having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French Admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships of his van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismasted ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The Queen Charlotte had then lost her fore top-mast, and the main top-mast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were, at this time, so much disabled, or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing still continued, that two or three, even of their dismantled ships, attempting to get away under a spritsail singly, or smaller sail raised on the stump of the foremast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one of which, however, sunk before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved.

The Brunswick, having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy, in that predicament, I flattered myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four ships of his Majesty's fleet re-assembled later in the day; and I am preparing to return with them, as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured, for Spithead.

The material injury to his Majesty's ships, I understand, is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not yet been able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montagu is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The numbers of both descriptions I hope will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being to add, on the same subject, that admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley, and capt. Hutt of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, I have the satisfaction to hear, in a favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships, the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers, and the ships companies employed under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and I trust,
I shall

I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon, for being communicated at a future opportunity; more especially as my first captain, sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this dispatch, will be able to give the farther information the lords commissioners of the admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his councils, as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties; and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my second captain, sir Andrew Douglas.

I am, with great consideration, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
HOWE.

P. S. The names and force of the captured French ships with the fleet is transmitted herewith.

LIST OF FRENCH SHIPS CAPTURED ON THE FIRST DAY OF JUNE,
1794.

La Juste	80 guns
Sans Pareille	80
L'America	74
L'Achille	74
Northumberland	74
L'Impeteux	74
Vengeur	74 sunk almost immediately

upon being taken possession of.

N. B. The ship stated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of last month, is said by the prisoners to be the Revolutionaire of 120 guns.

S U P P L E M E N T

To the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, on Wednesday the 11th of June.

Admiralty Office, June 14, 1794.

A letter was received yesterday evening from admiral earl Howe, to Mr. Stephens, dated that day, off of Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, giving an account of his safe arrival with the captured French ships of the line, mentioned in his former letter of the 2d instant, and with a great part of his Majesty's fleet, under his command, having sent the remainder into Plymouth Sound. The following are the returns of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships, in the action with the French fleet on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st inst. and also of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk on the last-mentioned day.

A RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED ON BOARD HIS
MAJESTY'S SHIPS.

Cæsar—18 seamen killed, 37 seamen wounded. Total 55.

C 2

Bellerophon—

Bellerophon—3 seamen, 1 marine killed; 26 seamen, 1 marine wounded. Total 31.
 Leviathan—10 seamen killed; 32 seamen, 1 marine wounded. Total 43.
 Sovereign—11 seamen, 3 marines killed; 39 seamen, 5 marines wounded. Total 58.
 Marlborough—24 seamen, 5 marines killed; 76 seamen, 14 marines wounded. Total 119.
 Defence—14 seamen, 4 marines killed; 29 seamen, 10 marines wounded. Total 57.
 Impregnable—7 seamen killed; 24 seamen wounded. Total 31.
 Tremendous—2 seamen, 1 marine killed; 6 seamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 11.
 Barfleur—8 seamen, 1 marine killed; 22 seamen, 3 soldiers wounded. Total 34.
 Culloden *
 Invincible—9 seamen, 5 marines killed; 21 seamen, 10 marines wounded. Total 45.
 Gibraltar—1 seaman, 1 marine killed; 12 seamen wounded. Total 14.
 The Charlotte—13 seamen 1 marine killed; 12 seamen wounded. Total 14.
 †Brunswick—parted company on the 1st of June.
 Valiant—1 seaman, 1 marine killed; 5 seamen, 4 marines wounded. Total 11.
 Queen—30 seamen, 6 marines killed; 57 seamen, 13 marines wounded. Total 103.
 Orion—5 seamen killed; 20 seamen, 4 marines wounded. Total 29.
 Ramilies—2 seamen killed; 7 seamen wounded. Total 9.
 Alfred—6 seamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 8.
 Russel—7 seamen, 1 marine killed; 24 seamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 34.
 Royal George—18 seamen, 2 marines killed; 63 seamen, 9 marines wounded. Total 92.
 Montague—4 seamen killed; 13 seamen wounded. Total 17.
 Majestic—3 seamen killed; 4 seamen wounded, 1 marine wounded. Total 8.

* By a separate return it appears that she had 2 men killed, and Mr. Tristram Whitter, the third lieutenant, and four men wounded.

† The return, since she came to Spithead, is as follows, viz.

Seamen.—1 master's mate, 1 midshipman, 30 seamen, killed. 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 midshipman, 91 seamen wounded—Total, 32 killed---94 wounded.

Names of Officers and Petty Officers killed and wounded.

Mr. Thomas Dalton, master's mate; and Mr. James Lucas, midshipman, killed.

Captain John Harvey, lieutenant Rowland Bevan, and Mr. ——— Hurdis, (midshipman) wounded.

Glory

Glory—13 seamen killed ; 31 seamen, 8 marines wounded. Total 52.
 Thunderer— none killed or wounded.

* Audacious—parted company in the night of the 28th of May.

Grand total, 203 seamen, 32 marines killed ; 578 seamen, 91 marines wounded—904.

NAMES OF THE OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED, ON BOARD HIS
 MAJESTY'S SHIPS.

K I L L E D.

Royal Sovereign, Mr. W. Ivey, midshipman.

Marlborough, Abr. Nelham, ditto.

Defence, W. Webster, master, John Fitzpatrick, boatswain.

Impregnable, David Caird, master.

Tremendous, Francis Rofs, first lieutenant.

The Charlotte R. Rawlence, 7th ditto, John Neville, lieutenant
 Queen's regiment.

Queen, W. Mitchell, master.

Royal George, G. Heighman, 8th lieutenant, J. Hughes, midshipman.

Montagu, James Montagu, esq. captain.

Glory, Mr. G. Metcalfe, master, David Greig, midshipman.

WOUNDED, and unable to come to quarters.

Bellerophon, T. Pasley, esq. rear-admiral of the White—T. Smith,
 capt. of marines, — Chapman, boatswain.

Leviathan, Mr. Glen, midshipman.

Royal Sovereign, T. Graves, esq. admiral of the Blue—Mr. C. Money,
 capt. marines, S. Mitchel, lieut. of marines.

Marlborough, hon. G. Berkley, capt.—Mr. A. Roddock, 2d lieut.—
 Mr. M. Seymour, 5th ditto.—Mr. Fitzgerald, midshipman.—Mr.
 Shorland, ditto.—Mr. Linthorne, ditto.—Mr. Clarges, ditto.—Mr.
 M. Pardoe, master's mate.

Defence, Mr. J. Elliott, master's mate, Mr. Boycotte, ensign, Queen's
 regiment.

Impregnable, Mr. W. Buller, lieut. Mr. Patterllo, boatswain.

Barfleur, G. Bowyer, esq. rear admiral of the White, Mr. W. Prowse,
 6th lieutenant, Mr. Fogo, midshipman, Mr. Clemons, midshipman.

Queen Charlotte, Mr. J. Holland, midshipman.

Queen, John Hutt, esq. captain, Mr. Dawes, 2d lieut. since dead ;
 Mr. Lawrie, 6th lieut. Mr. G. Crimes, acting lieutenant, Mr.
 Kinnier, midshipman.

Ruffel, Mr. Stewart, midshipman, Mr. Kelly, ditto, Mr. Douglas,
 boatswain.

Royal George, Mr. J. Ireland, 2d lieut. Mr. J. Balmbrough, master,
 Mr. Boys, midshipman, Mr. Pearce, midshipman.

* The return of the killed and wounded has already been published
 in the Gazette of the 7th instant.

Montagu, hon. Mr. Bennet, midshipman, Mr. T. Moore, midshipman.

The second captain, Sir Andrew Douglas, of the *Queen Charlotte*, was wounded, but resumed his station on deck during the further continuance of the action on the 1st inst.

HOWE.

SOLDIERS (29th regiment).

1 captain, 11 non-commissioned officers and privates killed; 1 ensign, 10 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded.—Total, 12 killed—20 wounded.

NAMES OF THE OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Captain Alexander Saunders, killed. Ensign Harcourt Vernon, wounded.

An Account of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk on the 1st of June, 1794.

Le Juste, 100 killed, 145 wounded; *Sans Pareil*, 260 killed, 120 wounded; *L'Amerique*, 134 killed, 110 wounded; *L'Achilles*, 36 killed, 30 wounded; *Northumberland*, 60 killed, 100 wounded; *L'Impetueux*, 100 killed, 75 wounded.—Total, 690 killed—580 wounded.

Le Vengeur, 320 sunk.—*Le Jacobin*, sunk in action, not a man saved.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, June 21.

Admiralty-Office, June 21.

A Letter, of which the following is a copy, from Admiral Earl Howe to Mr. Stephens, supplementary to his Lordship's letter of the 2d instant, published in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 11th, was received late last night.

In the extract of the journal herewith enclosed, the proceedings of the fleet are stated from the time of leaving St. Helen's on the 2d of last month to that of the first discovery of the French fleet on the 28th of the same. For the farther information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, I have now therefore to relate the subsequent transactions not already communicated in my dispatch of the 2d instant, to be delivered by my first captain, Sir Roger Curtis.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered by the advanced frigates, far distant on the weather bow. The wind then fresh from the S. by W. with a very rough sea.

They came down, for some time, in a loose order, seemingly unapprized that they had the British fleet in view. After hauling to the wind when they came nearer, they were some hours before they could completely form in regular order of battle upon the starboard tack; the British fleet continuing as before in the order of sailing.

The time required for the enemy to perfect their disposition, had facilitated the nearer approach of his Majesty's fleet to them, and for the separately appointed and detached part of it, commanded by rear-admiral

admiral Pasley, to be placed more advantageously for making an impression on their rear.

The signals denoting that intention being made, the rear-admiral, near upon the close of the day, led his division on with peculiar firmness, and attacked a three-decked ship (the *Revolutionaire*), the sternmost in the enemy's line.

Making known soon after that he had a top-mast disabled, assistance was directed to be given to him in that situation. The quick approach of night only allowed me to observe, that lord Hugh Seymour (*Conway*) in the *Leviathan*, with equal good judgment and determined courage, pushed up alongside of the three-decked French ship, and was supported, as it appeared, by captain Parker of the *Audacious*, in the most spirited manner.

The darkness which now prevailed did not admit of my making any more accurate observations on the conduct of those ships and others concerned in the same service; but I have since learned that the *Leviathan* stretched on farther a-head, for bringing the second ship from the enemy's rear to action, as soon as her former station could be occupied by a succeeding British ship; also that the three-decked ship in the enemy's rear aforesaid, being unsustained by their other ships, struck to the *Audacious*, and they parted company together soon after.

The two opponent fleets continued on the starboard tack, in a parallel direction, the enemy still to windward the remainder of the night. The British fleet appearing in the morning of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough advanced for the ships in the van to make some farther impression on the enemy's rear, was tacked in succession with that intent.

The enemy wore hereupon from van to rear, and continued edging down in line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet; when arrived at such distance as to be just able to reach our most advanced ships, their headmost ships, as they came successively into the wake of their respective seconds a-head, opened with that distant fire upon the headmost ships of the British van. The signal for passing through their line, made when the fleet tacked before, was then renewed.

It could not be for some time seen, through the fire from the two fleets in the van, to what extent that signal was complied with. But as the smoke at intervals dispersed, it was observed that the *Cæsar*, the leading ship of the British van, after being about on the starboard tack, and come abreast of the *Queen Charlotte*, had not kept to the wind; and that the appointed movement would consequently be liable to fail of the purposed effect.

The *Queen Charlotte* was therefore immediately tacked: and, followed by the *Bellerophon*, her second astern (and soon after joined by the *Leviathan*), passed through in action, between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear of the enemy's line. She was put about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the enemy, in preparation for renewing the action with the advantage of that weathermost situation.

The rest of the British fleet being at this time passing to leeward, and without the sternmost ships, mostly of the French line, the enemy wore

wore again to the eastward in succession for succouring the disabled ships of their rear; which intention, by reason of the then disunited state of the fleet, and having no more than the two crippled ships, the *Bellerophon* and *Leviathan*, at that time near me, I was unable to obstruct.

The enemy having succeeded in that operation, wore round again, after some distant cannonading of the nearest British ships, occasionally returned, and stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the British fleet in the same order (but with the weather gage retained) as soon as the ships coming forward to close with the *Queen Charlotte* were suitably arranged.

The fleets remained separated some few miles, in view at times on the intermission of a thick fog, which lasted most part of the two next days.

The commander of a fleet, their lordships know, is unavoidably so confined in his view of occurrences in time of battle, as to be little capable of rendering personal testimony to the meritorious service of officers who have profited, in a greater extent, by the opportunities to distinguish themselves on such occasion.

To discharge this part of my public duty, reports were called for from the flag officers of the fleet, for supplying the defects of my observance, under the limited circumstances above-mentioned. Those officers, therefore, who have such particular claim to my attention, are the admirals Graves and sir Alex. Hood; the rear-admirals Bowyer, Gardner, and Pasley; the captains lord Hugh Seymour, Pakenham, Berkeley, Gambier, John Harvey, Payne, Parker, Henry Harvey, Pringle, Dunkworth, and Elphinstone. Special notice is also due of the captain Nicholls of the *Sovereign* and Hope of the *Bellerophon*, who became charged with, and well conducted those ships when the wounded flag officers, under whom they respectively served therein, were no longer able to remain at their posts; and the lieutenants Monckton of the *Marlborough*, and Donnelly of the *Montagu*, in similar situations. These selections, however, should not be construed to the disadvantage of other commanders, who may have been equally deserving of the approbation of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, although I am not enabled to make a particular statement of their merits.

To the reports from the flag officers are added those required from the several captains of the fleet, whereby their lordships will become more particularly acquainted with the meritorious services of the several commanders, and animated intrepidity of their subordinate officers and ships companies; to which the defeat of the enemy, with every advantage of situation and circumstance in their favour, is truly to be ascribed. To the like purport, I beg my testimony, in behalf of the officers and company of every description in the *Queen Charlotte*, may be accepted.

Admiralty

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 16, 1794.

Admiralty-Office, August 16.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Montgomery, of his Majesty's Ship Inconstant, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Smyrna Bay, June 30, 1794.

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I sailed from Naples Bay the 1st inst. in company with his Majesty's ships named in the margin*, having under convoy one English merchantman and seven Dutch, and arrived with them in safety at this place the 22d.

Being off the island of Argentierra on the 16th instant, I received information that the French commodore had been seen, the evening before, between the islands of Tino and Miconi convoying three merchantmen. I immediately gave directions to the hon. captain Paget to remain with the convoy, and made sail, with his Majesty's ships, Leda and Tartar, in the hopes of coming up with them before they could reach the island of Scio. Being in sight of the said island at day-light next morning, and there being no appearance of the enemy, I then hauled our wind to rejoin the convoy; and in the afternoon was informed, by the master of the Mercury Smyrna ship, of what captain Paget had discovered. I then left the convoy under the care of captain Freemantle of the Tartar, and with the Leda, made all sail for Miconi Bay, where we did not arrive till early the next morning, and there found captain Paget in possession of La Sybille and the three merchantmen, as stated in his letter to me, a copy of which I enclose for their lordships' information.

Too much praise cannot be given to captain Paget, for the very judicious and able manner with which he conducted himself throughout the business, and the great care he took in placing his ship in such manner as not to injure the inhabitants; and the humanity he shewed the prisoners, and to those who were wounded and had got on shore after she struck, does him the highest honour.

The very high discipline and good order of his ship manifested itself on every occasion by the alertness with which every point of duty was carried on, though she was much weakened by being, before the action, 74 working men short of her complement.

And it is with the greatest satisfaction I convey to their lordships the encomiums captain Paget bestows on lieutenant Brisbane, and the rest of his officers, which, I am persuaded, they highly merit.

I beg leave to point out that the island of Miconi is perfectly defenceless; there being neither a fort, flag, or even a Turkish inhabitant on it.

The Romney and Tartar, with La Sybille, arrived here this day; the latter is pierced for forty-eight guns, and mounts twenty-six eighteen pounders on the main deck, making use of a shifting gun for the spare after-port: she carried twelve nine pounders, and two forty-two

* Romney, Leda, and Tartar.

pounder carronades on the quarter deck, and four nine pounders on the forecastle; was built at Toulon, has been launched two years and a half, and measures

Her gun deck in length	-	157 feet.
Extreme breadth, from out to out		41
Quarter-deck in length	-	82

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Captain Paget, of his Majesty's Ship Romney, to Captain Montgomery of the Inconstant, dated in Miconi Bay, June 18, 1794.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that yesterday morning, on my passage between the islands of Tino and Miconi (in his Majesty's ship Romney, under my command, and the convoy I had the honour of receiving charge of from you the preceding day) I discovered a frigate under national colours, and a broad pendant, at anchor in shore, with three merchantmen. Judging the convoy to be in perfect safety, as you was in sight from the mast head, I made the signal for them to make the best of their way towards you, hauled my wind, and came to an anchor in Miconi road, within a little more than a cable's length from the French commodore. I immediately sent to him to desire he would strike his colours, and surrender to his Britannic Majesty, or that I should fire into him: He sent me for answer that he was well acquainted with the force of my ship; that he was well prepared for me both with men and ammunition, and that he had made oath never to strike his colours. By this time he had placed his ship between me and the town of Miconi, which obliged me to carry out another anchor, and warp the ship further a-head, in order that my guns might point clear of the town. At one P. M. I got abreast of him, and having secured the ship with springs on the cables, I gave him a broadside, which he instantly returned. The action lasted, without a moment's intermission, for one hour and ten minutes, when I had the satisfaction of seeing the national colours hauled down, and of taking possession of her and the merchantmen. She proved to be La Sybille, of forty-six guns and four hundred and thirty men, commanded by commodore Rondeau. I have sent on board to take the command of her, Mr. Brisbane, first lieutenant of the Romney, an officer of the most distinguished merit, whom I beg leave to recommend in the strongest manner, and whose very cool gallant behaviour, and prompt obedience to my orders during the action, as well as lieutenants Field and O'Bryen, Mr. Paterson the master, and all the other officers, with the ship's company, I cannot sufficiently commend.

I am sorry to conclude with informing you, that I had eight seamen killed in the action, and thirty wounded, two of whom are since dead.

La Sybille had fifty-five men killed, including the second lieutenant and captain of marines, and one hundred and three wounded, nine of which are since dead.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 2, 1794.

Extract of a Letter from Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. Captain of his Majesty's ship Flora, to Mr. Stephens, dated Falmouth, August 29, 1794.

I beg you will inform their lordships that I put to sea, with his Majesty's Squadron under my command, on the 7th instant: and on the 14th in the evening stood to the northward, to obtain information of a French Squadron of frigates that were supposed to be cruising to the westward, and northward of Scilly; but not having seen them, I stood over towards the Penmarks, and on the 23d, at four A. M. I discovered one of the enemy's frigates, made the signal for a general action, and continued the pursuit until four P. M. when his Majesty's ship Diamond, in company with the Artois, Santa Margaritta, and Diana, engaged and ran her on shore near the Penmark rocks, where they left her on beam ends, disabled and irrecoverably lost. I understand from the report of several officers, that she was La Felicite, of 40 guns, upon a cruise, and had left Brest six days.

Having seen two ships, corvettes, to windward of Point de Ras, I gave chase, in company with his Majesty's ship Arethusa, when the enemy stood into the Bay d'Hodierne, and anchored off the Gamelle rocks: perceiving my intention of closing with them, they got under weigh, and ran aground under cover of three batteries. The two ships continued engaging till a quarter after six P. M. when the corvettes' masts went by the board, and the crews got on shore.

I immediately ordered our boats manned and armed, with directions to put themselves under Sir Edward Pellew's orders, and to set the enemy's ships on fire, or otherwise destroy them; which service was happily performed, he having represented to me that there were from twenty to thirty killed and wounded in the Alert, and a great number

in L'Espion; and that it was impossible to remove the wounded to the other frigates, as many of them must have suffered in so doing: For the sake of humanity I judged it proper to let them remain, as the enemy's vessels were bilged and scuttled, the rocks appearing through their bottoms; and it being impossible to get them off, it would have occasioned much delay; being then only nine leagues from Brest, I therefore brought away fifty-two prisoners, and stood to sea.

I have great pleasure in saying, that the destruction of the French vessels was obtained with very trifling loss, as will be seen in the margin*, and that every effort was made by the officers and men in the different ships, in the execution of their duty, which was performed with the utmost alacrity, and will, I trust, meet with their lordships' approbation.

I beg leave to add, that the Squadron on the 27th instant recaptured the Queen, of London, from Jamaica; also the Mary, a brig from New Orleans, bound to London, laden with furs, indigo, &c. &c.

* Diamond, 5 wounded.

Santa Margaritta, 1 wounded.

A List of French Ships of War destroyed by the Squadron under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, on the 23d of August, 1794.

	Guns.	Weight.	Men.
Le Felicite,	40	18 pounders,	350
L'Espion,	18	9 ditto,	200
Alert,	18	9 ditto,	200

The two last ships were formerly in our service.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Tuesday, October 28.

Admiralty-Office, October 27.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, Captain of his Majesty's Ship the Arethusa, to Mr. Stephens, dated off the Start, the 24th instant.

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships, that I sailed with the ships under my command, as per margin *, agreeable to their orders, on Sunday morning the 19th, from Cawsand Bay; and the wind having given me the opportunity, on the following evening I shaped a course for Ushant, with the hope of falling in with any ships which might leave the port of Brest on the commencement of the easterly wind; the success of this intention affords me the pleasure of begging you to acquaint my lords commissioners, that at day-break in the morning of the 21st, Ushant bearing east about eight or ten leagues, we had the good fortune to fall in with the French national frigate La Revolutionnaire, to which the whole of the squadron gave chase. The advantage of being to windward permitted our cutting her off from the land; and the superior sailing of the Artois afforded to captain Nagle the happy opportunity of distinguishing himself by a well-conducted action of forty minutes, when La Revolutionnaire struck her colours to his Majesty's ship Artois, which she was induced to do by the near approach of the rest of the squadron; and perceiving the Diamond in the act of taking a position under her stern to rake her, the ship's company refused to defend her any longer. She had scarcely surrendered when the Breakers of the Saints were discovered a-head, although very hazy weather.

The distressed and crippled state of the enemy allows me the opportunity of saying, that her resistance could have been of no avail, had the Artois been alone; and if an officer of nearly the same standing may be permitted, without presumption, to offer his sentiments on the conduct of another, I should not confine myself in my expressions of approbation on the behaviour of captain Nagle; and I have much pleasure in adding, that he speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry and good conduct of his officers and ship's company, lamenting as we all do,

* Arethusa, Artois, Diamond, and Galatea.

lofs a very gallant and worthy officer, in lieutenant Craigy of the mines, who, with two men killed, and five wounded, are the sufferers this occasion.

La Revolutionnaire is a remarkable fine new frigate, most completely armed, and of large dimensions, being 159 feet long, and 41 feet 7 inches wide, built at Havre de Grace, and never before at sea. She sailed eight days since on her way to Brest, and was commanded by Captain Thevenard, mounting 44 guns †, 28 on her main deck, and 16 on her quarter deck and forecastle, and manned with 370 men, eight of whom were killed and five wounded; among the latter is her captain slightly.

Lieutenant Pellew, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to their lordships, will be able to give any farther information required; and will inform their lordships of my intention of going to Plymouth to land the prisoners, who have the small-pox among them.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

ED. PELLEW.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Saturday Jan. 10.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 7. 1795.

letter was this day received from Captain Newcombe, of his Majesty's ship the Orpheus, to Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, dated in Madras Road, the 25th of July, 1794, of which the following is an Extract.

On the 5th of May, captain Osborne, of the Centurion, made the signal for a sail, and captain Pakenham, of the Resistance, for seeing Round Island bearing south-west by west, six or seven leagues. I waited till the strange sails ran down so near to us that we could lay to for them; I then made the signal to chase: at forty-five minutes past eleven I got near enough to fire a shot at the ship; at fifty-five minutes past eleven I brought him to action, and by a little after twelve I got close upon his starboard quarter, where we kept till five minutes past one, so very close, that at times I expected to be on board; and at that time the enemy struck; the Centurion and Resistance went three miles astern, under a great press of sail, coming up. She proved to be a French frigate, called La Duguaytrouin, of thirty-four guns, and formerly the Princess Royal East Indiaman, fitted out at the service of France, with twenty-six eighteen pounders, two nine-pounders, and six four pounders, having four hundred and three men on board. I cannot say too much in praise of the steady, cool, and brave conduct of the officers, seamen, and mariners of his Majesty's ship Orpheus.

† 28 eighteen-pounders, 12 nine ditto, and 4 forty-two ditto.

Our loss is very inconsiderable, considering the superior force of the enemy : Mr. Singleton, midshipman, killed ; Mr. Staines, mate, badly wounded in his left hand, and eight seamen slightly. The enemy's loss was twenty-one killed and sixty wounded.

I must beg leave to recommended to their lordships notice lieutenants Broughton and Goate, also Mr. Staines, who commanded the gun in the absence of lieutenant Hodgskin, who was unfortunately on board the Danish ship, with one mate, one midshipman, and twenty seamen. At the time the ship struck we were about two leagues from the passage between Flat Island and Coin au Mire, and one league from the shore ; the other sail, a small brig, made her escape through the channel and got safe into Port Louis.

Finding the bowsprit shot through and through, and three of the knees of the head intirely cut away, the distressed state of Duguay-trouin, from sickness and want of water, obliged me to seek the first port ; and on the 16th of May I anchored with his Majesty's ships at Mahe, one of the Sechelle Islands. Finding the French had formed a settlement, and no refreshments to be procured, I summoned the place to surrender, and sent lieutenant Goate, with lieutenant Matthews, and a party of marines, and took possession of it the next day for his Britannic Majesty. Not thinking it of sufficient consequence to leave any force, I quitted the place, having taken the Republican flag and all the military and naval stores, also the brig *Le Olizete*, leaving the implements of agriculture, for building houses, &c. for the use of the poor inhabitants.

From the very sickly state of many of the French prisoners, and almost a certainty of their dying if embarked to proceed to Madras, I was induced, from motives of humanity, to leave behind several officers and men, having written to Mr. Malartie, governor of the Isle of France, to request he would release the same number of our prisoners, and of the same rank as those that I had left at Mahe ; about one hundred and forty more deserted, and got into the woods. The 26th I made the *Resistance's* signal to chase, and she brought in the *Deux Andres*, from *Mosambique*, loaded with four hundred and eight slaves. The 1st of June I sailed with his Majesty's ships and prizes, and on the 18th anchored at Madras.

ARMIES

IN THE

NETHERLANDS.

the LONDON GAZETTE, Saturday, Feb. 1, 1794.

Whitehall, February 1.

of a Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of York to Mr. Secretary Dundas, dated January 22, 1794.

ELIVEDyest. rday a report from lieutenant-general count Kinsky, of Tournay, that on Monday the enemy moved forwards, with infantry and 100 cavalry, from Waterloo, and attacked the post of Becke, which at first was obliged to retire; but the Austrians having immediately assembled, attacked the enemy in flank, drove them completely back to the other side of Waterloo. The loss was 21 men killed, and one severely wounded and taken. The Austrians had only one man killed, and one wounded.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 5.

Whitehall, April 4.

r, of which the following is an Extract, was yesterday received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, dated at St. Amand, the 1st of April, 1794.

On Saturday morning the enemy attacked the advanced posts of the Duke of Cobourg's army, near Cateau, in considerable force. At first they obliged the Austrians to retire, and to abandon three villages in front; but upon the battalions appointed for the support of the Duke's army moving forwards, the enemy were beat back, with the loss of about five hundred men killed, and sixty prisoners, with five pieces

pieces of cannon. The loss of the Austrians, in killed and wounded, amounted to about one hundred twenty men. Since this every thing has been quiet.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 12.

Whitehall, April 12.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, was yesterday received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, dated St. Amand, April 8, 1794:

“ I have received this morning a report from count Walmoden, that the enemy having succeeded in surprising the Hessian posts at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, got behind the Hanoverian piequets, and cut them off. Succour, however, having arrived from Menin, the enemy was driven back, and forced to recross the Lys, and to destroy the bridge which they had made. Our loss was one man killed, one officer and seven men wounded, and three officers and 143 men taken prisoners.”

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 22.

Whitehall, April 22.

Captain Clinton, Aid-de-Camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, arrived this morning at the Office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with a dispatch from his Royal Highness, of which the following is a Copy:

Cateau, April 18, 1794.

Sir,

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for his Majesty's information, with the signal success which has attended the general attack made yesterday by the armies of the combined powers.

According to the plan proposed, the Austrian, British, and Dutch armies assembled on the 16th on the heights above Cateau, in order to be reviewed by his Imperial Majesty; after which the Austrian and British armies passed the Selles, and encamped in front of this town, while the Dutch formed their camp immediately in its rear.

At nine o'clock on yesterday morning the three armies moved forwards in eight columns. The first column, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of prince Christian, of Hesse Darmstadt, advanced upon the village of Catillon, which was forced after some resistance, in which the enemy lost four pieces of cannon, and from thence proceeded across the Sambre, and took a position at Favril,

ril, between the Sambre, and the Petite Helpe, so as to invest Landrecies on that side.

The second column, commanded by lieutenant-general Alyintze, and consisting of the Austrian army, moved forwards upon Mazinguet, and having forced the enemy's entrenchments at that place, as well as at Oisy, proceeded to Nouvion, and took possession this morning of the whole wood called the forest of Nouvion.

The third column, which consisted of the main body of the Austrian army, and with which his Imperial Majesty and the prince of Cobourg went themselves, proceeded along the high road leading from Cateau to Guise; and, after carrying the two villages of Ribouville and of Wassigny, where the enemy were strongly entrenched, detached the advanced guard forwards, which took possession of the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus, and pushed forward this morning as far as Henappes.

The fourth and fifth columns were formed of the army under my command. Of the first of these I took the direction, having lieutenant-general Otto under me. Lieutenant-general Sir William Erskine commanded the other column.

My column was intended to attack the redoubts and village of Vaux, as well as to render itself master, if possible, of the wood called the Bois de Bohain, which the enemy had strongly entrenched.

In consequence of the very great defiles and ravines which we found on our march, my column was not able to arrive at the point of attack till one o'clock in the afternoon.

As soon as the cavalry of the advanced guard appeared upon the heights, the enemy began a very severe cannonade, from the effects of which, although very near, they however were enabled, in a great measure, to cover themselves by the natural inequalities of the ground.

Having examined the enemy's position, and finding it very strong, I determined to endeavour to turn it by their right, and for this purpose ordered the whole of the column to move forwards, under cover of the high ground, leaving only a sufficient quantity of cavalry upon the heights to occupy the enemy's attention. Strong batteries likewise were formed, which kept up a severe fire, and protected the movements very considerably.

As soon as the troops had gained sufficiently the enemy's flank, the advanced guard, under the command of major-general Abercromby, was directed to begin the attack, and two companies of the light corps of Odonnel, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of Guards, under the command of colonel Stanhope, stormed and took the Star Redoubt, above the village of Vaux, while the three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, led on by major-general Petrash, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the enemy had constructed for its defence.

The enemy's fire at first was very severe; but when the troops approached, they began to retreat on all sides, and were soon put to flight. I immediately detached a part of the cavalry, consisting of hussars, and one squadron of the 16th regiment of light dragoons, commanded by

major Lippert of the former corps, round the wood to the right, who completely succeeded in cutting them off, took four pieces of cannon and a howitzer, with a considerable loss of men on the part of the enemy; whilst the cavalry of the advanced guard on our left, under the command of colonel Devay of the regiment of arch-duke Ferdinand's hussars, pursued them through the wood, and drove them into the village of Bohain, which they evacuated immediately.

Sir William Erskine was equally successful with his column, which was intended, by the villages of Marets and Premont, to turn the wood of Bohain, in order to facilitate my attack. He met with no resistance till he arrived at the village of Premont, where he found the enemy strongly posted; he immediately formed his line, and having detached the brigade of British infantry, and the Austrian regiment of Cuirassiers of Zetchwitz, with four squadrons of British light dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-general Harcourt, in order to turn the position, he attacked it in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of the Austrian and British artillery of the Reserve, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Congreve, and succeeded completely in driving the enemy from the redoubts, where he took two pieces of cannon and a pair of colours. He from thence proceeded to turn the wood with a part of the corps, leaving the rest upon the position at Premont.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth columns were intended to observe the enemy on the side of Cambray; the first of these composed of Austrians, and commanded by major-general count Haddick, pushed forwards as far as the village of Crevocoeur, and detached some light troops across the Scheldt, without meeting with any resistance.

The seventh column, consisting of Austrians and Dutch, under the Hereditary Prince of Orange, moved forwards upon the high road leading from Cateau to Cambray, and advanced beyond Beauvois with the eighth column, composed chiefly of Dutch troops, commanded by major-general Geyssau, covered the Hereditary Prince of Orange's right flank, and moved forwards in front of St. Hilaire. Neither of these last columns were in the least engaged; but this morning the enemy attacked the Prince of Orange's advanced guard, who repulsed them with great ease.

The signal success which has attended these extensive and complicated operations has determined his Imperial Majesty to begin immediately the siege of Landrecies; and therefore the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who will have the direction of the siege, has moved this evening with the greatest part of his camp from Beauvois, and taken a position so as to complete the investiture of that fortress; while his Imperial Majesty, with the grand army, covers the operations of the siege on the side of Guise, and that under my immediate command does the same towards Cambray.

What adds greatly to the general satisfaction upon this occasion is, the inconsiderable loss which the combined armies have sustained, whilst that of the enemy has been very great. The British, in particular, have been peculiarly fortunate. The Hon. Captain Carleton, of
the

the Royals, a young officer of promising merit, is the only one we have to regret; nor has any one officer been wounded: of privates we had three killed and six wounded.

The enemy has lost in these various attacks upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, of which nine were taken by the column under my command, besides the two which were taken by lieutenant general Sir William Erskine.

I have equal satisfaction in reporting, from my own observation, and the account I have received from Sir William Erskine, the spirit and good conduct of all the officers and men under my command; but I have particular obligations to lieutenant-generals Sir William Erskine and Otto, as well as to major-general Abercromby, who commanded the advanced guard of my column, to colonel Devay, major Lippert of the Austrian hussars, and to lieutenant colonel Count Merfeldt of the Austrian etat major.

I cannot help likewise mentioning the good conduct and bravery of lieutenant Fage of the British artillery, who distinguished himself very much by the skill and activity with which he directed one of the batteries.

The dispatch will be delivered by my aid-de-camp, captain Clinton, whom I beg leave to recommend to his Majesty, his conduct upon every occasion having merited my fullest approbation.

I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 26.

Whitehall, April 26.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, dated Cateau, April 22, 1794, was received on Thursday last, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, from his Royal Highness the Duke of York:

Sir,

On Sunday morning the Hereditary Prince of Orange, made a general attack upon the posts which the enemy still occupied in the front of Landrecies, and succeeded in getting possession of them all, and in taking by storm their intrenched camp, and a very strong redoubt, which they had thrown up at the village of Eloques, within six hundred yards of the place. He took advantage of this redoubt to cover the left flank of the trenches, which were opened the same evening. Much praise is given to the behaviour of the Austrian and Dutch troops upon that occasion.

According to the original plan, adopted before the battle of the 17th, it was determined to withdraw the detached corps of each army, as soon as the position for the investure of Landrecies was properly secured; and in consequence, the orders were given the night before last, that these corps should retire as this morning.

But yesterday the enemy attacked two detached corps of the Prince

of Cobourg's army, at Grand Blocus and Nœuvion, under the command of major general Bellegarde, and lieutenant general Alvintzy. The Prince of Cobourg sent to desire me to support the former, and I marched immediately, with five battalions of Austrians, and major general Sir Robert Lawrie's brigade of British cavalry. I did not, however, arrive till the affair was over, general Bellegarde having repulsed the enemy, with great slaughter, and having taken four pieces of cannon, and one howitzer.

As the enemy appeared in great force on general Alvintzy's front, the Prince of Cobourg did not think it proper to support a post which was of no importance to him, and which was at any rate to be abandoned that night; general Alvintzy was therefore ordered to retire to his position in the line, which he did in great order, and, with very inconsiderable loss, although exposed to the enemy's cannonade.

I this morning received a report from lieutenant general Wurmb, who commands a detached corps of the army at Denaing, that the enemy attacked him in great force on Saturday; that at first his advanced posts were obliged to retire, and that the enemy had already got possession of the village of Abscon, and of one of the redoubts on his front; but, upon a reinforcement coming up, the enemy were completely driven back with great loss. The Hessians however suffered considerably, having lost five officers, and seventy men killed and wounded.

General Wurmb expresses himself highly satisfied with the behaviour of the division of the Austrian hussars of Leopold, and the Hessian dragoons de corps.

I am, Sir, &c.

(signed)

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Wednesday
April 30, 1794.

Whitehall, April 30.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, dated Cateau, April 25, 1794, was last night received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Sir,

Cateau, April 25, 1794.

In consequence of a request from the Prince of Cobourg, I sent the day before yesterday, a detachment of cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, who were reported to have assembled at the camp de Cesar, near Cambrai. This patrol, with which general Otto went himself, found the enemy in great force, and so strongly posted at the village of Villers en Cauchie, that he sent back for a reinforcement, which I immediately detached; it consisted of two squadrons of the Zetch-
witz

witz cuirassiers, major-general Mansel's brigade of heavy cavalry, and the 11th regiment of light dragoons. As they could not arrive till it was dark, general Otto was obliged to delay the attack till the next morning, when it took place soon after day break. He then ordered two squadrons of hussars, and two squadrons of the fifteenth regiment of light dragoons, to charge the enemy, which they did with the greatest success; and, finding a line of infantry in the rear of the cavalry, they continued the charge without hesitation, and broke them likewise. Had they been properly supported, the entire destruction of the enemy must have been the consequence; but, by some mistake, general Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time for that purpose. The enemy, however, were completely driven back, and obliged to retreat, in great confusion, into Cambrai, with the loss of twelve hundred men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon.

The gallantry displayed by these troops, but particularly by the 15th regiment of light dragoons, does them the highest honor; and, considering the danger of their situation, when left without support, the loss they experienced is not considerable. The only officer wounded was captain Aylett, of the 15th regiment, who had the misfortune to be severely wounded by a bayonet in the body.

Inclosed I transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and missing upon this occasion.

The first parallel at Landrecies is in such forwardness that it is intended to-night to convey the cannon into the batteries, which are to open to-morrow. The enemy attempted this morning to make two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss.

I am, Sir, &c.

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

RETURN OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED, &c. IN THE ACTION ON THE
24th OF APRIL, 1794.

Royal Horse Guards—1 horse killed; 1 ditto wounded; 2 ditto missing.

3d Dragoon Guards—1 quarter-master killed; 1 serjeant killed; 36 rank and file killed; 46 horses killed; 2 rank and file wounded; 1 horse wounded; 7 rank and file missing.

1st regiment of Dragoons—1 rank and file killed; 2 horses killed; 2 rank and file wounded; 3 horses wounded.

11th Light Dragoons—1 rank and file killed.

15th Light Dragoons—1 serjeant killed; 16 rank and file killed; 19 horses killed; 1 officer wounded; 1 serjeant wounded; 11 rank and file wounded; 18 horses wounded.

Officer wounded—captain Aylett.

One surgeon's mate; 3d Dragoon Guards, killed.

J. H. CRAIG, adjutant-general.

LONDON

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Wednesday,
April 30, P. M.

Whitehall, April 30.

The Letters, of which the following are Copies, were this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Heights above Cateau, April 26, 1794.

It is from the field of battle that I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for his Majesty's information, with the glorious success which the army under my command have had this day.

At day-break this morning the enemy attacked me on all sides. After a short, but severe conflict, we succeeded in repulsing him, with considerable slaughter. The enemy's general, Chapuy, is taken prisoner, and we are masters of thirty-five pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British cavalry has been beyond all praise.

It is impossible for me as yet to give any account of the loss sustained by his Majesty's troops. I have reason to believe that it is not considerable.

The only officers of whom I have any account—as yet, and who I believe are all who have fallen upon this occasion, are major-general Mansel, capt. Pigot, and capt. Fellows of the third dragoon guards.

The army under his Imperial Majesty was attacked at the same time, and the only particulars with which I am acquainted at present are that the enemy were likewise repulsed with great loss.

I shall not fail to send you a more full account by the first opportunity.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

P. S. This letter will be delivered to you by my aid de camp, captain Murray, who will be able to give you any further information that you may wish to receive.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Cateau, April 26, 1794.

In addition to my letter, written immediately after the engagement, I have just learnt, from his Imperial Majesty, that general count Kingky and major-general Bellegarde, after having repulsed the enemy with great slaughter from Prisches, had pursued them as far as day-light would permit, in the direction of Capelle, and have taken twenty-two pieces of cannon; so that we are already in possession of fifty-seven pieces of ordnance taken from the enemy this day.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 3.

Whitehall, May 3.

A dispatch from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, of which the following is a Copy, was yesterday received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Cateau, April 28, 1794.

As I thought his Majesty might wish to be informed, as soon as possible, of the success which the combined troops under my command had had on the 26th instant, I dispatched my aid de camp, capt. Murray, from the field of battle, and take this opportunity of giving you some further details concerning the action.

It appears that the attack of the enemy was intended to be general along the whole frontier, from Treves to the sea.

The corps which attacked that under my command, consisted of a column of eight and twenty thousand men, and seventy-nine pieces of cannon, which marched out of Cambrai the preceding night at twelve o'clock, and a smaller one, whose force I am not justly acquainted with, which moved forwards by the way of Premont and Marets. The enemy formed their line at day-break in the morning, and, under favour of a fog, advanced to the attack of the villages in my front, which, being occupied by light troops only, they possessed themselves of without much resistance; and advancing, formed their attack upon the village of Troisville, into which they had actually entered, but were dislodged again by the well-directed fire of grape-shot from two British six-pounders, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Congreve.

Their movements being now plainly seen, and their left appearing to be unprotected, I determined to detach the cavalry of the right wing, consisting of the Austrian cuirassier regiment of Zetchwitz, of the Blues, 1st, 3d, 5th Dragoon Guards, and Royals, under the command of lieutenant-general Otto, and to turn them on that flank; whilst, by a severe cannonade from our front, I endeavoured to divert their attention from this movement. Some light troops were likewise directed to turn, if possible, their right flank; but having received a very severe fire from a wood, which they imprudently approached too near, they were obliged to retire: they however immediately rallied, and, after driving the enemy back, took from them two pieces of cannon.

General Otto completely succeeded in his movements. The enemy were attacked in their flank and rear, and although they at first attempted to resist, they were soon thrown into confusion, and the slaughter was immense. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, and a very great quantity of ammunition, fell into our hands.

Lieutenant-general Chapuy, who commanded this corps, with three hundred and fifty officers and privates, were taken.

While

While this was passing on the right, we were not less fortunate on our left.

The cavalry of the left wing having moved forwards to observe the enemy's column, which was advancing from Premont and Marets, the 7th and 11th regiments of light dragoons, with two squadrons of arch-duke Ferdinand's hussars, under the command of major Stephanitz, attacked their advanced guard with so much spirit and impetuosity, as to defeat them completely. Twelve hundred men were left dead on this part of the field; ten pieces of cannon, and eleven tumbrils filled with ammunition, were taken.

I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to lieutenant-general Otto for the manner in which he conducted the movements of the cavalry of the right wing, as well as to prince Schwartzenberg and colonel Vyse (the latter of whom commanded the two brigades of British cavalry after general Mansell's death) for the spirit and gallantry with which they led on the troops.

The coolness and courage manifested by all the officers and soldiers of his Majesty's troops, demand my highest acknowledgments; and it is a duty I owe to them, to desire that you will lay my humble recommendation of them before his Majesty.

Enclosed I send the returns of the killed and wounded, which I am happy to find are not so considerable, as, from the severity of the action, might have been expected.

The enemy, in three columns, attacked likewise the army under his Imperial Majesty: they were, however, repulsed with considerable loss, and driven back under the cannon of Guise.

I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

P. S. From the reports which I had received when I dispatched captain Murray, I mentioned captain Pigot as killed; but it is with singular satisfaction that I find, that, though severely wounded, he is still alive, and not without hopes of recovery.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

RETURN OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED, &c. ON THE 26th OF APRIL, 1794.

Royal Horse Guards, Blue—1 quarter killed, 4 serjeants wounded; 15 rank and file killed, 16 ditto wounded; 25 horses killed, 17 ditto wounded, 8 ditto missing.

King's Dragoon Guards—6 rank and file killed, 13 ditto wounded, 1 ditto missing; 30 horses killed, 29 ditto wounded, 35 do. missing.

3d Dragoon Guards—2 officers killed; 2 ditto wounded, 1 ditto missing, 1 serjeant killed; 2 ditto wounded, 14 rank and file killed; 6 ditto wounded; 25 horses killed, 2 ditto wounded.

5th Dragoon Guards—1 officer wounded, 1 quarter master wounded; 9 rank and file killed, 8 ditto wounded, 4 ditto missing; 23 horses killed; 9 ditto wounded, 2 ditto taken by the enemy; 21 ditto missing.

1st Dragoons

1st Dragoons—1 officer wounded; 2 serjeants wounded; 6 rank and file killed, 11 ditto wounded; 12 horses killed; 14 ditto wounded, 1 ditto missing.

7th Light Dragoons—1 rank and file killed, 19 ditto wounded; 7 horses killed, 6 ditto wounded.

11th Light Dragoons—5 horses killed 2 ditto wounded.

16th Light Dragoons—1 rank and file killed, 14 ditto wounded; 6 horses killed, 12 ditto wounded.

TOTAL OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING.

Officers—2 killed, 4 wounded, 1 missing.

Quarter masters—1 killed, 1 wounded.

Serjeants—1 killed, 8 wounded.

Rank and file—52 killed, 87 wounded, 5 missing.

Horses—133 killed, 91 wounded, 2 taken by the enemy, 65 missing.

OFFICERS' NAMES.

Major general Mansel and lieutenant Fellows killed.

Captain Pigott, lieutenant Moore, and lieutenant Froom, wounded.

Captain Mansel missing.

J. H. CRAIG, Adjutant-general.

Whitehall, May 3.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, was yesterday received from Colonel Craig, Adjutant-General to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Deynse, April 30, 1794.

General Walmoden's aid-de-camp is this instant arrived here with the disagreeable news, that yesterday the enemy attacked the post at Moucron, where general Clairfayt, with some battalions of Austrians, had joined the Hanoverians, and that, after a long and severe action, they had forced our people to retire with the loss of some cannon and tumbrils. Menin still held out late last night; but this event, by rendering an immediate succour impossible, obliges us to look up to the loss of that post as an almost necessary consequence.

I have the honour, &c.

J. H. CRAIG.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

Whitehall, May 3.

Mr. Tims, one of his Majesty's Messengers, arrived this morning, with a Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated Cateau, April 30, 1794, of which the following is a Copy.

Sir,

It is with peculiar satisfaction that I have the pleasure to acquaint you with the surrender of Landrecies.

At ten o'clock this morning the town offered to capitulate, and requested a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, to arrange the articles; but this was absolutely refused, and they were allowed only half an hour to come to a determination, which, upon a second request, was extended to an hour.—Before, however, this time was elapsed, the deputies of the town came out, and, after a very short conference, agreed to deliver up the place this evening at five o'clock, and that the garrison should be prisoners of war.

This fortunate event, which was not expected to happen so soon, makes up for the disagreeable intelligence which we received this day of a check, which general Clairfayt had had at Moucron.—This post had been retaken from the enemy by a corps of Hanoverians, under the command of major-general count Oenhousen, the night before; but the enemy having in a manner surrounded it, general Clairfayt, who had joined the Hanoverians with six battalions of Austrians, was at last obliged to retreat, and had taken up a new position, in order to cover the high road from Tournay to Courtray.

In consequence of this intelligence, the Emperor has desired me to march this evening, as quick as possible, to St. Amond, and from thence, if necessary, to Tournay, to the assistance of general Clairfayt.

I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 6.

Whitehall, May 6.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, dated St. Amond, May 2, 1794, was yesterday received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

In consequence of the Emperors' request, which I mentioned in my letter of the 30th, I marched at twelve o'clock the night before last, with all the troops under my command, from the camp near Cateau, and proceeded here with part of the cavalry yesterday evening; but, from the excessive heat of the day, and a severe storm, which lasted the whole night, the infantry was not able to arrive till this morning.

I went over by appointment to-day to Tournay, to meet general Clairfayt, in order to consult with him upon the necessary operations for compelling the enemy to retire from Flanders, and had, at the same time, an opportunity to enquire more fully into the unfortunate affair of the 29th.

General Clairfayt told me, that the enemy had taken the advantage of his absence at Denain, to attack and carry the post of Moucron, and consequently Courtray itself, which was incapable of defence. That, with regard to the affair of the 29th, it had been his intention to attack the enemy, as soon as six battalions of Austrian infantry, which had been sent to him from the Emperor's army, were arrived; but

but that the enemy had been before hand with, and began themselves the attack : that his troops behaved with much courage and resolution, from eight o'clock in the morning, when the attack begun, till four o'clock in the afternoon ; but that, as soon as the order was given to retreat, from the intricacy of the country, they fell into a confusion, from which it was impossible ever to rally them.

I have not as yet received the returns of the loss upon this occasion ; but I fear it is pretty considerable.

The brave garrison of Menin, under the command of major-general Hammerstein, after sustaining the attack for four days, finding no probability of succour, gallantly determined to force their way through the enemy, which they effected without any great loss, though continually harassed in their march.

This garrison consisted of four battalions of his Majesty's Hanoverian troops and four companies of the loyal emigrants.

I am sorry that, from some recent changes in the distribution of the troops in Flanders, I have it not in my power to name the regiments which have distinguished themselves so much. They retired to Ingelmunster.

The enemy has not as yet made any attempt to penetrate into the country.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 10.

Whitehall, May 10.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, was this day received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Tournay, May 6, 1794.

Since my arrival here with the troops on Saturday, nothing particular has happened in this part.

The day before yesterday the enemy attacked the post of Rouffelaer, where colonel Linsingham was cantoned with one squadron of the Hanoverian regiment du corps, and two squadrons of the tenth regiment of light dragoons. They were, however, repulsed, with the loss of three pieces of cannon and two hundred men killed.

Colonel Linsingen, thinking this post untenable, without infantry, fell back in the evening to Thourout, and from thence to Bruges ; but, having received a reinforcement, he will again move forwards to Thourout.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed)

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Wednesday,
May 14, 1794.

Whitehall, May 14.

The dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Tournay, May 11, 1794.

The enemy having attacked me yesterday in different columns, to the amount of 30,000 men, I have the satisfaction to inform you, that after a sharp engagement which last five hours, we repulsed them with great loss, having taken from them 13 pieces of cannon, and above 400 prisoners.

The attack began at day-break, when the enemy attempted to turn my left flank, but were driven back by the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was posted in a wood to cover us on that side.

The enemy then directed their next efforts against my centre, upon which they advanced, under a heavy cannonade, with great resolution; but a favourable opportunity presenting itself, of attacking them on their right flank, which did not seem to be protected, lieutenant-general Harcourt was detached for that purpose, with sixteen squadrons of British cavalry, and two of Austrian hussars. General Harcourt, having succeeded in gaining their flank, attacked them with so much resolution and intrepidity, that they immediately began to retreat, in the course of which they were soon broke, and suffered considerable loss.

Whilst this was passing in the corps under my particular command, that of the Hanoverians on my right was attacked with equal vigour: this, however, after a severe contest, terminated to the advantage of the Hanoverians, who maintained their post, and repulsed the enemy with great loss.

Inclosed I send the return of the killed and wounded.

I have many thanks to return to lieutenant-general Harcourt, as well as to major-general Dundas and Sir Robert Lawrie, for the courage and good conduct which they shewed upon this occasion. The officers and men of the troops which they led, merit also every commendation, having well supported the reputation which they had already acquired by their conduct on the 26th of last month.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED ON THE TENTH OF MAY,
1794.

Aid-de camp to his Royal Highness, wounded.

Royal Horse Guards—1 officer wounded; 2 rank and file killed, 8 wounded, 1 missing; 4 horses killed, 3 wounded, 4 missing.

2d Dragoon

2d Dragoon Guards—2 rank and file killed, 2 missing; 3 horses killed, 2 wounded, 2 missing.

3d ditto—3 rank and file wounded; 3 horses killed, 1 wounded.

6th ditto—1 officer wounded; 1 serjeant killed; 6 rank and file killed, 19 wounded, 6 missing; 44 horses killed, 34 wounded, 13 missing.

1st Dragoons—1 rank and file wounded; 1 horse killed, 3 wounded, 1 missing.

2d ditto—1 officer, 2 serjeants, wounded; 6 rank and file killed; 9 wounded, 2 missing; 7 horses killed, 11 wounded, 5 missing.

6th ditto—3 rank and file killed, 7 wounded; 7 horses killed, 19 wounded, 3 missing.

7th Light Dragoons—4 rank and file wounded; 6 horses killed, 4 wounded, 2 missing.

11th ditto—7 rank and file killed, 3 wounded; 9 horses killed, 8 wounded.

15th ditto—14 rank and file wounded; 4 horses killed, 16 wounded.

16th ditto—2 officers, 2 serjeants wounded; 3 rank and file killed, 5 wounded, 1 missing; 2 horses killed, 7 wounded, 2 missing.

14th Foot—1 rank and file killed.

Total—1 staff officer and 5 officers wounded; 1 serjeant killed, 4 wounded; 30 rank and file killed, 73 wounded, 12 missing; 90 horses killed, 108 wounded, 32 missing.

J. H. CRAIG, Adj. Gen.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Major Clinton, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness the commander in chief. Blues, Cornet Smith. 6th dragoon guards, Cornet Bond. 2d dragoons, Lieut. Jones. 16th light dragoons, Capt. Hawker and lieut. Archer.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 17.

Whitehall, May 17.

A Letter, dated Tournay, May 13, 1794, of which the following is an Extract, was yesterday received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

“ Since my last letter no attempt has been made by the enemy to harass or molest any of my posts. On Sunday morning, however, they attacked in great force general Clairfayt's corps, which had the night before crossed the Heule. The action lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon till eleven o'clock at night, when general Clairfayt succeeded in completely driving them back into the town of Courtray; but, not being able to take possession of the place, he retreated first across the Heule, afterwards behind the river Mandel; but being still very closely pursued by the enemy, he found himself under the necessity of continuing

ning his march to Thiele, where he has taken up a position in order to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend. His loss, I am sorry to say, has been very considerable.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 20.

Whitehall, May 20.

A Letter (of which the following is an Extract) from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, dated Tournay, May 16, 1794, was yesterday received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

When I sent my last letter the enemy had succeeded in forcing the passage of the Sambre, and had consequently obliged general Kaunitz to retreat, and to take up a position between Rouscroy and Binch, in order to cover Mons, in which the French having attacked him the day before yesterday, he had the good fortune to repulse them completely, and to drive them beyond the Sambre. The enemy's loss is computed at 5000 men, and three pieces of cannon.

This success having perfectly secured that part of the country, his Imperial Majesty immediately determined to march to my assistance, and arrived here yesterday himself, leaving his brother, the arch-duke Charles, to conduct his army to Orchies.

Brussels, May 22.

A messenger has just brought an account that general baron de Beau-lieu, having marched into the duchy of Bouillon on the 18th instant, defeated a considerable body of French, who covered that Canton; and having killed twelve hundred, taken between two and three hundred prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and several caissons, he took possession of the town of Bouillon, and summoned the citadel to surrender, which was refused.

The inhabitants having fired upon the Austrians, the town was given up to be pillaged.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Friday,
May 23.

Whitehall, May 23.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Tournay, May 19, 1794.

In my last letter I mentioned to you his Imperial Majesty's intention of making a general attack with his whole force, in order, by a
joint

joint co-operation with the troops under the command of general Clairfayt, to compel the enemy to evacuate Flanders.

On the 16th, at night, the army moved forward, for this purpose, in five columns.

The two columns on the left were intended to force the passage of the Marque, and, by a vigorous attack on the enemy's posts along the river, to cover the operations of the three remaining columns: these were destined to force the enemy's posts by Roubaix, Waterloo, and Moucron, thus to favour general Clairfayt's passage of the Lys, and then, by a junction with his corps, to have cut off the communication between Lille and Courtray.

Unfortunately the two columns on the left forced the passage of the Marque so late, and were so much fatigued by the length of their march, that they were not able to accomplish the remainder of the proposed plan, while the column on the right, under general Busche, finding the enemy at Moucron in much greater numbers than had been expected, was under the necessity of relinquishing its attack, and of retreating to its former position at Warcoing.

Lieutenant-general Otto proceeded with his column through Leers to Waterloo, from whence, after some resistance, he drove the enemy, and pushed on to Tourcoing.

My column consisted of seven battalions of British, five of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of light dragoons, and four of hussars. We moved forward from Templeuve to Lannoy, which we forced the enemy to evacuate, after a short cannonade, in which I had the misfortune to lose major Wright, of the royal artillery, a brave and deserving officer.

Having left the two Hessian battalions at Lannoy, I proceeded to Roubaix, where we found the enemy in great strength both of men and cannon. The resistance was proportionably stronger, but equally unavailing, as the enemy soon found themselves compelled to retire, which they did towards Moucron.

Having at this time no intelligence of the two columns on my right and left, notwithstanding I had made every effort to obtain it, I did not think it prudent to advance any further, but was resolved to have left my advanced guard, under the command of lieutenant-general Abercromby, at Roubaix, and, with the remainder of my corps, to have taken a position on the heights behind Lannoy. The orders for this purpose were given; but having acquainted his Imperial Majesty, who had advanced to Lannoy, with my intention, the necessity of co-operating with general Clairfayt induced his Majesty to direct that I should proceed to the attack of Mouveaux.

I accordingly directed the attack to be made by lieutenant-general Abercromby, with the four battalions of guards. He found the enemy strongly intrenched, but having cannonaded it for some time, the good countenance of the flank battalion of guards, who advanced to storm it with the utmost order, supported by the first battalion, and seconded by the 7th and 15th light dragoons, under lieutenant-colonel Churchill, compelled the enemy to retire, with the loss of three pieces of

of cannon, and of a considerable number of men, who were cut down by the light dragoons in the pursuit, which was continued as far as Bouderes.

Upon maturely considering the nature of our situation, I directed lieutenant-general Abercromby to remain at Mouveaux with the four battalions of guards; and having posted four Austrian battalions to cover Roubaix, I detached the second brigade of British infantry, under the command of major-general Fox, to take post on my left, on the great road leading from Lille to Roubaix. The cavalry was divided with these several corps for the purpose of patrolling, the nature of the country not admitting of their being of any other use. My advanced posts communicated with those of general Otto, on my right, who I now found had got possession of Turcoing.

Early the next morning the enemy attacked the posts of Turcoing in great force, and I received an application from colonel Devay, who commanded there, to make a diversion in his favour; for which purpose I sent two battalions of Austrians, giving them express directions, if they should be pressed, to fall back upon me; but, by some mistake, instead of doing so, they joined colonel Devay. From this circumstance, an opening was left on my right, of which the enemy availed himself in the attack upon my corps, which took place soon after, and, by so doing, obliged me to employ the only battalion I had left, to secure a point which was of the utmost consequence to us.

At this period a very considerable column of the enemy, which we have since learnt amounted to 15,000 men, appeared advancing from Lille, whilst another corps, having forced its way through general Otto's position by Waterloo, attacked us on the rear. The few troops that remained with me, soon gave way before such superior numbers, nor was it in my power, with every effort I could use, assisted by those of the officers who were about me, to rally them. At that moment the advanced parties of the column from Lille shewed themselves also upon the road between Roubaix and Mouveaux, and I found it impossible to succeed in the attempt which I made to join the brigade of guards.

Thus circumstanced, I turned my attention to join general Fox's brigade, but upon proceeding to Roubaix for that purpose, I found it in the possession of the enemy.

Thus completely cut off from every part of my corps, nothing remained for me to do but to force my way to that of general Otto, and to concert measures with him to free my own troops.

This I effected, accompanied by a few dragoons of the 16th regiment, with great difficulty; but the project of marching upon Lannoy, to which general Otto had consented, as a measure which would greatly facilitate the retreat of my corps, being given up, upon finding that the Hessians had been obliged to abandon that place, I found myself under the painful necessity of continuing with general Otto's column the remainder of the day.

Previous to this, I had sent orders to general Abercromby to retire from Mouveaux to the heights behind Roubaix, where it was my intention

tention to have assembled my corps; and the Coldstream battalion had been posted to cover the communication till he effected his retreat. In consequence of these directions, general Abercromby began his retreat, and on his arrival upon the heights of Roubaix, finding himself surrounded upon all sides, without a possibility of assembling the corps, he determined to continue it to Lannoy. This he effected, amidst the repeated attacks of the enemy, who poured upon him from all parts. General Abercromby found Lannoy also in possession of the enemy, but he avoided the town by marching round it under a very heavy fire, and soon after reached Templeuve.

Major general Fox, after sustaining, with great resolution, a very vigorous attack from the principal part of the column, which came from Lille, began his retreat also; and finding himself cut off from the brigade of guards, and Lannoy occupied by the enemy, he directed his march upon the village of Leers, at which place he joined the column of lieutenant general Otto.

I enclose you a return of our loss upon this occasion. I regret that it is so great; but when the nature of the action is considered, and that it was conducted in a country the most favourable to the views of the enemy that they could have wished for, while their perfect knowledge of these parts enabled them to take every advantage of it, it might have been expected to have been still more considerable. From the badness of the roads, the loss of the horses, and the timidity of the drivers, the leaving a part of our artillery became inevitable. I am to desire that you will assure his Majesty, that the officers and men shewed all the firmness and resolution on this occasion that could be expected from them; and it would be an injustice done to the rest to distinguish any particular corps. The abilities and coolness with which lieutenant general Abercromby, and major general Fox, conducted their different corps, under these trying circumstances, require, however, that I should particularly notice them.

It is a peculiar consolation to me, that the column under my command executed, to the full extent, their intended part of the operation; and that in the check which they afterwards sustained, the conduct of the British troops has entitled them to the warmest expressions of gratitude and admiration on the part of his Imperial Majesty.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

RETURN of the KILLED, WOUNDED, and MISSING, on the 17th and 18th of May, 1794.

- 7th Light Dragoons. 6 rank and file wounded; 15 rank and file missing; 4 horses killed, 10 horses wounded, 3 horses missing.
- 11th Light Dragoons. 1 rank and file killed; 1 quarter master and 1 rank and file wounded; 1 horse killed, 2 horses wounded.
- 15th Light dragoons. 1 surgeon and 5 rank and file killed; 1 surgeon's mate and 14 rank and file wounded, 2 rank and file missing; 9 horses killed, 9 horses wounded, 11 horses missing.

16 Light Dragoons. 1 rank and file killed ; 2 rank and file wounded ; 5 rank and file missing ; 2 horses killed, 5 horses wounded, 3 horses missing.

Royal Artillery. 1 serjeant and 4 rank and file killed ; 2 officers, 1 serjeant, and 17 rank and file wounded ; 1 officer, 1 drummer, and 26 rank and file missing ; 31 horses killed, 6 horses wounded, 64 horses missing.

Royal Military Artificers. 5 rank and file missing.

Flank Battalion of Guards. 1 serjeant and 17 rank and file killed ; 3 officers, 1 serjeant, and 54 rank and file wounded ; 2 serjeants, 3 drummers, and 25 rank and file missing.

1st Regiment of Guards. 5 rank and file killed ; 7 rank and file wounded ; 20 rank and file missing.

Coldstream Guards. 1 drummer and 6 rank and file wounded ; 9 rank and file missing.

3d Regiment of Guards. 1 rank and file killed ; 1 serjeant and 8 rank and file wounded ; 33 rank and file missing.

14th Foot. 8 rank and file killed ; 22 rank and file wounded ; 1 officer, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 68 rank and file missing.

37th Foot. 2 serjeants, and 11 rank and file killed ; 2 officers, 4 serjeants, and 34 rank and file wounded ; 2 officers, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 140 rank and file missing.

53d Foot. 3 officers, 1 serjeant, and 14 rank and file wounded ; 1 officer, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 191 rank and file missing.

Total. 8 surgeons, 4 serjeants, and 53 rank and file killed ; 10 officers, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon's mate, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 185 rank and file wounded ; 4 officers, 17 serjeants, 9 drummers, and 538 rank and file missing—47 horses killed, 32 horses wounded, 117 horses missing.

OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING.

Artillery. Major Wright wounded, since dead ; lieutenant Roger wounded ; lieutenant Downman, missing.

Flank Battalion of the Guards. Lieutenant-colonel Ludlow, lieutenant-colonel Manners, captain Drummond, wounded.

14th Foot. Major Brown wounded and missing.

37th Foot. Lieutenant Murray, lieutenant Cunningham, wounded ; captain Cook, lieutenant M'Kenzie, missing.

53d Foot. Major Scott, captain Brisbane, ensign Pierce, wounded ; lieutenant Rynd, missing.

15th Light Dragoons. Surgeon Bradley killed, and surgeon's mate wounded.

J. H. CRAIG. Adj. Gen.

N.B. Some of the men missing are hourly coming in.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, May 25.

Whitehall, May 25.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was received this afternoon from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Tournay, May 23, 1794.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for his Majesty's information, that yesterday morning the enemy having made an attack upon the combined army, under the command of his Imperial Majesty, were repulsed, after a long and obstinate engagement.

The attack began at five o'clock, but did not appear to be serious till towards nine, when the whole force of the enemy (consisting, according to every account, of upwards of one hundred thousand men) was brought against the right wing, with the intention of forcing, if possible, the passage of the Scheldt, in order to invest Tournay.

At first they drove in the out-posts, and obliged general Busche's corps, which was posted at Espierres, to fall back upon the main army; but upon succour being sent, general Wallmoden, who, though very unwell, had retaken the command of the Hanoverians, maintained his position. The enemy, by constantly bringing up fresh troops, were enabled to continue the attack, without intermission, till nine o'clock at night.

The troops of the right wing being greatly fatigued, it became necessary to support them from my wing; for which purpose, besides seven Austrian battalions, I detached the second brigade of British, under the command of major-general Fox. Nothing could exceed the spirit and gallantry with which they conducted themselves, particularly in the storm of the village of Pontechin, which they forced with the bayonet. The enemy immediately began to retreat, and during the night withdrew all their posts, and, according to every information, have fallen back upon Lisle.

Seven pieces of cannon, and about 500 prisoners, have fallen into our hands, and the enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, is said to amount to little short of twelve thousand men, which is by no means improbable, as they were exposed to an incessant fire of cannon and musquetry for upwards of twelve hours.

The manner in which general Fox conducted the brigade of British infantry of the line merits my warmest approbation.

Inclosed I send the returns of the killed and wounded of the British.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, ON THE TWENTY-SECOND OF MAY, 1794.

7th Light Dragoons—1 horse wounded.

Artillery—1 serjeant killed; 2 rank and file wounded.

14th Foot—1 officer wounded; 1 serjeant killed, 1 ditto wounded; 4 rank and file killed, 28 ditto wounded, 5 ditto missing.

37th Foot—3 officers and 5 serjeants wounded; 1 rank and file killed, 24 ditto wounded, 2 ditto missing.

53d Foot—3 officers and 1 serjeant wounded; 6 rank and file killed, 23 ditto wounded, 12 ditto missing.

Total—7 officers wounded; 2 serjeants killed, 7 ditto wounded; 11 rank and file killed, 77 ditto wounded, 19 ditto missing, 1 horse wounded.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

14th Regiment—Major of Brigade Cockran.

37th Regiment—Captain Spread, lieutenants Mitchell and McLean.

53d Foot—Lieutenants Rogers and Robertson, and ensign Pearce.

C, CRAUFURD, Dep. Adj. Gen.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Wednesday, May 28.

Whitehall, May 28.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, dated Tournay, the 26th of May, 1794, was this day received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Tournay, May 26.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that his Imperial Majesty has received, this morning, intelligence from general count Kaunitz, that, on the 24th instant, he attacked the French army which had passed the Sambre, and had taken a position with its left to Rouveroy, and its right to Fontaine l'Eveque; and that he has completely defeated them, and obliged them to retreat in great confusion over the river, which he intended to pass with his army to-day in pursuit of them.

The enemy has lost near fifty pieces of cannon, and above five thousand men, three thousand of whom are prisoners. The loss of the Austrians has been very inconsiderable, as they in a manner surprized them.

Accounts were likewise received to-day that the enemy has made an inroad into the duchy of Luxembourg, with an army of forty thousand men, and has taken possession of Arlon, which has obliged general Beaulieu (who had moved forward with the troops under his command, and had taken the town of Bouillon by storm) to retire, and to fall back on Marche, in order to cover Namur.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 10.

Whitehall, June 10.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, was received on Sunday last, from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Tournay, June 6.

I have the pleasure to inform you that, on the 3d instant, the combined army, under the command of the hereditary prince of Orange, attacked the enemy, who was posted at Fontaine l'Eveque, in order to cover a part of their forces, which was besieging Charleroi, and compelled them to raise the siege, and return across the Sambre, where they now remain.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 17.

Whitehall, June 17.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, was last night received from Major-General Alexander Stewart, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Ostend, June 15, 1794.

I think it my duty to inform you, that lieutenant-colonel Pitcairn, with the 8th light dragoons, and the 38th and 55th regiment of foot, joined this garrison yesterday morning.

Major-general de Hammerstein, under whose command they were, had failed in an attack he made the day before, on a very superior force of the enemy, at Ghits. After the action he retreated to Thorout, and in the night, falling back himself with the Hanoverians to Bruges, he ordered the British troops to Ostend.

Lieutenant-colonel Pitcairn speaks very favourably of the conduct of these regiments. Subjoined is a list of the killed, wounded, and missing.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ALEX. STEWART, Major-General,
commanding at Ostend.

*The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his
Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.*

RETURN

RETURN OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, OF THE BRITISH TROOPS, ON THE 13th OF JUNE, 1794, AT GHITS.

38th Regiment—1 private killed; 1 serjeant, and 2 rank and file wounded; 4 privates missing.

55th Regiment—1 serjeant, and 4 privates killed; 2 officers, 2 serjeants, and 29 privates wounded; 9 privates missing.

Total——1 serjeant, and 5 privates killed; 2 officers, 3 serjeants, and 31 privates wounded; 13 privates missing.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Captain James Lumsdain and lieutenant Wild.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Whitehall, June 20.

The Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

Tournay, June 7.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have the pleasure to inform you, that an officer is arrived this evening from the hereditary prince of Orange, with the account that he yesterday attacked and defeated the French army, which had again passed the Sambre, and taken up a position near Josselies, in order to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches.

The enemy's loss is computed at above 7000 men, as well as twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, and a considerable number of horses and baggage. They retreated in the greatest confusion across the Sambre.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 28.

Whitehall, June 28.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, was this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Renaix, June 24.

Colonel Craig had set out upon his journey to England; but unfortunately upon his arrival at Oudenarde he found that the enemy had obliged general Clairfayt to retire in some confusion to Ghent; and that

that the communication between that place and Oudenarde, unless by a great detour, was entirely cut off. Thinking that it was necessary I should have this information as soon as possible, he returned in the night.

This movement of the enemy, by forcing general Clairfayt to retire, and bringing them nearer to the banks of the Scheldt, rendered the position before Tournay, which, since the departure of prince Cobourg, had always been hazardous, no longer tenable; and I therefore quitted it this day, leaving only a garrison in the town, and marched with all the British, and part of the Hessian troops, to this place, in order to be in readiness to support Oudenarde, which was menaced, and actually summoned this day.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

P. S. Enclosed I send a copy of the articles of capitulation of the garrison of Ypres.

[TRANSLATION.]

Articles of Capitulation proposed by Major-General Salis, Commandant of Ypres, to General Moreau, Commander of the Besieging Army before Ypres.

General Salis will deliver up to the general of division, Moreau, the town of Ypres, on the following conditions.

Art. I. The garrison shall march out with the honours of war, as well as all its military attendants. Answer. Granted.

Art. II. The garrison shall be allowed to carry with it all the ammunition, pieces of artillery, and every thing appertaining to the army. Answer. Refused.

Art. III. The garrison shall march out of the town as soon as possible, and on the day to be agreed upon before the signing of the capitulation, through the gate of Dixmude, or of Menin, in order to go to such place as general Salis shall judge proper, with its arms and baggage, horses, drums, matches lighted, colours flying, and all the cannon it can carry away. Answer. The honours of war shall be granted to the garrison, in testimony of the brave defence it has made: it shall depart by the gate of Menin twenty-four hours after the signing of the capitulation; shall lay down its arms and colours, after having passed the Glacis; and shall be sent prisoners of war to such parts of the republic as shall be assigned to it.

Art. IV. The other pieces of artillery shall be brought away in eight days after the departure of the garrison, as well as the ammunition and military appurtenances. Answer. Decided in the 3d article. The garrison alone shall retain its personal effects, and the officers their arms, horses excepted, which are to belong to the republic, but the value of which shall be reimbursed to them according to the estimate which shall

shall be made. Horses and proper carriages shall be provided gratis to transport them to their destination.

Art. V. Four covered waggon, that is to say, which shall not be examined, shall be provided. Answer. Refused.

Art. VI. The convalescent soldiers, the sick officers, and the proper carriages to convey them, shall also be provided by the besiegers. Answer. The sick of the garrison shall be treated as the French, and shall become prisoners of war, on their recovery.

Art. VII. With respect to such sick as shall not be able to bear a carriage, they shall remain here in the hospitals to be taken care of at the expence of the respective troops, under the superintendance of an officer or commissary; and, as soon as the sick shall be in a state to be conveyed away, carriages shall be provided for them. Answer. Decided by the answer of the 6th article.

Art. VIII. The commissaries, and every person attached to the Imperial service, under any description whatsoever, shall be included in the capitulation of the troops, and shall enjoy the same conditions. Answer. The commissaries, and every person attached to the Imperial service, but not in a military capacity, shall depart from the town, after having delivered to the commissaries of the republic the several departments of administration with which they are entrusted, and shall retire wherever they shall think proper, after being inspected by the commandant of the place, and having produced their commissions.

Art. IX. Commissaries shall be appointed on both sides, to specify the articles belonging to the Emperor, as well as all the documents relating to the artillery, the fortifications, and military archives, as well of this town as of every other place belonging to the Emperor: the same shall be observed with respect to the papers of all the civil and military branches. Answer. Decided by the 3d article: every thing to belong to the republic. Responsible officers shall be allowed to carry away, after an examination, such papers as may be necessary to them in settling their accounts.

Art. X. The inhabitants of both sexes, now in the town, or who have taken refuge therein, the public officers, and all other persons, shall have their honour, their lives, and properties preserved. Answer. Granted, the French emigrants excepted.

Art. XI. No person shall be molested for their opinions, whatever they may have been, nor for what they shall have said or done lawfully, before or during the siege. Answer. Granted.

Art. XII. To such of the inhabitants as chuse to retire elsewhere with their effects, passports shall be granted to travel in safety. Answer. Granted, after the examination of their effects by the commissaries of the republic.

Art. XIII. The debts contracted by the garrison and military, before and during the siege, by all the constituted authorities, as well those liquidated as those to be liquidated, shall be held lawful and fairly contracted. Answer. Granted.

Art.

Art. XIV. A post shall be granted and named to be delivered to the besiegers, as soon as the capitulation shall be signed and delivered to each contracting party, under condition that no person of the besiegers shall have permission to come to the posts which the present garrison still occupies, as also that no person of the besiegers shall come into the town as long as the said garrison shall remain there, except the officers and commissaries having charge of the arsenal, provisions, &c. in order to prevent any misunderstanding between the different troops. **Answer.** As soon as the capitulation shall be accepted and signed, the besiegers shall take possession of the gate of Bailleul; but no person belonging to the besieging army, except the commissaries mentioned in this article, shall be allowed to enter the town.

Art. XV. The treasurers and quarter-masters of the regiments, attached to no other department, and not bearing arms, shall not be considered as military; they shall be permitted to return to the headquarters; at which their respective regiments were stationed in peace, to arrange their accounts, their presence with their regiments not being requisite for any other service. **Answer.** Granted.

Art. XVI. The hostages deputed on each side shall remain where they are until the articles of the present capitulation shall be completely executed. **Answer.** Granted.

Art. XVII. Should any difficulty occur in the terms and conditions of the capitulation, as the two contracting parties act with good faith, the terms shall be construed in the most favourable sense. **Answer.** Granted: If any additional articles shall become necessary, they shall be made in favour of the besieged.

If any unimportant point should be omitted in these articles, it shall be settled on each side without difficulty. **Answer.** Decided by the above article.

Done at Ypres, the 17th of June, 1794.

(Signed) MOREAU,
General of Division,
commanding the be-
sieging army.

(Signed) SALIS,
Major-General.

I accepted the conditions as they are agreed to by the General of Division of Moreau. At Ypres, the 17th of June, 1794.

(Signed) SALIS, Major-General.

[TRANSLATION.]

Additional Articles to the Capitulation of the 29th Praireal (17th June.)

Art. I. Permission is requested, from the General of Division Moreau, that a copy of the capitulation which has been signed, may be sent to the Austrian commander in chief, and another by the Hessians to their commanding officer. **Answer.** Granted.

Art. II. Are the horses of the general and staff officers included among those that are to be left behind at the estimated price? Answer. The general officers having desired to keep two horses each, their request shall be complied with; all the others shall be valued, and paid for according to the terms of the capitulation.

Art. III. Whether these horses are to be given up here or elsewhere, that measures may be taken accordingly? Answer. Decided by the preceding article.

Art. IV. As the officers, when deprived of their horses, will be obliged to dismiss the servants, and as several soldiers' wives may wish to return home, it is requested that the necessary passports may be granted to them. Answer. Granted.

Art. V. As the officers of the battalions of Callemberg and Schroder threw themselves into the town without their baggage or horses, they are desirous to procure their baggage, and request permission to send some persons furnished with passports to bring it; and that these persons on their return may be protected by a small French escort, and that carriages may be furnished gratis for this service. Answer. Granted.

Art. VI. Whether the garrison is to march out to-morrow, and where it is to apply for the necessary horses and carriages for its removal? Answer. Eighty-two waggon shall be furnished to the garrison for the removal of its effects.

Art. VII. At what hour is the garrison to begin its march? What route is it to take? Answer. The Hessians shall march out at five o'clock in the morning by the gate of Bailleul, and shall arrive in the evening at Cassel, and the next day at St. Omer, where they will receive a further route. The remainder of the garrison shall march out at eight o'clock, by the gate of Menin, and shall arrive in the evening at Lille, where it will receive a further route.

Art. VIII. As each officer, by the military regulations, is allowed to have one servant, who belongs to some company, the officers are desirous to keep these servants with them, although they are included in the muster of prisoners. Answer. Granted. These servants, when an exchange takes place, to be reckoned as prisoners.

Art. IX. The general officers request permission to keep their adjutants with them. Answer. Granted.

Done at Ypres, the 18th June, 1794.

(Signed) MOREAU,
General of Division, commanding the besieging army.

(Signed) SALIS,
Major-General.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Monday,
June 30.

Whitehall, June 30.

By a letter received from the marquis of Hertford, dated Nievelle, the 26th instant, it appears, That, after an unsuccessful attack made by the

the Prince of Cobourg on the whole chain of French posts at Gosselies, Fleurus, &c. the Austrians were obliged to retire with considerable loss, and the enemy remained in possession of the field of battle. The Prince of Cobourg was retreating to a strong position near Hal.

An account had just been received at Nivelles, that Charleroy had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 1.

Whitehall, July 1.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, has been this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir,

Renaix, June 28, 1794.

Having received intelligence, on Tuesday night, that the enemy had moved forward in great force upon general Clairfayt's position, and that they had detached a corps to attack Oudenarde, I found it absolutely necessary for the defence of the Scheldt, to march immediately to this place, as from hence I could, with greater facility, support that place, and move upon any point at which they might attempt to force a passage.

The enemy obliged general Clairfayt to abandon his position at Deynse, and fall back upon Ghent on Wednesday, where they again attacked him the next day, but were fortunately repulsed.

This retreat of general Clairfayt rendered it impossible for general Walmoden to support himself with so small a body of troops as he had under his command at Bruges. He therefore found it necessary to abandon that place on Thursday, and to fall back to Land-march, and join general Clairfayt's right flank.

The consequences of these last movements, though necessary, are exceedingly unpleasant, as all immediate communication with Ostend is cut off.

Yesterday the enemy made another attempt upon Oudenarde, which they cannonaded the whole day, and even carried in the afternoon the faubourg; but were driven out again in the night, and have now retreated to a small distance.

Yesterday evening I received the disagreeable intelligence of the Prince of Cobourg's having failed in his attack upon the French army at Gosselies and Fleurus, as well as of the surrender of Charleroi.

Enclosed I send a translation of the account which I have received from the Prince of Cobourg.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

RETURN OF THE ACTION OF THE 26th OF JUNE, 1794, NEAR
FLEURUS.

Marbais, June 26, 1794.

Although there was great reason to suspect that Charleroi was already in the hands of the enemy, yet, as no certain intelligence could possibly be procured, the attack, which had been determined upon for its relief, became necessary, to prevent the fate of so important a place as Charleroi being left to chance.

In consequence, the army marched on the 25th in five columns, and early on the morning of the 26th, attacked the enemy's entrenched position between Lambusart, Espinies, and Gosselies.

The attack, which was executed with great resolution, was every where successful; and the enemy's advanced corps, although protected by strong redoubts, were driven back. In the evening the left wing arrived at the principal heights on this side of the Sambre.

The ground here forms a gentle declivity, which the enemy had fortified by a very extensive line of redoubts, in which they had brought an immense number of cannon. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the left wing attempted to force the enemy's position with fixed bayonets; but the surrender of Charleroi, which took place on the evening of the 25th, having enabled the enemy to reinforce themselves with the besieging army, and thus to bring the greatest part of their force against our left wing, this advantage, added to those of their situation, and of the quantity of heavy artillery, enabled them to repulse our attack. The troops, nevertheless, formed again under the fire of the enemy's guns, and would have renewed the attack with the same resolution, had not the certainty of the fall of Charleroi, now confirmed by the reports of prisoners, and several other circumstances, determined our general officers not to expose their brave troops any further. They halted to remove the wounded, and to give the infantry time to rest, and then began the retreat, which was effected with the greatest order, as far as Marbais, where the army passes this night, and will march to Nivelles to-morrow, to cover the country as far as is possible, and to protect Namur.

Our loss is not very considerable, and may perhaps amount to 1500 men. No cannon have been lost; but a howitzer and one colour have been taken from the enemy.

Whitehall, July 1.

By a letter received from lieutenant-general the earl of Moira, dated the 29th of last month, it appears, that his lordship, and the troops under his command, had arrived at Malle, four miles from Bruges, on the great causeway to Ghent. It also appears, by a letter from colonel Vyse, dated at Ostend on the same day, that he was then embarking the 8th, 33d, and 44th regiments, and the rest of the troops, artillery, and stores, intending to evacuate that place.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 15.

Whitehall, July 15.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, has been received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

Head-Quarters, Corthyke, July 10, 1794.

Since writing my last letter, I received a report from Lord Moira, that, on the morning of the 6th, the enemy made an attack upon the out-posts at Alost; the picquets being driven in, they penetrated into the town, but, upon his lordship advancing with a reinforcement, the enemy retreated in confusion. Enclosed I send the return of the killed and wounded.

Lord Moira speaks highly of the conduct and spirit of the officers and men who were engaged upon this occasion, and particularly of lieutenant-colonels Doyle and Vandeleur, who were both wounded.

The troops under my command quitted their camp at Sempst, on the 8th at night, and arrived the next morning at this position.

(Signed)

FREDERICK.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the corps under the command of lieutenant-general the Earl of Moira, at Alost, July 6, 1794.

8th Regiment of Light Dragoons—1 officer, 2 rank and file killed; 1 officer, 2 quarter-masters, 9 rank and file wounded; 1 officer, 4 rank and file missing.

14th Regiment of Light Dragoons—1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded.

17th Regiment of Foot—1 serjeant, 1 rank and file wounded.

42d ditto—1 rank and file wounded.

54th ditto—1 serjeant, 4 rank and file wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

57th ditto—1 rank and file missing.

59th ditto—1 rank and file wounded.

87th ditto—1 officer, 1 rank and file wounded.

Total. 1 officer, 3 rank and file killed; 2 officers, 2 serjeants, 2 quarter masters, 2 rank and file wounded; 1 officer, 8 rank and file missing.

Horses. 1 killed, 2 wounded, 7 missing. Total 10.

OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING.

Adjutant Graham, of 8th light dragoons, killed.

Lieutenant-colonel Vandeleur, wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Doyle, wounded.

Lieutenants Kytson, wounded and missing.

J. H. CRAIG, Adj. Gen.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 19.

Whitehall, July 19.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, dated Cortyke, July 15, 1794, has been received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State :—

On Sunday afternoon the enemy attacked all the out-posts occupied by my advanced corps in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp, and being greatly superior in numbers, drove them into the town of Malines, upon which place they likewise fired; but, upon a reinforcement arriving, under the command of the Earl of Moira, the enemy fell back, with some loss.

This morning, however, they renewed the attack, and having succeeded in obliging the posts on the left of Malines to abandon the canal, and to retreat from the Dyle, lieutenant-general Dalwig thought himself obliged to fall back to Welhem, where he has taken up a position, to cover that pass of the river. I have detached lord Moira to take possession of the village of Duffel upon his left; and general Walmoden, with the Hanoverians, is at Lierre.

Horse-Guards, Sept. 2, 1794.

By a dispatch which has been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas; one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from the Right Hon. Lord Mulgrave, dated Flushing, August 29, 1794, it appears that the garrison of Sluys surrendered to the enemy on the 26th of that month. The terms of the capitulation have not hitherto been received.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Sunday, Sept. 21.

Horse-Guards, September 21.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

Head Quarters at Grave, September 17.

In my last letter of the 13th instant I acquainted you, for his Majesty's information, with a report, which I had just received, of the enemy's having made a movement towards Oosterwyck. It appeared, however, by the account of the next day, that this corps has fallen back in the night. The same accounts, confirmed by the reports of deserters, assured us, that a very considerable detachment, amounting to fifteen thousand men, had been made towards Maestricht.

On Sunday afternoon a sudden attack, in which it appeared the enemy were in great force, was made upon all my posts of the right; and
that

that of Boxtel, which was the most advanced, was forced, with considerable loss to the Hesse Darmstadt troops, who occupied it.

As the line of my outposts upon the Dommel could not be maintained, while the enemy were in possession of Boxtel, it appeared necessary to regain it; at the same time the degree of resistance which the enemy would make, would serve to ascertain whether this attack was supported by their army, with a view to a general attack, or was merely an affair of out-posts.

I therefore ordered lieutenant-general Abercromby to march with the reserve during the night, with directions to reconnoitre the post at day-light, and to act as he should judge best, from what he could discover of the force of the enemy.

Lieutenant-general Abercromby having advanced as directed, found the enemy in such strength as left little room to doubt of the proximity of their army, and he accordingly retired, but in such good order as prevented the enemy from making any impression, although they followed him for some distance.

About this time I received private information, upon which I could rely, and which was confirmed by the observation of my patrols, and the reports of deserters, that the enemy had been reinforced by the corps which had hitherto been acting in West Flanders, as well as by a column of the army which had been employed before Valenciennes and Conde.—The same information assured me, also, that the column, which had been marching towards Maestricht, had suddenly returned towards us.

From these accounts, and what I knew of the previous strength of the enemy, it appeared that the actual force now advancing against me, and whose object could only be an attack upon my army, could scarcely be less than eighty thousand men.

The hazard of an action with such a very great disparity of numbers, could not but become a matter of the most serious consideration; and, after the most mature deliberation, I did not think myself at liberty to risk, in so unequal a contest, his Majesty's troops, or those of his allies serving with them. I had the utmost reliance on their courage and discipline, and I had no doubt but that these would have enabled me to resist the first efforts of the enemy; but it could scarcely be expected that even by the utmost exertion of these qualities they would be able to withstand the reiterated attacks, which the vast superiority of the enemy would enable them to make, and which we know, from experience, is a general principle upon which they act.

Actuated by these reasons, and the further information, which I received about noon, that the enemy were marching in considerable columns toward my left, in which part my position was most vulnerable, I determined on retreating across the Meuse. The army accordingly marched at three o'clock, and, without any loss whatever, took up a position, which had been previously reconnoitred, about three miles in front of this place, from which they crossed the river yesterday morning.

The

The loss in the attack upon the out-posts has fallen chiefly upon the Hesse Darmstadt troops, with some of the foreign troops newly raised for his Majesty's service. I have not as yet, however, received the returns.

Enclosed I send that of the British.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

FREDERICK

RETURN OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING OF THE ARMY
UNDER THE COMMAND OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF
YORK, THE 15th OF SEPTEMBER, 1794.

King's Dragoon Guards—1 rank and file wounded.

8th Light Dragoons—1 rank and file missing.

14th ditto—2 rank and file wounded.

12th Foot—1 rank and file killed, 1 rank and file wounded; 1 officer, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 44 rank and file missing.

33d ditto—1 serjeant, 1 rank and file missing.

44th ditto—4 rank and file missing.

Grenadiers of the Guards—2 serjeants, 5 rank and file wounded.

Light Infantry of the Guards—2 rank and file wounded.

1st Regiment of Guards—5 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded; 1 officer, 14 rank and file missing.

Total—6 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 12 rank and file wounded; 2 officers, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 64 rank and file missing.

Captain Brittow, of the 1st Guards, taken prisoner.

Lieutenant Eustace, of the 12th foot missing.

Captain Rutherford, of the Royal Engineers, assistant deputy quarter master general, taken prisoner.

The Light Cavalry being on the advanced posts, their return has not yet been received, but their loss is very inconsiderable.

The 89th regiment was engaged, and lost several men. Their return has not yet been received.

(Signed)

J. H. CRAIG, Adj. Gen.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Monday, Oct. 27,
1794.

Whitehall, October 26, 1794.

A dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this day received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

Head Quarters Nimeguen, October 20, 1794.

Yesterday morning the enemy attacked the whole of the advanced posts of my right wing, in very great force, particularly that of Drutin, which was defended by the 37th regiment, and that of Appelthem, where the Prince of Rohan's light battalion was posted. Nothing could exceed the gallantry with which the whole of the troops on the advanced posts (particularly those two corps) behaved; but at last the
post

post on the left of the 37th regiment, which was occupied by a detachment of Rohan hussars, having been forced, major Hope, who commanded the 37th, and who distinguished himself exceedingly, was obliged to retreat upon the Dyke along the Waal, which he continued for some time, without being much annoyed by the enemy. Unfortunately, however, a strong body of the enemy's hussars being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come upon unmolested, when the hussars immediately attacked, and the narrowness of the Dyke, which, on every occasion, must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge, and, I am sorry to say, have suffered very considerably.

As they were upon the advanced posts, I have not as yet received an exact return of their loss; but I understand that captains Baird, Hendley, and Duff, lieutenants Mitchel, Thompson, Colquhoun and Murray, with the quarter-master Mr. Duxall, were made prisoners; of which number captain Duff, lieutenants Mitchel and Colquhoun, are wounded. All the prisoners who were taken agreed in the intelligence that the enemy had brought over thirty thousand men; and at the same time I received the reports that a very considerable body of them, having passed the Meuse between Ruremonde and Venlo, were advancing upon my left flank, and had already taken possession of Cleves.

Under these circumstances (never having intended to risque an action in my present position), which I only kept in order to preserve a communication with Graves, and to cover the reparations which were intended to have been made to the fortifications of this place, I determined to pass the Waal, and to take up the different cantonments, which were already marked out for the defence of the river, leaving general Walmoden with a corps to cover the town.

Part of the troops began their march yesterday evening, and the remainder this morning, without any molestation from the enemy.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

P. S. I am sorry to add, that lieutenant Wadman, of the light infantry of the 37th regiment, who was upon picquet, and had distinguished himself by his intrepidity and prudence, is also dangerously wounded, and was brought in the evening to this town.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, November 8, 1794.

Horse Guards, Nov. 8.

By dispatches this morning received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, dated Arnheim, the 28th of October, and 1st and 4th of November, 1794, it appears that the enemy on the 27th ult. made an attack on the British out-posts in front of Nimeguen, which were driven in; a new position was in consequence taken up opposite to

the left of the town, against which a heavy fire has since been kept up by the French, who, the same evening, attacked the out-posts of Fort St. Andre, which fell back to the fort. Lieutenant-general Abercrombie, and lieutenant-colonel Sir William Clarke were slightly wounded in this skirmish; and captain Piñon, of the 12th regiment, was also wounded, in a sally made from Nimeguen on the morning of the 28th. On the 1st of November the enemy broke ground, but it does not appear that they have since made any considerable progress in the siege. The same dispatches mention that Venlo surrendered on the 28th. The garrison is allowed to march out with the honours of war, and ten pieces of cannon; and is not restrained from serving again. Coblentz has been in possession of the French since the 21st ult.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, November 15, 1794

Horse Guards, Nov. 15.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir, *Head-Quarters at Arnheim, November 7, 1794.*

On Tuesday afternoon, as the enemy had began to construct their batteries, count Walmoden made a sortie, with a party of the troops in Nimeguen, consisting of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of British infantry, under the command of major-general De Burgh, and two battalions of Dutch, supported by the 7th and 15th British light dragoons, the Hanoverian horse guards, one squadron of the 2d regiment of Hanoverian horse, one squadron of the 5th regiment of Hanoverian dragoons, one squadron of the 10th Hanoverian light dragoons, and the legion de Damas, in the Dutch service.

This sortie had every success which could be expected from it. The troops advanced to the enemy's trenches under a very severe fire, and jumped into them without returning a shot.

The loss of the enemy was almost entirely by the bayonet, and amounted to above five hundred men; that of the British and Hanoverians will be seen by the enclosed return.

I am persuaded that the gallantry of the troops upon this occasion, will merit his Majesty's approbation.

Count Walmoden speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of major-general De Burgh, whose wound, I am happy to find, is very slight.

This sortie had the effect of checking the enemy's operations till yesterday morning, when they opened two batteries upon the bridge, and one upon the town. The effect of the former, which very easily sunk one of the boats, determined me to withdraw every thing from the troops posted in the town, beyond what is barely necessary for its defence; and lieutenant Popham of the navy having repaired the

the damage done to the bridge, all the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions. marched out last night, without any inconvenience, leaving picquets, under the command of major-general De Burgh, to the amount of twenty-five hundred men, which, with the Dutch forces, had been judged sufficient to maintain the place till the certainty of the Austrian movements can be determined.

I am, Sir, your's,

FREDERICK.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, IN THE SORTIE FROM NIMEGVEN, UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL DE BURGH, ON THE 4th OF NOVEMBER, 1794.

15th Light Dragoons—1 rank and file, 5 horses killed; 5 rank and file, 14 horses wounded.

8th Foot—2 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 9 rank and file wounded; 1 ditto missing.

27th ditto—1 rank and file killed; 1 subaltern, 10 rank and file wounded.

28th ditto—5 rank and file wounded; 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file missing.

55th ditto—2 captains, 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

63d ditto—3 subalterns, 2 serjeants, 63 rank and file wounded; 7 ditto missing.

78th ditto—8 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 2 captains, 2 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 46 rank and file wounded; 7 ditto missing.

Total. 12 rank and file, five horses killed; 1 field officer, 5 captains, 6 subalterns, 10 serjeants, 149 rank and file, 14 horses wounded; 1 serjeant, 19 rank and file missing.

J. H. CRAIG, adjutant-general.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

8th foot—captain Bland.

27th foot—lieutenant Baker.

55th foot—captains Bruce and Quin.

63d foot—lieutenants Wemyss, Barclay, and Rutledge.

78th foot—Major Malcolm; captains M'Kenzie and H. Munro; lieutenant Bayley; and ensign Cameron.

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED OF THE GERMAN TROOPS, IN THE SORTIE FROM NIMEGVEN, ON THE 4th OF NOVEMBER, 1794.

Hanoverian horse guards—1 captain, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file killed; 11 horses wounded.

Count Oynhausen's dragoons—1 rank and file, 6 horses wounded.

Prince of Wales's light dragoons—1 subaltern, 2 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file, 5 horses wounded.

Regiment of Stockhausen—1 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.
 Total.—1 captain, 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file, 22 horses wounded.

J. H. CRAIG, M. G. Adjutant general.

OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Horse guards—captain count Oynhausen, killed.

Prince of Wales's—lieutenant Niemeyer, killed.

Horse guards—captains De Maydel and De Schenk, wounded.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Horse Guards, Nov. 22.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, dated Arnheim, the 11th of November, 1794, has been received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

The evacuation of Nimeguen took place on Friday night. His Majesty's troops retired without any loss; which would also have been the case with the Dutch, but for an unfortunate chance shot, which carried away the top of the mast of the flying bridge, to which the hawser was made fast, consequently the bridge swung round, and they were taken prisoners, to the amount of about four hundred. The bridge of boats was entirely burnt, and the flying-bridge, of which they got possession by the above accident, has been since destroyed by our fire.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Horse Guards, Dec. 20.

The following report has been received from General Walmoden by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and transmitted by his Royal Highness to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State;

Head Quarters, Arnheim, Dec. 11.

The movements of the enemy, and the works carried on at Nimeguen, and several other points of their line, appeared to indicate an attack; when the march of a strong column yesterday, from the environs of Emerick to Nimeguen, left me little doubt that they had some immediate enterprize in view.

At six o'clock this morning about eighty boats of various sizes, with troops on board, came down a branch of the Waal, and were carried by the stream to our side of the river near the post of Ghent, where, favoured by a thick fog, they effected a landing, and made a vigorous attack on our battery there, which returned their fire, but could not be defended against their numbers, covered by a very heavy fire of shot and shells from the strong batteries they had erected on the other side the river.

Major

Major Thiele, with the regiment of Stockhausen, a battalion of that of Saxe-Gotha, and the picquets which he had called in, made an attempt to recover the battery, but he was repulsed in this attack.

In the mean time the general of infantry, Busche, arrived, and led these troops to a second attack, without being able to drive away the enemy; but, on receiving a reinforcement, consisting of the 1st and 3d battalions of grenadiers, he ordered a third attack to be made with the bayonet: it was executed without firing a single shot; and the enemy, having previously spiked some guns in the battery, and set fire to a few houses, fled with great precipitation to their boats.

General Busche, on his return from this successful attack, was struck in his arm and chest by a ball from an eight-pounder, which proved fatal in a very few minutes.

His loss is very much to be regretted. Major Bachmeister, of the regiment of Saxe-Gotha, a very deserving officer, fell also in the action.

No exact return has been received of our loss; that of the enemy is not known, as they carried off with them their wounded, and even some of their dead.

The attack appears to have been made on several posts of our line, particularly Fort St. Andre, Douvert, Panderon, and the Isle of Byland.

Lieutenant-general Warneck reports, that at Byland some of their boats were sunk by the fire of the batteries in attempting the passage of the river, and that the greatest part of the troops on board were drowned.

(Signed) WALMODEN.

By a letter from lieutenant-general Harcourt to his Royal Highness, of the same date, it appears that the enemy were repulsed at Fort St. Andre by the Dutch troops, and that they had not succeeded in forcing any one of the points against which their attacks were directed.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 6,

Herse Guards, Jan. 6.

By dispatches received from general Walmoden and lieutenant-general Harcourt, dated Arnheim, December 29, 1794, it appears, that on the 27th the enemy, consisting of about 16,000 men, made a successful attack on the Bommel Waert, and the Fort St. Andre, from which the Dutch forces were obliged to retreat to the lines between Gorcum and Cuylenberg, which they now occupy; and that the enemy on the same evening crossed the Waal, and took position at Thuil, Wetleren, and Wartenberg.

ARMIES

ARMIES

ON THE

R H I N E.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 3.

Whitehall, June 3.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, dated Tournay, May 30, 1794, was yesterday received from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

An officer arrived this evening, from field-marshal Molendorf, with the news, that on the 23d, he completely surprized and surrounded the French camp at Kayfers Lautern, killed above one thousand men, and took two thousand prisoners, besides eighteen pieces of cannon, and all the camp equipage.

Mayence, May 26.

Marechall Mollendorff, on the 24th instant, surprized the French in their entrenchments in the neighbourhood of Kaiserslautern, and defeated them with great loss. The force of the French consisted of about twelve thousand men. They were posted behind the defiles of Otterbach, Hagelsbach, and the Lauter. The whole of this country was covered with redoubts and entrenchments; several dykes had been cut, and the bridges were every where destroyed; while three strong positions were prepared, to facilitate their retreat in case of accident. The loss of the French amounts to one thousand killed, more than two thousand prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers. After the engagement, Marechall Mollendorff established his head quarters at Winnweiler, and the Prince of Hohenloe Ingelfingen took possession of Nieustadt. The advanced posts of the Prussian army extend as far as Deux Ponts and Carlsberg.

ARMIES AND FLEETS

IN THE

MEDITERRANEAN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 22.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 18, 1794.

letter, of which the following is a copy, from the Right Honourable Lord Hood, vice-admiral of the red, and commander in chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, was this day received at this office.

Sir,

Victory, Hieries Bay, Jan. 22, 1794.

I herewith have the honour to transmit you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a narrative of the fortunate preservation of his Majesty's ship Juno, owing to the presence of mind and zealous exertion of captain Hood, his officers, and ship's company.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOOD.

Philip Stephens, Esq.

My Lord,

Juno, in Hieries Bay, Jan. 12, 1794.

I beg leave to inclose your lordship a narrative of the fortunate escape of his Majesty's ship Juno under my command, from the port of Salon, after having run the ship ashore in the inner harbour on the night of the 11th instant.

The firm, steady, and quiet manner my orders were carried into execution by lieutenant Turner, supported by the able assistance of lieutenants Mason and Welby, in their respective stations; the attention of Mr. Kidd, the master, to the steerage, &c. with the very good conduct of every officer and man, were the means of the ship's preservation

servation from the enemy, and for which I must request permission to give them my strongest recommendation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAM. HOOD.

*To the Right Hon. Lord
Hood, commander in
chief, &c. &c. &c.*

Juno, Hieries Bay, Jan. 13, 1794.

On the 3d instant, I left the island of Malta, having on board 150 supernumeraries, 45 of whom are the officers and private marines of his Majesty's ship Romney, the remainder Maltese, intended for the fleet. On the night of the 7th, passed the S. W. point of Sardinia, and steered a course for Toulon. On the 9th, about eleven A. M. made Cape Sicia, but found a current had set us some leagues to the westward of our expectation: hauled our wind; but it blowing hard from the eastward, with a strong lee current, we could but just fetch to the westward of the above Cape. The wind and current continuing, we could not, till the evening of the 11th, get as far to windward as Cape Sepet; having that evening, a little before ten o'clock, found the ship would be able to fetch into Toulon if I wished it, I did not like to wait till morning, as we had been thrown to leeward, and having so many men on board, I thought it my indispensable duty to get in as fast as possible. At ten I ordered the hands to be turned up to bring the ship to anchor, being then abreast of Cape Sepet, entering the outer harbour. Not having a pilot on board, or any person acquainted with the port, I placed two midshipmen to look out with night glasses for the fleet; but not discovering any ships until we got near the entrance of the inner harbour, I supposed they had moored up there in the eastern gale; at the same time seeing one vessel, with several other lights, which I imagined to be the fleets, I entered the inner harbour under the top sails only; but finding I could not weather a brig, which lay a little way above the point called the Grand Tour, I ordered the foresail and driver to be set, to be ready to tack when we were the other side the brig. Soon after the brig hailed us, but I could not make out in what language: I supposed they wanted to know what ship it was. I told them it was an English frigate called the Juno.

They answered, Viva; and after asking, in English and French, for some time, what brig she was, and where the British admiral lay, they appeared not to understand me, but called out, as we passed under their stern, luff, which made me suppose there was shoal water near. The helm was instantly put a lee, but we found the ship on shore, before she got head to wind. There being very little wind, and perfectly smooth, I ordered the sails to be clewed up and handed: At this time a boat went from the brig towards the town. Before the people were all off the yards, we found the ship went a stern very fast, by a flaw of wind that came down the harbour: We hoisted the driver and mizen stay-sail, keeping the sheets to windward to give her stern way as long

as possible, that she might get further from the shoal. The instant she lost her way, we let go the best bower anchor, when she tended head to wind, the after part of the keel was aground, and we could not move the rudder. I ordered the launch and cutter to be hoisted out, and to put the ketch anchor, with two hawsers in them, to warp the ship further off. By the time the boats were out, a boat came along side, after having been hailed, and we thought answered as if an officer had been in her: the people were all anxious to get out of her, two of which appeared to be the officers: One of them said, he came to inform me, it was the regulation of the port, and the commanding officer's orders, that I must go into another branch of the harbour, to perform ten days quarantine. I kept asking him where lord Hood's ship lay; but his not giving me any satisfactory answer, and one of the midshipmen having at the same instant said, "They wear national cockades," I looked at one of their hats more steadfastly, and by the moonlight, clearly distinguished the three colours. Perceiving they were suspected, and on my questioning them again about lord Hood, one of them replied, "*Soyez tranquille, les Anglois sont des braves Gens, nous les traitons bien; l'admiral Anglois est parti il y a quelque Temps.*" It may be more easily conceived than any words can express what I felt at the moment. The circumstance of our situation, of course, was known throughout the ship in an instant, and, saying we were all prisoners, the officers soon got near me, to know our situation. At the same time a flaw of wind coming down the harbour, lieutenant Webly, the third lieutenant of the ship, said to me, "I believe, Sir, we shall be able to fetch out, if we can get her under sail." I immediately perceived we should have a chance of saving the ship; at least, if we did not, we ought not to lose his Majesty's ship without some contention. I ordered every person to their respective stations, and the Frenchmen to be sent below: They perceiving some bustle, two or three of them began to draw their sabres; on which I ordered some of the marines to take the half-pikes, and force them below, which was soon done: I ordered all the Maltese between decks, that we might not have confusion with too many men. I believe in an instant such a change in people was never seen; every officer and man was at his duty, and I do believe, within three minutes, every sail in the ship was set, and the yards braced ready for casting.

The steady and active assistance of lieutenant Turner, and all the officers, prevented any confusion from arising in our critical situation. As soon as the cable was tort, I ordered it to be cut, and had the good fortune to see the ship start from the shore; the head sails were filled: A favourable flaw of wind coming at the same time, got good way on her, and we had then every prospect of getting out, if the forts did not disable us. To prevent our being retarded by the boats, I ordered them to be cut adrift, as also the French boat. The moment the brig saw us begin to loose sails, we could plainly perceive she was getting her guns ready, and we also saw lights on all the batteries. When we had shot far enough for the brig's guns to bear on us, which was not more than three ship's lengths, she began to fire, also a fort a little

on the starboard bow, and soon after all of them, on both sides, as they could bring their guns to bear. As soon as the sails were well brimmed, I beat to quarters, to get our guns ready, but not with an intention of firing till we were sure of getting out. When we got abreast of the centre part of the land of Cape Sepet, I was afraid we should have been obliged to make a tack, but as we drew near the shore, and were ready, she came up two points, and just weathered the Cape. As we passed very close along that shore the batteries kept up as brisk a fire as the wetness of the weather would admit. When I could afford to keep the ship a little from the wind, I ordered some guns to be fired at a battery that had just opened abreast of us, which quieted them a little. We then stopped firing till we could keep her away, with the wind abaft the beam, when for a few minutes we kept up a very brisk fire on the last battery we had to pass, and which I believe must otherwise have done us great damage. At half past twelve, being out of reach of their shot, the firing ceased: Fortunately we had no person hurt. Some shot passed through the sails, part of the standing and running rigging shot away, and 2 French 36 pound shot, that struck the hull, was all the damage we received.

SAM. HOOD.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 11, 1794.

Whitehall, March 11.

It appears by dispatches which were received yesterday by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from Vice-Admiral Lord Hood, and Lieutenant-General David Dundas, dated St. Fiorenzo in the Island of Corsica, the 21st and 22d of February, 1794, that the town and garrison of Mortella surrendered on the 10th of that month; that the strong redoubt and batteries of the Convention were taken by storm on the 17th, after a severe cannonading of two days; that the same night the enemy abandoned the tower of Forneli and two considerable sea batteries dependent upon it; that on the 19th they retreated from St. Fiorenzo to Bastia; that previous to their retreat one of their frigates was sunk, and another burnt in the gulph; and that the town, forts, and port, were taken possession of the same day by his Majesty's land and sea forces.

The loss of the British consists of thirteen killed and thirty-nine wounded, besides six sailors of the Fortitude killed, and fifty-six wounded, from the fire of the Fort of Mortella.

Copies of the dispatches will be published in the Gazette of Saturday next.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 15, 1794.

Whitehall, March 11.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were yesterday received at the office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from Vice Admiral Lord Hood and Lieutenant General David Dundas.

Sir,

Victory, St. Fiorenzo, Feb. 22, 1794.

Having received repeated information how much the French were straitened for provisions in Corsica, I had, for a considerable time past, kept ships constantly cruising between Cape Corse and Calvi; and, after my leaving the road of Toulon, I judged it more necessary to prevent succours being thrown in as much as possible, my mind being impressed with the importance the island must be of to the French, in the state the ships and arsenal of Toulon were, and that it was very much so to Great Britain, and that of St. Fiorenzo, a very good one for the reception of his Majesty's fleet in this part of the Mediterranean. I therefore made an attempt to drive the French out of it, so soon as I could get a sufficient supply of provisions and wine, being in daily expectation of the former from Gibraltar, and the latter from Port Mahon and Alicant; and in the mean time I signified to general Dundas my intention of sending lieutenant-general major Koehler to Corsica, and requested he would give them proper instructions for informing themselves of general Paoli's real situation, and that of the French; and after they had been there a week, I received, in the afternoon of the 23d of last month, a very encouraging report, and at the same time certain information that the French had actually embarked at Nice 8000 troops, which were, at all risque, to push for the island, under convoy of two frigates, a corvette, zebeck, and other armed vessels. That same evening I detached three more frigates to the senior officer, the more effectually to line the coast, and to guard Bastia also; at the same I ordered the Ardent, and a sloop of Villa Franca; and, in case he found the French frigates there, captain Sutton was directed to call to him the Diadem and other cruizers from before Genoa, and cruise from Villa Franca to Antibes; but if he found the French frigate sailed, he was to proceed and join me off St. Fiorenzo, as I intended to put to sea the next morning. I could not however get away until the afternoon for want of wind. At four o'clock I weighed anchor, accompanied by sixty sail of ships and vessels, including army victuallers, horse transports, and others, having 1800 unfortunate Toulonese on board, and the Victory and Princess Royal had 400 more. I gave the convoy in charge of the Gorgon, with three gun-boats to bring up the rear. Just at sun-set next evening I was within three miles of the Isle Roussa, where lieutenant-colonel Moore was waiting, but having no frigate or cutter with me, I was unable to send for him; but observing the Juno at some little distance, I made her captain's signal, and directed him to stand in, and fetch the colonel off in the

night, which he fortunately effected. Towards day light it blew very strong, and before ten o'clock quite a storm, which made it prudent for me to bear up to Porto Ferrara, which I had a fair prospect of getting to before night; but in the afternoon, when we were within five leagues of Elba, the weather was so extremely thick, that the pilot declined the charge of the ship; consequently I was driven to leeward of the island, where I passed three very disagreeable nights, having had two main-topails blown to rags, and the topfail-yard rendered totally unserviceable. However we got safe to Porto Ferrara on the 29th; and having got all the ships set to rights, and sent for bread and wine from Leghorn, I put to sea again on the 6th instant; commodore Linzee, with most of the transports, got out the evening before. On the 7th the commodore having the direction of disembarking the troops at the time, and in the manner lieutenant-general Dundas should desire, anchored in the bay to the westward of Mortella Point, with the several ships and transports under his command. The troops were mostly landed that evening, and possession taken of a height which overlooks the tower of Mortella.

The next day the general and the commodore being of opinion that it was adviseable to attack the tower from the bay, the *Fortitude* and *Juno* were ordered against it, without making the least impression by a continued cannonade of two hours and a half; and the former ship being very much damaged by red-hot shot, both hauled off. The walls of the tower were of a prodigious thickness, and the parapet where there were two eighteen pounders, was lined with bass junk five feet from the walls, and filled up with sand; and, although it was cannonaded from the height for two days, within one hundred and fifty yards, and appeared in a very shattered state, the enemy still held out; but a few shot setting fire to the bass, made them call for quarter. The number of men in the tower were 33; only two were wounded, and those mortally.

On the 11th I was again forced from the gulph by a strong westerly gale, and took shelter under Cape Corse; and, upon the wind abating, it fell at once calm, which prevented my return off St. Fiorenzo until the morning of the 17th. At nine that evening the enemy's works were stormed and taken, with inconsiderable loss on the part of his Majesty, but the French suffered much; and on the 19th in the evening the empty town of Fiorenzo was taken possession of, the whole of the garrison having gone off towards Bastia in the two preceding days. I herewith transmit you the copy of a letter from commodore Linzee to me, and one from captain Young to him, with the state of his Majesty's ship *Fortitude* under his command; and an account of the killed and wounded.

The cool and intrepid conduct of captain Young cannot be too much admired, or that of captain Woodley of the *Alcide*, who, from having a correct knowledge of the bay, nobly offered his service to place the *Fortitude*, which he did with the greatest judgment; and the handsome testimony captain Young bears of it, makes it unnecessary for me to say a word in his praise; but I felt it very much my duty to

write

write commodore Linzee the letter I also herewith transmit, a copy of, as well as copies of letters the commodore and I have been honoured with from lieutenant-general Dundas, which will shew that exertions were not wanting in the officers and seamen of his Majesty's navy.

I should be wanting in gratitude as well as justice to lieutenant-colonel Moore, and major Koehler, was I to omit acquainting you how much I feel myself indebted for their very great zeal and exertion in informing themselves of the state of the country in the neighbourhood of Fornelli, and cannot help attributing much to both for our success. With respect to their conduct in the field, I leave lieutenant-general Dundas to speak of it; but I understand that it has been highly meritorious, as has that of the whole of the troops. Captain Woodley will be the bearer of this letter, to whom I beg to refer you for such particulars as you wish to be informed of, as he is perfectly well acquainted with every transaction from the landing of the troops to this hour. I have the honor to be, &c.

HOOD.

The Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas.

Alcide, in the Bay to the Westward of Mortella.

My Lord,

Feb. 9, 1794.

I have the honor to inform your lordship, that it being the opinion of lieutenant-general Dundas, as well as my own, that an attack, both by sea and land, should be made as speedily as possible on the tower of Mortella, in order to secure anchorage in that bay for his Majesty's ships, and to have easy communication with the troops on shore. I immediately directed his Majesty's ships Fortitude and Juno for that service. The land wind in the morning was too faint for them to weigh; at one o'clock P. M. the sea breeze came in, and they immediately got under sail, and both ships (with the assistance of captain Woodley, who, with great zeal and activity, voluntarily undertook to assist captain Young in placing the ships against the tower, he having a very good knowledge of the bay, and which he executed with great skill and judgment) when a very severe and well-directed fire was kept up by both ships for two hours and a half. Captain Young, whose cool, steady, and gallant conduct was very conspicuous, deserves the highest encomiums, as by his exertion the flames, which at several times broke out by the red-hot shot lodged in the ship's side, were extinguished, which would otherwise have inevitably destroyed her: his officers and ship's company have their share of merit on the occasion.

Captain Hood of the Juno, who fortunately received no damage, did every thing that his situation could admit of, and conducted himself like an experienced and good officer.

I herewith transmit, for your lordship's information, captain Young's

Young's report of the damages sustained on board the *Fortitude*; also the report of the carpenters who have been ordered to survey her.

I have the honor, &c.

ROBERT LINZEE.

Rt. Hon. Lord Hood.

Sir,

Fortitude, Feb. 9, 1794.

In obedience to your orders, I went yesterday in his Majesty's ship *Fortitude*, which I command, against the tower of Mortella, where I remained two hours and a half; when finding that neither the fire of the *Fortitude*, nor that of the *Juno* (who was extremely well placed to batter the tower), had made any material impression; and the main-mast of the ship being much wounded, many of the shrouds cut away, three of the lower-deck guns dismounted, several hot shot in the hull, and many men blown up by the explosion of powder from a powder-box which was struck by a hot shot; and being so near the tower and the rocks, that if the wind should die away it would be difficult, and if it should change so as to blow on shore, it might be impossible to get away, I thought it prudent to haul off. Soon after I had done so, the ship was perceived to be on fire from the main-deck to the upper part of the quick work on the quarter-deck, occasioned by a hot shot that had lodged in the side; but after cutting out the shot, and opening the side in different places, the fire was extinguished without having done any material damage.

I had infinite pleasure in observing, during the whole of the action, the most cool, intrepid courage in all the officers and men of the *Fortitude*; and I am particularly pleased to have this opportunity of doing them justice, by saying, that I do not think any men could do their duty better; and I have only to regret with them, that their exertions were not attended with better success.

And if captain Woodley will allow me, I shall be happy also in having this opportunity of thanking him for the very great assistance I received in placing the ship, from his knowledge of the place, and from the coolness and clearness with which he gave his directions, as well as for the advantages I reaped from his skill and presence of mind during the whole of the action.

I enclose a report of the state of the ship, and of the killed and wounded, and am, Sir, &c.

WILLIAM YOUNG.

Com. Robert Linzee.

Report of the state of his Majesty's ship Fortitude.

Feb. 9, 1794.

Two eighteen pound shots through the centre of the main-mast, and nine main shrouds shot away. One of the lower deck port timbers cut through, and all the cell of the port carried away; one of the quarter-deck

deck ports cut down to the deck; the heel of the foretopgallant-mast, foretop-mast, cap, and cross-trees shot away; the spare maintop-mast and jib-boom shot; some shot in the hull, but none under water; a great part of the running rigging and blocks shot away, and most of the topmast backstays, and three lower deck guns disabled.

Report of the killed and wounded.

Killed	-	-	6
Wounded	-	-	56

Of whom 8 are very dangerously wounded.

WILLIAM YOUNG.

Sir, *Victory, off St. Fiorenzo, Feb. 9, 1794.*

I have received your letter of this day's date, accompanied by one from captain Young to you, with an account of the Fortitude's defects, and of the killed and wounded in the attack on Mortella tower yesterday.

I desire you will express to captain Young, and through him to his officers and ship's company, the very high satisfaction their cool and intrepid conduct has given me, and request they will accept my warmest thanks. You will be pleased also to make my grateful acknowledgements to captain Woodley for placing the Fortitude with so much judgment, as well as for the very able assistance he gave to captain Young. And I cannot omit to desire you will signify to captain Hood how much I was delighted to see the Juno so judiciously stationed; and I was no less so, in observing the ships withdrawn in so officer-like a manner, for one would not have imagined that either had received the smallest damage, which must clearly manifest the strictest attention of the officers and men to the orders of their captains.

The general has made a further demand for sand bags; you will therefore direct the respective captains with you to have as many made as they can, out of any unserviceable sails they may have on board, and also supply any planks they can spare for platforms. I am, &c.

HOOD.

Commodore Linzee.

My Lord, *Mortella Bay, February 8, 1794.*

I now have the honour to inform you, that after establishing batteries on the rocky mountains that overlook the enemy's posts at Fornelli, and, after a severe cannonading for two days, which dismounted guns, and greatly damaged his works, we last night, just at the rising of the moon, made a combined attack, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Moore. Our loss was moderate; that of the enemy considerable. We were completely successful; gained all the heights and posts of Fornelli, and have thereby secured the undisturbed possession of Mortella Bay, and of this side of the Gulph of Fiorenzo.

Without the wonderful efforts of the officers and men of commodore Linzee's squadron, we had no reasonable prospect of success; and my best

best acknowledgments are due to captain Dickson, captain Cook, captain Young, captain Wolfely, captain Hood, and captain Woodley, and to all other officers and sailors who acted under them, and whose zeal, ability, and exertions I shall always with gratitude recollect and acknowledge. I am, &c.

DAVID DUNDAS.

Right Hon. Lord Hood, &c. &c. &c.

Dear Sir,

Mortella Bay, February 18, 1794.

I beg leave to congratulate you on the success with which our united efforts were crowned last night in the attack on the enemy's advanced and principal work, and on the subsequent evacuation of the posts of Fornelli, and the retreat of the enemy to Fiorenzo, which perfectly secures to us the undisturbed possession of Mortella Bay.

Accept my warmest acknowledgments for the effectual and unlimited aid you have on every occasion given us. Without the wonderful efforts of the officers and men under your command, we had no reasonable prospect of success; and I am to beg, through you, to offer my best thanks to captain Dickson, captain Cook, captain Young, captain Wolfeley, captain Hood, and captain Woodley, and all the officers and sailors who acted under them, and whose zeal, ability, and exertion, I shall always, with surprise and gratitude, recollect and acknowledge.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DAVID DUNDA.

Commodore Linzee.

Sir,

St. Fiorenzo, Feb. 21, 1794.

I had the honour of informing you from Porto Ferrara, on the 4th instant, of our intention to sail for the Gulph of St. Fiorenzo in Corsica. The dislodging of the French from Bastia, St. Fiorenzo, and Calvi, the three principal posts they held in Corsica, and the attaining of so secure a harbour as St. Fiorenzo for our own fleet, appeared so important an object, that although our military force was but small, deficient in many of the most essential points of equipment, and the season of the year was far from encouraging, I was induced to acquiesce in an attempt that should appear to promise the most distant hopes of success. Two intelligent and experienced officers were sent to confer with general Paoli, to examine local situations, and to report on the whole of the circumstances, which they did favourably; the fleet therefore sailed from the Bay of Hieres (where we had laid since the 19th of December) on the 24th of January, and proceeded towards St. Fiorenzo; but the following day a very violent gale of wind, which lasted for three days, dispersed and endangered the fleet, and obliged us, with great difficulty, to gain Porto Ferrara, in the river Elba, where we remained some days making preparation.

On the 5th of February we again sailed; but as the three-decked ships were not so well qualified for these narrow seas and dangerous coasts,

coasts at this season of the year, commodore Linzee, with three ships of the line and two frigates, was detached with the troops in transports; and on the 7th instant, in the morning, we anchored in an open and exposed bay adjoining to that of Mortella, which we wished to occupy, as it affords the best anchorage in the gulph of Fiorenzo. The same evening the troops were landed, consisting of the second battalion of the royals, 11th, 25th, 30th, 50th, 51st and 69th regiments, amounting to about 1400 men bearing arms.

As the enemy, beside the town of Fiorenzo, possessed several heights and points, in order to command the anchorage of the west side of the gulph, it was necessary to dislodge them, before the squadron could anchor in security; and these points in succession, on entering the gulph, were the tower of Mortella, the redoubt and batteries of the Convention, and the tower of Fornelli, with two considerable sea batteries depended upon it.

Expecting little opposition from Mortella tower, and trusting from intelligence, that we could approach near enough to that of Fornelli, to attack it with light artillery, lieutenant-colonel Moore was detached on the 8th with the royal and 51st regiments, a small howitzer, and a six-pounder, to effect this purpose; but after a march of seven or eight miles, through a rocky, desert, and mountainous country, destitute of roads, and where the artillery was carried by a detachment of sailors, under captain Cook, he arrived on the heights immediately above Fornelli, and then found that the distance was too great to hope for any effect from his small guns. The same day we began from a commanding height, within 150 yards, to batter the tower of Mortella; but it was not till the 10th, after the attack made by the Fortitude and Juno, and after establishing an eighteen pounder, two nine pounders, and a carronade against it, that we were enabled to reduce it, and take an officer and thirty-two men prisoners.

During this time, having been enabled to examine the mountains that skirted the western part of the gulph, and which overlooked the enemy's posts (particularly the principal one, the redoubt of the Convention, which originally was, and by us was expected to be found, an open battery, but which, by indefatigable labour, they had now converted into a close work, mounted with twenty-one pieces of heavy ordnance, and which, from intercepted letters, they considered as the key of the whole, and of great strength), it appeared, that if heavy cannon could be established on points where the enemy had deemed it impossible to place them, that their works might be ruined, and then attacked to advantage.

This operation the officers of the navy cheerfully undertook: and, by the most surprising exertions of science and labour from the 12th to the 16th, placed four eighteen-pounders, a large howitzer, and a ten-inch mortar in battery, on ground elevated at least 700 feet above the sea, and where every difficulty of ascent and surface had opposed the undertaking.

On the 16th in the morning we opened with two batteries of three pieces of artillery each. One of these, at the distance of 1000 yards,

enfiladed the redoubt of the Convention, and the other, at the distance of 800 yards, took it in reverse. The redoubt itself was of a long narrow form, occupying the summit of a detached height, and about 250 feet above the sea.

Our fire was heavy and unremitting during the 16th and 17th; and, notwithstanding the gallantry of the enemy, both in serving their guns, and in repairing their works, their fire was nearly overpowered. On the evening of the 17th, a fifth eighteen-pounder was brought up by the seamen, and a sixth was also placed on an advanced point near the shore, to prevent the two French frigates in the bay from placing themselves in a situation to enfilade our purposed attack.

* On the 17th, measures having been concerted, the second battalion of the royals, 25th, 50th, and 51st regiments, under the command of lieutenant colonel Moore, were destined for the attempt, while the 11th, 30th, and 69th, remained in reserve. The troops marched in three columns, and having nearly equal distances to go over, moved at the same hour (half past eight o'clock), in order to arrive at the enemy's works a little after the rising of the moon. Lieutenant-colonel Moore, on the right, with the second battalion of the royals, commanded by captain M^cKenzie, and the 51st regiment, came down on the advanced point of the redoubt: lieutenant-colonel Wauchope, with the 50th, advanced towards its centre; and captain Stewart, with the 25th, keeping close to the sea shore, was directed to enter on the left and most commanding part of the work.

Notwithstanding the whole of the ground over which the troops marched was rocky, rough, and covered with thick myrtle bushes, they approached the redoubt without the enemy being certain of their progress, and, under a very heavy fire, they arrived very nearly at the same time at their points, rushed into their works, prevented more than two or three discharges of cannon being given, and, with their bayonets, drove the enemy down the steep hill which formed the rear of the work.

The judicious fire kept up from our batteries by captain Wilkes and lieutenant Duncan, jun. of the royal artillery, till the very moment of the attack, facilitated much the approach of the troops; and a false attack made by the Corsicans on lieutenant-colonel Moore's right, served also to engage and distract the attention of the enemy, who were not aware of the extent of their danger.

The loss of the enemy on the 16th and 17th amount to upwards of 100 men killed and wounded, and 10 officers (amongst whom was the commandant) and 60 men made prisoners, out of 550 men that occupied the work.

The conduct of lieutenant-colonel Moore, of the several commanding officers, and of all the officers and soldiers under his orders, was firm and judicious, and merits every commendation.

The enemy being now reduced to their last posts on the height of Fornelli, at about 400 yards distance, from which we were separated by a strong and deep ravine, fearing that their retreat would be cut off, abandoned them about midnight, crossed over to Fiorenzo, hauled off
their

their frigates, and left us in possession of the tower and batteries of Fornelli, against which we otherwise must have placed cannon, and, in a delay of two or three days, probably have lost a number of men.

On the 18th the squadron anchored in perfect security in Mortella Bay.

On the 19th, after taking measures for the march of the troops to the other side of the town, to cut off the enemy's communication with Bastia, a summons was sent to Fiorenzo to surrender. In the afternoon a negative answer was received; but during the day strong symptoms of a speedy evacuation were perceived.

One of the frigates having been sunk by our shot, the other was set on fire about four in the afternoon, when a boat came off to announce that the enemy had quitted the town. It was immediately taken possession of.

On the 20th, by a party sent out, we found that the enemy had evacuated several strong posts with cannon, which kept up their communication with Bastia, towards which place they have retired as far as the tower of Tichime, on a very high mountain, half way to that place, under which the road passes, and where they have cannon.

In this manner are we now the masters of the fortress and gulph of Fiorenzo, which is the most important station in Corsica; divides the French posts, affords a safe harbour for a numerous fleet, and, from its commanding situation, with respect to the coast of France and Italy, is at this moment of peculiar importance. The weather during the whole time has been most remarkably propitious; had it been otherwise, we could not have accomplished our undertaking.

The perseverance, spirit, and gallantry of the officers and men of every denomination, merit the highest praise. Unprovided as we are with many necessary articles of preparation, the service, at this season of the year, has been severe, but undergone with the greatest cheerfulness and good-will. To Sir James S. Erskine, and all the officers of the staff, I am much indebted.

On this occasion success has crowned the joint endeavours of the British arms. From the navy we have received the most effectual and essential assistance; their exertions have been wonderful and unparalleled. Commodore Linzee afforded us every support, and to the captains Dickson, Young, Wolfeley, Hood, Woodley, and Cook, and to the officers and men who so zealously acted under their command, we feel every sense of their efficacious aid.

In the course of the service we have derived essential assistance from the Corsicans assembled near us by general Paoli, to the number of about 1200. They have occupied advanced posts, and covered our flanks.

I have the honour to inclose returns of the killed and wounded (the loss has fallen chiefly on the brave grenadiers and light infantry of the royal and 51st regiment, who were the first that entered the enemy's works); and also returns of the ordnance and stores taken in the town and several out-posts.

This letter will be delivered by captain Hislop, deputy adjutant-general;

neral; an officer from whom I have received the most essential assistance, and whom I humbly beg leave to recommend, as peculiarly deserving of any mark of the royal favour which his Majesty may be graciously pleased to confer upon him.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

D. DUNDAS, Lieut. Gen.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

Return of Ordnance, &c. found in the Tower of Mortella, taken on the 10th of February, 1794.

I R O N.

2 18-pounders, with carriages on windlass rollers, mounted on traversing platforms, 1 carriage rendered unserviceable, by the cannonade from the 8th to the 10th.

1 6-pounder.

S H O T.

141 18-pounders.

45 6-pounders.

FILLED CARTRIDGES WITH POWDER.

135 18-pounders.

40 6-pounders.

1 furnace for heating shot.

Abstract of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores found in the Convention Redoubt, and Redoubt and Tower of Fornelli, carried by Assault in the night of the 17th of February, 1794.

I R O N.

6 24-pounders, with carriages on windlass rollers, mounted on traversing platforms, 1 gun and 2 carriages, rendered unserviceable by shot and shells from the batteries.

8 18-pounders, on ship carriages, 2 guns and 3 carriages unserviceable from ditto.

5 12-pounders, on ditto, unserviceable from ditto.

2 6-pounders, on ditto.

2 4-pounders, on ditto.

B R A S S.

1 10-pounder, long, gun and carriage unserviceable.

4 4-pounders, field pieces, on travelling carriages, 2 guns and 2 carriages unserviceable.

5 1-pounders, 1 gun and 1 carriage unserviceable.

4 6-inch carronade howitzers, 1 howitzer and carriage unserviceable.

1 12-inch mortar a la Gomer, on an iron bed.

3 12-inch mortars, of an old construction, on wooden beds, 2 mortars with their beds unserviceable.

ROUND

R O U N D S H O T.

455 24-pounders.	105 6-pounders.
334 18-pounders.	157 4-pounders.
667 12-pounders.	30 1-pounders.
452 10-pounders.	105 18-pounders, double headed.

G R A P E S H O T.

129 18-pounders.	42 6-pounders.
92 12-pounders.	

C A S E S H O T.

209 4-pounders.
54 6-inch carronade howitzers.

S H E L L S.

2 12-inch, fixed.
62 12-inch, empty.
6 18-pounders, fixed ammunition in boxes.
20 musquet ball cartridges, in boxes.
2 furnaces for heating shot, one in the redoubt of the Convention,
the other in the redoubt beneath the tower of Fornelli.
1033 cartridges of different natures, filled with powder.
14 barrels of powder.

*Abstract of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, taken in the Town
of San Fiorenzo, the 19th of February, 1794.*

I R O N.

7 24-pounders, with carriages on windlass rollers, and mounted on
traversing platforms.
2 18-pounders, on ship carriages.
6 12-pounders, on ditto.
2 6-pounders, on ditto.

B R A S S.

2 32-pounders, with carriages on traversing platforms.
1 12-pounder, long.
2 18-pounders, field pieces.
2 4-pounders, ditto.
5 1-pounders.
2 12-inch mortars, a la Gomer, on iron beds.
1 12-inch mortar, of an old construction.

R O U N D S H O T.

310 32-pounders.
441 24-pounders.

202 18-pounders.
 1742 12-pounders.
 1005 8-pounders.
 267 6-pounders.

2140 4-pounders.
 63 1-pounders.
 1005 1-pound leaden balls.

S H E L L S.

31 12-inch, fixed.
 360 12-inch, empty.

UNFIXED AMMUNITION IN BOXES.

7 12-pounders, case.
 25 4-pounders, ditto.

5 1-pounders, case.
 6 1-pounders, grape.

FIXED AMMUNITION IN BOXES.

14 18-pounders, case.
 6 12-pounders, ditto.
 8 12-pounders, grape.
 9 4-pounders, case.
 21 boxes ball cartridges.
 2 barrels of ditto.

10 boxes musquet balls
 3 furnaces for heating shot.

1252 cartridges of different natures, filled with powder.

A small magazine, containing a quantity of powder, found on inspection to be mixed with lime.

89 barrels of powder in another magazine.

W. COLLIER, Captain.

Commanding the Royal Artillery.

San Fiorenzo, February 21, 1794.

Return of the French Prisoners taken, and put on board his Majesty's Ships of War, between the 10th and 18th of February, 1794.

At Mortella tower, 1 ensign, 2 non-commissioned officers, 28 privates, and 4 seamen.

At the Convention redoubt, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 4 captains, 4 lieutenants, 55 privates, and 1 seaman.

Officers Names.

Lieutenant-colonels Taviel and Villantroy, of the artillery.

Captain Desportes and Reals, of the 26th regiment.

Captains Rumidon and Delage, of the 52d regiment.

Lieutenant Chavarin of the artillery.

Lieute.

Lieutenants Piraldy and Deal, of the 26th regiment.
 Lieutenant Jacque Dijour.
 Ensign Thomas Le Tellier.

J.A. St. CLAIR ERSKINE, Adjutant-general.

Return of the killed and wounded of the British troops, in the different attacks upon the French Posts, near San Fiorenzo, from the 7th to the 18th of February, 1794.

Royal Artificers, 1 rank and file killed.

Royal Artillery, 3 rank and file wounded.

2d battalion of Royals, 5 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file wounded

11th Regiment, 1 rank and file killed.

25th Regiment, 2 rank and file wounded.

30th Regiment, 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file wounded.

50th Regiment, 1 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.

51st Regiment, 4 rank and file killed; 8 rank and file wounded.

OFFICER'S NAME.

Lieutenant Alexander McDonnell, of the 2d battalion of Royals, wounded.

J.A. St. CLAIR ERSKINE, Adjutant-general.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 27.

Whitehall, May 27.

A Letter (of which the following is an Extract) was this day received by Mr. Secretary Dundas, from Vice-admiral Lord Hood, dated Victory, off Bastia, April 25, 1794.

Bastia still holds out, although our batteries have had a powerful effect. A surgeon, who came out of the town, reports the enemy to have lost a great number of men, and that there were then in the hospital near three hundred. Our loss has been inconsiderable, as the enclosed returns will shew.

Return of Troops killed and wounded since landing at Pietra Nera.

Royal Artillery, 3 wounded. 30th Regiment, 3 wounded.

11th Regiment, 1 killed. 69th Regiment, 2 wounded.

25th Regiment, 1 killed. Marines, 4 wounded.

Total, 2 killed, 12 wounded.

Captain Clark, of the 69th Regiment, wounded, exclusive of the above.

(Signed)

WM. A. VILLETES.

Lieut. Col. commanding troops before Bastia.

Return

*Return of killed and wounded Seamen between the 4th and
25th of April.*

Victory, 1 killed, 1 wounded. Fortitude, 1 killed, 1 wounded.
Windfor Castle, 2 wounded. Agamemnon, 5 wounded.
Total, 2 killed, 9 wounded.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.
Camp, April 25, 1794.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 10.

Whitehall, June 10.

The dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was received on Sunday last from Admiral Lord Hood, by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

Victory, off Bastia, May 24, 1794

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the town and citadel of Bastia, with the several posts upon the heights, surrendered to the arms of his Majesty on the 22d. On the 19th I received a message, that the garrison was desirous of capitulating upon honourable terms; in consequence of which I sent the enclosed note on shore. This brought on board the Victory three officers, who informed me that Gentili, the commandant, would assemble the officers of the several corps, and of the municipality, if a truce took place, which I agreed to, a little before sun-set. The next day I received a note from Gentili, which I also inclose, and sent captain Young on shore, on the morning of the 21st, who soon returned to the Victory, with two officers and two of the administrative bodies, which, with vice-admiral Goodall, captain Young, captain Inglefield, and my secretary, Mr. M^cArthur, settled the articles of capitulation, which were signed the following morning, when his Majesty's troops took possession of all the posts above the town, the troops in each retiring to the citadel, from whence they marched to the Mole Head, where they grounded their arms, and were embarked. You will receive herewith the articles of capitulation, which I hope his Majesty will approve.

I am unable to give due praise to the unremitting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct of lieutenant-colonel Villetes, who had the honour of commanding his Majesty's troops; never was either more conspicuous. Major Brereton, and every officer and soldier under the lieutenant-colonel's orders, are justly entitled to my warmest acknowledgments; their persevering ardour and desire to distinguish themselves cannot be too highly spoken of, and which it will be my pride to remember to the latest period of my life.

Captain Nelson, of his Majesty's ship Agamemnon, who had the command and directions of the seamen, in landing the guns, mortars, and stores; and captain Hunt, who commanded at the batteries, very ably assisted by captain Buller and captain Serocold, and the lieutenants
Gore,

Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane, have an equal claim to my gratitude, as the seamen under their management worked the guns with great judgment and alacrity. Never was an higher spirit or greater perseverance exhibited, and, I am happy to say, that no other contention was at any time known, than who should be most forward and indefatigable for promoting his Majesty's service; for, although the difficulties they had to struggle with were many and various, the perfect harmony and good humour that universally prevailed throughout the siege overcame them all.

I cannot but express, in the strongest terms, the meritorious conduct of captain Duncan and lieutenant Alexander Duncan, of the royal artillery, and lieutenant De Butts, of the royal engineers; but my obligation is particularly great to captain Duncan, as more true ability and judgment was never shewn by an officer, than was displayed by him; and I take the liberty of mentioning him as an officer highly entitled to his Majesty's notice.

I feel myself very much indebted to the vigilance and attention of captain Wolfeley, of the *Imperieuse*, and of captain Hallowell, who became a volunteer wherever he could be useful, after being superseded in the command of the *Courageux* by captain Waldegrave. The former kept a diligent watch upon the island of Capraia, where the enemy have magazines of provisions and stores, and the latter did the same, by guarding the harbour's mouth of Bastia with gun-boats and launches well armed, the whole of every night, whilst the smaller boats were very judiciously placed in the intervals between, and rather without the ships (which were moored in a crescent just out of reach of the enemy's guns) by captain Young, of the *Fortitude*, the centre ship, on board of which every boat assembled at sun-set for orders; and the cheerfulness with which the officers and men performed this nightly duty is very much to be admired, and afforded me the most heartfelt satisfaction and pleasure.

The very great and effectual assistance I received from vice-admiral Goodall, captain Inglefield, and captain Knight, as well as from every captain and officer of his Majesty's ships under my command, have a just claim to my most particular thanks, not only in carrying into execution my orders afloat, but in attending to and supplying the wants of the little army on shore: it is to the very cordial and decided support alone I had the honour to receive from the whole, that the innumerable difficulties we had to contend with were so happily surmounted.

Major Smith and ensign Vigoureux, of the 25th regiment, and captain Radsdale, and lieutenant St. George, of the 11th, not embarking with their respective regiments, having civil employments on shore; it is to their honour I mention, that they relinquished those employments, and joined their corps, soon after the troops were landed.

It is very much my duty to inform you, that I am extremely obliged to general Petrecono, Mr. Frediani, and all the officers of the Corsicans, serving with the army, for their great zeal, ardour, and attention, in forwarding the reduction of Bastia by every means in their

power, who were of infinite service by preserving good order in the troops.

I transmit an account of the loss on the part of his Majesty, in killed and wounded, which, I am happy to say, is inconsiderable; but the enemy suffered much, their hospitals being full.

At the commencement of the siege, the number of the enemy, bearing arms, was 3000.

By the first ship that sails for England, I shall have the honour of sending, to be laid at his Majesty's feet, the several stand of colours taken at Bastia.

Captain Hunt, who was on shore, in the command of the batteries from the hour the troops landed to the surrender of the town, will be the bearer of this dispatch, and can give any further information you may wish to know respecting the siege.

I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

His Britannic Majesty's ship *Victory*, off *Bastia*,
May 19, 1794.

In consideration of the very gallant defence the garrison of Bastia has made, and from the principles of humanity which ever govern British officers, I am disposed to give you terms; and if you will send on board two or three officers, properly authorized to treat, I trust a capitulation will be soon settled, as honourable to the inhabitants as can in any reason be expected.

(Signed)

HOOD.

*To the Commandant of the garrison,
and Mayor of the town of Bastia.*

TRANSLATION.

Bastia, the 2d Preireal, 2d year of the French Republic,
one and indivisible.

*The General of Division, Commander in Chief of the army of the
French Republic in Corsica, to Admiral Hood, Commander in
Chief of the Squadron of the King of Great Britain, before Bastia.*

My Lord,

In consequence of the proposal which you did me the honour of making in your dispatch of the 18th May (Old Style) I have the honour of sending to you two adjutants-general of the army and two members of the administrative corps of this town, who are commissioned to present to you the plan of a capitulation between the garrison and inhabitants of Bastia, and you, my lord, in the name of the King of Great Britain.

These four commissioners, who equally possess my confidence, and that of the garrison and of the citizens, have instructions to arrange
with

with you, the settlement of all matters relative to this capitulation. I hope that you will be satisfied, and that they will enable you to fulfil the views you have signified to me, of putting an end to the unavoidable consequences of the calamities of war. Captain Young has had a long conference with me : I was of opinion that a reciprocal understanding might co-operate in the success of the negociation which occupied our attention, and I have requested him to acquaint you with my ingenuous and loyal intentions.

Greeting or health,
(Signed) GENTILI, Commander in Chief.

Articles of Capitulation of the Garrison and Town of Bastia, in Corsica.

On the 21st day of May, 1794, by order of the Right Hon. Lord Hood, admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean : vice-admiral Goodall ; captain Young, of the Fortitude ; captain J. N. Inglefield, adjutant-general to the fleet ; and John M'Arthur, secretary to his excellency the commander in chief, met on board the Victory, to receive proposals of capitulation for Bastia, from Messrs. Etienne Monty, president of the department of Corsica ; John Baptiste Galeazzini, mayor of Bastia ; Charles Francis Emanuel Couthaud ; and John Baptiste Franceschi, adjutant-generals of the French army.

The following articles were proposed, discussed, and modified as follows, viz.

Art. I. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war ; together with all those attached to the army.

Answer. Granted.

Art. II. The garrison shall embark as soon as possible after signing these articles at the Great Mole of the Port, preceded by the field artillery, with arms, baggage, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, colours flying. To be transported immediately to the Port of the Mountain (Toulon) and no where else.

Answer. In consideration of the gallant defence made, the garrison shall march to the Molehead, preceded by two field pieces, with their arms, baggage, &c. and shall lay down their arms at the place appointed for their embarkation ; they shall, as soon as possible, be transported to the Port of the Mountain (Toulon).

Art. III. All ammunition, artillery, military stores, and every thing which composes and makes a part of the army, both by sea and land, shall also be transported to the Port of the Mountain.

Answer. Refused.

Art. IV. The Corvette La Fleche shall be fitted out as a transport to carry the garrison and citizens who wish to follow it, together with the Pink La Marie Victoire ; and that loaded with ship timber, which are now at the disposal of the administrator of the marine, shall be employed for this transport ; but this not being sufficient, the necessary number shall be furnished by the admiral, four of which shall not be

visited. The above-mentioned corvette and pink, loaded with timber, shall be kept by the Republic.

Answer. The troops of the garrison and citizens who wish to depart, shall be conveyed to Toulon, the Port of the Mountain, by vessels appointed by his excellency the commander in chief.

The French corvette La Fleche, and all vessels in the harbour, must be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty's officers. Such fishing boats as are necessary to the subsistence of the inhabitants, proving their property, shall remain in their possession.

The rest of this article is inadmissible.

Art. V. The sick, who are not able to bear the voyage, shall remain in the hospitals which they occupy at present, at the expence of the Republic, by officers of health, who shall be appointed under the superintendance of a commissary of war, and, when they are able to support the voyage, vessels shall be furnished to transport them by the English commander.

Answer. Granted.

Art. VI. The members of the constituent bodies, and all persons attached to the service of the Republic, or any denomination whatever, or pensioners, shall participate in this capitulation with the military, and shall enjoy the same conditions.

Answer. Granted.

Art. VII. All papers concerning public accounts, those of the artillery, engineers, marine, military tribunal, military chest, both of this place and all others, shall be transported to France; the same shall be done with all papers and plans of the country, as well of the old as new administration, as civil and military, and those belonging to the communities.

Answer. Granted, except such as are necessary for the security of property; the archives, and other public papers and plans of the island, shall remain, but copies of them shall be allowed to be taken.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of both sexes, which are now in the town, or that have taken refuge there, shall have their lives, their honour, and their property saved and guaranteed, with liberty to retire, when and whither they please, with their families and servants, furniture, effects, and merchandize; and the power of disposing of whatever effects they may chuse to leave behind, or to receive their rents by agents.

Answer. Granted.

Art. IX. No troops nor armed men, except those of the British government, shall, on any account, be brought into the town.

Answer. The British government will take care that no armed men shall be brought into the town, in any manner that may give the inhabitants any cause of uneasiness or apprehension.

Art. X. The community in general, nor any individual in particular, shall be subjected to any tax or contribution whatever, on account of the events which have preceded or accompanied the siege.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XI. No person shall be troubled on account of his religion
or

or political opinions, nor for any thing he may have said before or during the siege.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XII. The inhabitants shall not be subject to have soldiers billeted in their houses; they shall not be forced to any military service or work.

Answer. Soldiers shall never be billeted on the inhabitants, except in cases of absolute necessity.

Art. XIII. The present money of the Republic, particularly assignats, shall continue to pass current.

Answer. The French money and assignats shall be allowed to pass; but no person shall be compelled to take them.

Art. XIV. The national domains, sold agreeable to the existing laws, shall be kept by the purchasers; the leases of national property not sold, which have been granted till this time, shall remain in force.

Answer. We do not feel ourselves authorized to decide on this article; it must be left to the decision of his Britannic Majesty, the purchasers enjoying the possession of the national domains till his Majesty's pleasure shall be known: and all leases granted before the arrival of the British fleet at St. Fiorenzo shall remain in force.

Art. XV. The community shall be maintained in the possession of the moveables and immoveables belonging to it; the same shall be done with the town hospital.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XVI. Deserters shall not be demanded on one side or the other.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XVII. The prisoners that have been taken during the siege, shall be set at liberty, and shall be allowed to retire to Bastia or to France; those which have been taken since the beginning of the war, and have been given up to the Corsicans, shall be joined to those who were taken at Fornelli, to be exchanged when an opportunity offers.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XVIII. Necessary passports shall be furnished to two feluccas, to go immediately after signing of this capitulation, one to Calvi, and the other to the Port of the Mountain, to carry the dispatches of the general of division, Gentili.

Answer. Granted, with regard to Toulon, (Port of the Mountain). Refused, with regard to Calvi.

Art. XIX. If any difficulty should arise respecting the terms or conditions of the capitulation, they shall be in all cases interpreted in favour of the garrison, the inhabitants of Bastia, and the refugees.

Answer. If any difficulty shall, at any time, arise in the interpretation of this capitulation, it shall be decided with the strictest justice to both parties.

Art. XX. The British government shall be the only guarantee of the present capitulation.

Answer. Granted.

ADDITIONAL

visited. The above-mentioned corvette and pink, loaded with arms, shall be kept by the Republic.

Answer. The troops of the garrison and citizens who were in the place, shall be conveyed to Toulon, the Port of the Mountain, and the vessels appointed by his excellency the commander in chief.

The French corvette La Fleche, and all vessels in the harbour, shall be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty's officers. Such ships as are necessary to the subsistence of the inhabitants, proving property, shall remain in their possession.

The rest of this article is inadmissible.

Art. V. The sick, who are not able to bear the voyage, shall remain in the hospitals which they occupy at present, at the disposal of the Republic, by officers of health, who shall be appointed by the Republic, and, when they shall be necessary, support the voyage, vessels shall be furnished to transport the English commander.

Answer. Granted.

Art. VI. The members of the constituent bodies, and those attached to the service of the Republic, or any denomination, ever, or pensioners, shall participate in this capitulation with the military, and shall enjoy the same conditions.

Answer. Granted.

Art. VII. All papers concerning public accounts, those of the treasury, tillery, engineers, marine, military tribunal, military chest, and all others, shall be transported to France; the same shall be done with all papers and plans of the country, as well of the old as new administration, as civil and military, and those belonging to the communities.

Answer. Granted, except such as are necessary for the management of property; the archives, and other public papers and plans, shall remain, but copies of them shall be allowed.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of both sexes, which are in the place, or that have taken refuge there, shall have their lives and their property saved and guaranteed, with liberty to go when and whither they please, with their families and furniture, effects, and merchandize; and the power of disposing of their effects, either to leave behind, or to remove them, by agents.

Answer. Granted.

Art. IX. The property of the British subjects, and of the British ships, shall be protected, and the same shall be done with the property of the French subjects, and of the French ships.



ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

Art. I. All the out-posts and forts, and the gate of the citadel, shall be put in possession of his Britannic Majesty's troops at twelve o'clock to-morrow : The troops in the forts and out-posts are to retire to the citadel, from whence they are to march at ten o'clock the next morning, to the place appointed for each corps by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation ; and they are to lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the citadel, to take inventories of all the artillery, ammunition, and stores, and proper officers are to be appointed to shew the mines, magazines, and stores, of every description.

Art. II. The town of Bastia, the citadel, and all the forts, out-works and posts, and every thing contained in them, that is not the private property of the garrison or inhabitants, together with the ships of war, and all vessels lying in the port, shall be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty in the present state, without any deterioration of the batteries, artillery, mines, magazines of ammunition, provisions, or any sort of stores.

(Signed)

ETIENNE MONTY, Presidt. du Departement.

J. B. FRANCHESCHI, Adj. Gen.

C. F. E. COUTHAUD, Adj. Gen.

GALEAZZINI, Mayor of Bastia.

Approuve par moi,
GENTILI.

S GOODALL.

WM. YOUNG.

J. N. INGLEFIELD.

J. M'ARTHUR.

Approved by me,
HOOD.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, MISSING, AND DEAD OF THEIR WOUNDS, OF THE TROOPS ENCAMPED BEFORE BASTIA, FROM THE 4th OF APRIL TO THE 21st OF MAY, 1794.

Artillery—4 rank and file wounded.

11th Regiment—1 rank and file killed ; 1 captain, 3 rank and file wounded.

25th Regiment—1 rank and file killed, and 2 wounded.

30th Regiment—1 rank and file wounded, 1 dead of his wounds, and 1 missing.

69th Regiment—1 captain, 3 rank and file wounded ; and 1 rank and file dead of his wounds.

Marines—3 rank and file wounded, and 1 dead of his wounds.

Chasseurs—1 rank and file killed, 3 wounded, 1 dead of his wounds, and 5 missing.

Total—3 rank and file killed, 2 captains, and 19 rank and file wounded, 4 rank and file dead of their wounds, and 6 missing.

Captain Rudsdale, of 11th Regiment, wounded.

Captain Clarke, of 69th Regiment, wounded.

W. BATLEY, acting B. Major.

KILLED

KILLED AND WOUNDED SEAMEN BETWEEN THE 11th OF APRIL
AND THE 19th OF MAY, 1794.

Victory—1 killed and 1 wounded.

Windfor Castle—2 killed, 4 wounded, and 1 missing.

Fortitude—1 killed, 1 wounded, and 1 missing.

Agamemnon—3 killed and 7 wounded.

Total—7 killed, 13 wounded, and 2 missing.

Lieutenant Tupper, of the Victory, killed.

George Andrews, of the Agamemnon, wounded.

HOOD.

(Signed)

HORATIO NELSON.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 2.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 1.

Letters from the Right Hon. Lord Hood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are Extracts, were last night received at this office.

[DUPLICATE.]

Victory, Martello Bay, August 5, 1794.

My letter of the 15th of June would inform you, that having forced the French ships on the 11th, which sailed from Toulon on the 5th, to seek their safety within the shoals in the bay of Gourjean, and under the protection of the batteries of the islands of St. Honora and St. Margaretta, and on Cape Garoupe; that I had left vice-admiral Hotham to watch them; and that I was returning to Corsica, to join lieutenant-general Stuart for the reduction of Calvi, which I have the honor to acquaint you is now, I believe, on the point of surrendering to the arms of his Majesty.

Upon my junction with vice-admiral Hotham off this port on the 9th, I detached captain Nelson in the Agamemnon to Bastia, with orders to embark the troops, and proceed with them to Martello Bay, where lieutenant-general Stuart embarked on the 15th; and expressing a wish to proceed to the attack of Calvi immediately, captain Nelson complied with it, and on the 19th, all the troops were landed, under the direction of captain Cooke, in a small cove about three miles from Calvi.

I anchored in Martello Bay on the 19th; and so soon as I had embarked the ordnance and other stores the general had desired, which the boisterous weather for some days prevented, and had forced the Agamemnon and several of the transports from their anchors; but his Majesty's smaller ships, and the rest of the transports, which were close under the land, and had not room to get under sail, very fortunately rode the gale out, without an accident to either, the wind not blowing home to the shore with so much violence.

On the 26th I sailed, having previously sent captain Hallowell and captain Serocold (who were eager volunteers for the service, as were also the lieutenants Perriers and Morgan) with as many able seamen as
the

the Victory could then spare, to assist in dragging up the ordnance, and serving the batteries.

The journal I herewith transmit from captain Nelson, who had the command of the seamen, will shew the daily occurrences of the siege, and whose unremitting zeal and exertion I cannot sufficiently express, or that of captain Hallowell, who took it by turns to command in the advanced battery twenty-four hours at a time; and I flatter myself they, as well as the other officers and seamen, will have full justice done them by the general; it is therefore unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject: But I have to lament, and which I do most sincerely, the loss of a very able and valuable officer, captain Serocold, who was killed by a grape shot, whilst getting the last gun in its place, soon after the enemy had discovered our battery. The king has not a more meritorious young captain in his Majesty's navy: He commanded the floating battery, which was burnt by red-hot shot, before Bastia, and afterwards served, with infinite reputation, at the batteries on shore. Independent of my regard and esteem for him, I feel his loss to be a public one.

Much credit is due to the captains Wolseley, Hood, Sir Charles Hamilton, Sir Harry Burrard Cunningham, Macnamara and Robinson, for their vigilance in keeping succours out, by a steady perseverance in preserving their respective stations, under manifest difficulties; and I ought not to omit to mention my tribute of praise to Mr. Gibson, commanding the Fox hired cutter, of whom all the captains speak in the handsomest manner for his diligence and punctual obedience to orders. For near two months they did not receive at Calvi any intelligence from the continent, until the night of the 29th, when four boats got in, the port not being then so well and closely guarded, having been obliged to send off three frigates to Naples and other places for stores, which the general pressed for, and the night's being dark.

On the 27th I arrived off Calvi, and have kept close off the port ever since, in order to relieve the wants of the army every morning, having stationed a frigate at anchor off Cape Revalata, and another off point D'Esperia. I have landed from this ship seven of her lower deck guns; and, from time to time, all requisitions, for various other stores as well as for men, the general has made, have been complied with, under great inconvenience, that the operations of the army should not stand still.

On the 29th of last month I had the honour of a visit from general Stuart, who brought letters that had passed between him and the commandant of the French troops relative to a truce for twenty-five days, which appearing to be inadmissible, in the afternoon of the 30th of July our batteries were opened; and on the morning of the 1st instant, the white flag was displayed on the citadel, under the national one, and the firing ceased.

Victory, off Calvi, Aug. 9, 1794.

I herewith have the honour to transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, duplicates of my dispatches of the 5th, from Martello Bay.

I failed

I failed on the 7th, and got off here the next morning ; and herewith transmit a copy of captain Nelson's journal from the 28th of last month to the 8th of the present one ; also the copy of a letter I have received from him, highly creditable to lieutenant Harrison, a transport agent, as well as to Mr. William Harrington, master of the *Willington*, and the transport's men, who were all anxiously eager, either to serve on shore, or on board his Majesty's ships.

I have ordered captain Wolseley to take possession of the *Melpomene* and *Mignonne* frigates, the former is one of the finest ever built in France, carries 40 guns, the other only 32 ; and I have received an account from the consul at Zante, that his Majesty's frigates which I sent into the Levant, under the command of captain Montgomery, have taken the *Sibelle*, twin sister to the *Melpomene*.

Captain Cunningham, who has cruized with infinite diligence, zeal, and perseverance, under many difficulties, for three months past, off Calvi, charged with my dispatches, is competent to give any information their lordships may wish to have ; and I beg to recommend him as an officer of great merit, and highly deserving any favour that can be shewn him.

Victory, off Calvi, Aug. 10, 1794.

Having received from lieutenant-general Stuart the articles of capitulation he made with Cafabianca, the commandant of the French troops at Calvi, I have the honour herewith to transmit a copy thereof.

Articles of Capitulation of the Garrison of Calvi, in Corsica.

I. The garrison and all persons attached to it in a military capacity, shall march out of the town with all the honours of war.—A. The garrison, and all persons attached to it in a military capacity, shall march out of Calvi with all the honours of war, and shall deposit their arms, colours, and cannons, at a place that shall be pointed out to them for this purpose ; but in consideration of their gallant defence, they shall be allowed to preserve their swords.

II. The garrison shall embark on the 10th of August, at the Quay of the Lower Town, preceded by its field train, arms, and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, colours flying, and shall be conveyed to the port of the Mountain, and to no other place.—A. The garrison shall embark on the 10th of August, and be conveyed to Toulon in transports, which shall be provided for this service.

III. The frigates *la Melpomene* and *la Mignonne* shall be employed to convey the garrison, and such of the inhabitants as are disposed to accompany it : the remainder of the shipping necessary for this service shall be provided by the English.—A. Refused.

IV. An inventory shall be taken of all the artillery and ammunition : Officers shall be named on both sides to inspect the magazines and stores, and every thing which belongs to the French republic ; all which shall be delivered up to the commissary of his Britannic Majesty in their present state ; an attested copy of the inventory to be kept by each party.—A. Granted.

V. The national commissioner, the municipal officers, and all persons in the service of the republic, as well as the Corsican refugees, shall be included in the present capitulation.—A. Granted.

VI. The inhabitants of Calvi, and the Corsican refugees of both sexes, shall be protected in their lives, their honour, and their property; shall be at liberty to embark for France immediately with the garrison, or to retire to such other places as they may think proper, with their effects, and shall retain the power to dispose of their real estates, or to manage them by their agents.—A. Granted.

VII. The refugees who may be desirous of returning, or of sending their families into the interior of the island, shall be at liberty so to do; and the British government shall cause their property to be restored to them, and shall protect them against all persecution on account of any religious or political opinions which they may have manifested prior to this capitulation.—A. This article must be referred to his Britannic Majesty, being of a nature not immediately connected with the authority of the general.

VIII. All papers which concern the responsibility of the paymasters of the army, of the artillery, of the engineers, of the navy, or of any other branch of administration, shall be removed to France—A. Granted.

IX. The sick shall be conveyed to France as soon as possible, and those who may be unable to bear the voyage, shall remain in the hospital of the Lower Town, under the care of such persons as shall be left for this purpose, and at the expence of the republic; and shall also be sent to France, as soon as they are in a condition to be removed.—A. Granted.

X. The municipality of Calvi shall preserve all its possessions, and shall be at liberty to dispose of them, in conformity to the established regulations.—A. Granted.

XI. Neither the municipality or any individual shall be called upon to pay any tax or contribution, on account of any events which have preceded or accompanied the siege, or on account of their religious or political opinions; and no one shall be molested in the exercise of his religious duties.—A. Granted.

XII. The inhabitants shall not be liable to have the soldiers billeted upon them, nor be subject to any military duty.—A. Granted for the present, and for the future, except in cases of urgent necessity.

XIII. The purchasers of national lands, or those who hold them on lease, shall continue in the possession of them.—A. Reserved for the consideration of his Majesty, for the reasons stated in the answer to the 7th article.

XIV. The inscription upon the gates of the citadel, “Civitas Calvi semper fidelis,” shall remain as an honourable testimony of the conduct, the character, and the virtues of the inhabitants of Calvi.—A. Granted.

XV. The deserters shall not be delivered up on either side.—A. As there are no deserters from the British army, this article is unnecessary.

XVI. The prisoners taken by the ships of his Britannic Majesty since the blockade of Calvi, those taken at Mosello, the sailors taken in the brig employed to convoy the sick to France, the sailors and the passengers taken near Galeria, in a vessel bound to France, and who
are

are now detained, part on board the frigates, and part in the castle of Corte, and the sailors and gunners who have been taken coming from France, shall be liberated, and allowed either to remain at Calvi, or to return to France, as they shall think proper.—A. Refused.

XVII. Passports shall be granted to enable two gondolas to go to France, one to the port of the Mountain, and the other to Nice, with dispatches from the general.—A. Granted, provided these gondolas do not sail before the 6th of August.

XVIII. In order that the tranquillity of the garrison and of the inhabitants may not be interrupted, the English general shall not permit the Corsicans from the interior of the country, or the emigrants from the town, to enter Calvi or the Lower Town, until all the garrison shall have sailed for France.—A. Granted.

XIX. The inhabitants of Calvi shall retain their arms, and shall be protected by the forces of his Britannic Majesty.—A. The inhabitants shall not be allowed to retain their arms, but his Majesty's forces shall afford them all necessary protection.

XX. The officers and crews of the frigates, brigs, and gun-boats, shall be entitled to the same terms of capitulation as the garrison.—A. Granted.

XXI. The British government to be the sole guarantee of the present capitulation.—A. Granted.

(Signed)

CHARLES STUART, Lieut. Gen.
CASABLANCA, Gen. of Division.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Tuesday, September 2.

Whitehall, September 1.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was last night received from Lieut. General the Hon. Charles Stuart, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

Calvi, August 10, 1794.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the town of Calvi surrendered to his Majesty's forces on the 10th instant, after a siege of fifty-one days

As I perfectly agreed with Lord Hood in opinion, that the utmost dispatch is necessary, in order to enable the troops selected for the siege of Calvi to begin their operations before the commencement of the unhealthy season, every effort was used to forward the necessary preparations; and so effectual were the exertions of the different departments, that in the course of a very few days, the regiments embarked at Bastia; and captain Nelson, of his Majesty's ship *Agamemnon*, consented, in Lord Hood's absence, to proceed to Port Agra, where a landing was effected on the 19th of June; and, in the course of the same day, the army encamped, in a strong position, upon the Serra del Capuccine, a ridge of mountains, three miles distant from the town of Calvi.

From many of the out-posts, and particularly from those the friendly Corsicans were ordered to occupy, I could distinctly discover that the town of Calvi was strong in point of situation, well fortified, and amply supplied with heavy artillery; the exterior defences, on which the enemy had bestowed a considerable labour, consisted in the bomb proof stone star Fort Mozello, mounting ten pieces of ordnance, with a battery of six guns on its right, flanked by a small entrenchment.

In the rear of this line (which covered the town to the westward) on a rocky hill to the east, was placed a battery of three guns. Considerably advanced on the plain to the south west, the fort Mollinochesco, on a steep rock, commanded the communication between Calvi and the province of Balagni, supported by two frigates moored in the bay, for the purpose of raking the intermediate country: but the principal difficulties in approaching the enemy's works, did not so much arise from the strength of the defences, as from the height of the mountains and rugged rocky surface of the country it was necessary to penetrate; and so considerable were these obstacles against the usual mode of attack, that it was judged expedient to adopt rapid and forward movements, instead of regular approaches. In conformity to this plan of proceeding, the seamen and soldiers were laboriously employed in making roads, dragging guns to the tops of the mountains, and collecting military stores for the purpose of erecting two mortar and four separate gun batteries on the same night. One of these was intended against the Mollinochesco; the second to be constructed on rocks to cover the principal one of six guns; which, by a sudden march, and the exertions of the whole army, was to be erected within seven hundred and fifty yards of the Mozello.

From some mistake, the battery proposed against the Mollinochesco, was built and opened two days before the appointed time, and considerably damaged that fort. Observing, however, that it was the determination of the enemy to repair, and not to evacuate it, the Royal Irish regiment was ordered, on the evening of the 6th of July, to move towards their left, exposing the men to the fire of their artillery. This diversion was seconded at sun-set, and during the greater part of the night, by a feigned attack of the Corsicans, which so effectually deceived the enemy, that they withdrew a considerable piquet from the spot where the principal battery was to be constructed, in order to support the Mollinochesco, and directing the whole of their fire to that point, enabled the troops to complete their work. This important position established, the enemy was compelled to evacuate the Mollinochesco, and to withdraw the shipping under the protection of the town. A very heavy fire immediately commenced on both sides, and continued with little intermission, until the 18th of that month, when observing that their batteries were considerably damaged, and a breach appearing practicable on the west side of the Mozello, a disposition was made for a general attack upon the out-works, under the cover of two batteries, ordered to be erected that night, which, from their position, would, in the event of a check, appear the principal object of the movement.

From

From the zeal of lieutenant-col. Wauchope, and the great exertions of the 50th regiment, the battery, which he undertook to construct within three hundred yards of the Mozello, was completed an hour before day-break, without discovery; a signal gun was then fired from it for the troops to advance. Lieutenant Newhouse, of the Royal Artillery, with two field pieces, covered the approach; and the grenadiers, light infantry, and 2d battalion of the Royals, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Moore of the 51st regiment, and major Brereton of the 30th regiment, proceeded with a cool, steady confidence, and unloaded arms, towards the enemy, forced their way through a smart fire of musquetry, and, regardless of live shells thrown into the breach, or the additional defence of pikes, stormed the Mozello; while lieutenant-colonel Wemyss, with the Royal Irish regiment, and two pieces of cannon, under the direction of lieutenant Lemoine of the Royal Artillery, equally regardless of opposition, carried the enemy's battery on the left, and forced their trenches without firing a shot.

The possession of these very important posts, which the troops maintained under the heaviest fire of shells, shot, and grape, induced me to offer to consider such terms as the garrison of Calvi might be inclined to propose; but receiving an unfavourable answer, the navy and army once more united their efforts, and, in nine days batteries of thirteen guns, four mortars, and three howitzers, were completely within six hundred yards of the town, and opened with so well directed a fire, that the enemy were unable to remain at their guns; and in eighteen hours sent proposals, which terminated in a capitulation, and the expulsion of the French from Corsica.

It is within sincere regret that I have to mention the loss of captain Serocold, of the navy, who was killed by a cannon shot when actively employed on the batteries. The assistance and co-operation of captain Nelson, the activity of captain Hallowell, and the exertions of the navy, have greatly contributed to the success of these movements.

The spirit, zeal, and willingness with which this army has undergone the greatest labour and fatigue in the most oppressive weather, is hardly to be described; and such has been the determined animation of both officers and men, that the smallest murmur has never been heard, unless illness deprived them from making their services useful to their country.

I am much indebted to lieutenant-colonel Moore for his assistance upon every occasion; and it is only a tribute due to his worth to mention, that he has distinguished himself upon this expedition for his bravery, conduct, and military talents.

It is with the utmost confidence that I presume to recommend to his Majesty, my aid-de-camp, captain Duncan, of the Royal Artillery, whose activity, zeal, and ability, in his own and the engineer department, merits the highest commendation and advancement.

Captain Stephens, the officers and men of the Royal Artillery, have distinguished themselves with their usual ability in the management of the batteries, and their attention to the different branches of that line.

Sir

Sir James Erskine and Major Oakes have been essentially useful in their different departments; and permit me to assure you, that a cordiality subsists throughout the army, which promises the most signal success on any future undertaking:

I have the happiness to inform you, that captains Macdonald and Mackenzie, and the other wounded officers and soldiers, are in a fair way of recovery:

Captain Stewart, an officer of great merit, and my aid-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch:

I have the honour to be, &c:

C. STUART, Lieut. Gen.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED, OF THE TROOPS EMPLOYED IN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CALVI, UNDER THE COMMAND OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE HON. CHARLES STUART, THE 10th OF AUGUST, 1794.

PREVIOUS TO THE ATTACK OF FORT MOZELLO.

Royal Artillery and additional gunners. 2 rank and file killed, 6 ditto wounded

Grenadiers (reserve) 1 rank and file wounded.

Light Infantry (ditto) 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file wounded.

2d Battalion Royals (ditto) 2 rank and file wounded.

Royal Regiment of Ireland. 1 rank and file killed.

50th 1 rank and file killed, 1 ditto wounded.

51st, 1 rank and file killed, 1 ditto wounded.

Senibaldia (Corsican battalion) 1 field officer killed, 1 rank and file wounded.

Gearupietri (ditto) 3 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 rank and file wounded.

Scamen. 1 captain, 5 rank and file killed; 6 rank and file wounded.

At the attack of Fort Mozello, and on the morning of the 18th July.

French Artillery. 1 rank and file wounded.

Grenadiers (reserve). 5 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file wounded.

Light Infantry (ditto). 1 captain, 3 rank and file wounded.

2d Battalion Royals, (ditto). 1 rank and file wounded.

Royal Regiment of Ireland. 4 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file wounded.

50th. 1 rank and file wounded.

51st 1 rank and file wounded.

Royal Louis. 1 rank and file wounded.

From the 19th of July, to the 10th of August.

Royal Artillery and additional gunners. 1 rank and file killed.

Grenadiers, (reserve). 1 subaltern, 1 rank and file killed; 1 subaltern wounded.

Royal

Royal Regiment of Ireland. 1 subaltern wounded,
51st. 1 subaltern killed.

Seamen. 1 subaltern killed.

Total 1 field officer, 1 captain, 3 subalterns, 25 rank and file killed;
1 field officer, 3 captains, 4 subalterns, 3 serjeants, 49 rank and file
wounded.

RANK AND NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED.

Lieutenant-colonel Sembaldi, Corsican battalion.

Captain Serocold, Royal navy.

Mr. Banks, midshipman, ditto.

Lieutenant William Byron, Royal regiment of Ireland.

Ensign Boggis, 51st regiment.

RANK AND NAMES OF OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Lieutenant-colonel Moore, 51st regiment.

Captain Col. Macdonald, Royal.

Captain Mackenzie, ditto.

Lieutenant Donald Macdonald, ditto.

Lieutenant Johnston, Royal regiment of Ireland.

Lieutenant Livingston, 30th regiment.

Captain John Paoli, Corsican battalion.

Lieutenant Francisco Mattei, ditto.

J. St. CLAIR ERSKINE, Adj. Gen.

*Return of Ordnance, &c. taken in the garrison of Calvi, and in the fol-
lowing detached works, August 10, 1794.*

B R A S S.

36 pounders, 1 taken at Calvi. 24 ditto, 8 at Calvi. 16 ditto,
7 at Calvi, 2 at Marat battery.—Total 9. 12 ditto, 7 at Calvi. 8
ditto, 1 at Calvi. 4 ditto, field pieces, 12 at Calvi, 1 at fort Mo-
zello.—Total 13. 1 ditto, 3 at Calvi.

I R O N.

18 ditto. 17 at Calvi, 2 at Molino Acefco, 1 at fort Mozello, 5 at
Six Gun battery, 1 at Marat battery.—Total 26. 9 ditto, 1 at fort
Mozello. 8 ditto, 24 at Calvi, 7 at Mozello.—Total 31.

B R A S S.

12 inch mortars, 7 at Calvi. 15 ditto, 3 at Calvi. 6 ditto, howit-
zers, 1 at Calvi. 6 ditto, carronade ditto, 3 at Calvi.

G U N C A R R I A G E S.

36 pounders, 1 at Calvi. 24 ditto, 23 at Calvi. 18 ditto, 18 at
Calvi, 1 at fort Mozello.—Total 19. 16 ditto, 7 at Calvi. 12 ditto,
12 at Calvi. 9 ditto, 1 fort Mozello. 8 ditto, 5 at Calvi, 7 at Mo-
zello.—Total 12.

T R A V E L L I N G C A R R I A G E S.

6 inch howitzer, 1 at Calvi. 4 pounders, 14 at Calvi, 1 at fort
Mozello.—Total 15. 1 pounder, 3 at Calvi.

MORTAR

M O R T A R B E D S.

15 inch, 3 at Calvi. 12 ditto, 9 at Calvi. Sling cart, 1 at Calvi.
Truck ditto, 1 at Calvi.

S H O T.

36 pounders, 790 at Calvi. 24 ditto, 2,000 at Calvi. 18 ditto, 350 at Calvi, 303 at fort Mozello, 20 at Six Gun battery.—Total 637. 16 pounders, 800 at Calvi. 12 ditto, 2,400 at Calvi, 8 ditto, 650 at Calvi, 60 grape at fort Mozello.—Total 710. 4 pounders, 4120 at Calvi. 1 ditto, 2,340 at Calvi.

S H E L L S.

12 inch, 2,600 at Calvi, 35 at fort Mozello.—Total 2,635. 6 ditto, 16 at Calvi.

C A S E S H O T.

4 pounders, 786 at Calvi. 1 ditto, 100 at Calvi. Hand Grenades fixed, 1,280 at Calvi. Powder in barrels, 7,100lbs. at Calvi, 100lbs. at fort Mozello.—Total 7,200lbs. Ditto in cartridges, 5,070lbs. at Calvi, 408lbs. at fort Mozello.—Total 5,478lb. Lead in musquet balls, 3,720lbs. at Calvi. Ditto in Figs, 27,190lbs. at Calvi. Musquet ball cartridges, 140,200 at Calvi, 4262 at fort Mozello.—Total 144,462. Musquet Flints, 28,864 at Calvi. Pistol ditto, 23,100 at Calvi. Musquets, 1,225 at Calvi. Sulphur, 390lbs. at Calvi. Salt Petre, 705lbs. at Calvi. Pitch, 1,085lbs. at Calvi. Port Fires, 610 at Calvi. Tubes, 5,700 at Calvi. Fuzes, 12 inch, 374 at Calvi. Ditto, 6 inch, 34 at Calvi. Stand of Colours, 1 at Calvi.

(Signed)

E. STEPHENS,
Captain Commanding Officer of Artillery.

Return of Ships and Vessels taken in the harbour of Calvi, August 10.

						Guns,
La Melpomene	—	—	—	—	—	40
Mignonne	—	—	—	—	—	28
Brigs, Auguste and Providence	—	—	—	—	—	4
Caira Gun Boat	—	—	—	—	—	3

(Signed)

E. STEPHENS.
Captain Commanding Royal Artillery.

SPAIN AND ITALY.

The London Gazette during the Year 1794, gives no Account whatever of the Operations of the Armies of Italy and Spain, excepting the following Article, which is only the Portuguese report of what is already described in the Appendix to the 1st Vol. of this work, p. 71; but, as all that appears in the London Gazette relative to the War is inserted; it is necessary to the compleatness of the Undertaking, that the following should be Printed here.

Whitehall, Jan. 28, 1794.

Lisbon, Jan. 11. Accounts have been received here from the headquarters at Bollou, dated Dec. 23, that at day-break on the 21st the allies attacked and carried all the enemy's advanced lines and batteries; which success, together with the capture of Port Vendre, Fort St. Telmo, and Collioure, determined the enemy, whose left and rear flanks were laid open, to quit, in the course of that night, all their camps and posts in front of the allies, and retire into Perpignan, leaving the Spaniards masters of the country to the very gates of the town.

OPERATIONS

IN

THE WEST INDIES.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 11, 1794.

Whitehall, Feb. 11.

On Sunday the 9th instant, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, received dispatches from the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, dated the 15th of December, 1793, containing intelligence, that major-general commandant at Cape
 VOL. II. Nichola

Nichola Mole, had accepted the surrender of the parishes of St. Marc and Genaives, in St. Domingo, to his Majesty, upon the same terms and conditions which have been granted to Cape Nichola Mole and the quarter of Jeremie; and that the British flag was, in consequence, flying on all the forts and batteries in the above-mentioned parishes.

Whitehall, March 15.

By dispatches, received on Thursday last by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from lieutenant-governor Williamson, dated Jamaica the 19th of January last, and from major Grant, of the same date, from Mole St. Nicholas in the island of St. Domingo, it appears, that the united parishes of Leogane, and the parishes of Arcabaye and Jean de Rabel, in that island, have surrendered to his Majesty, upon the same terms which had been granted to Jeremie, Cape St. Nicholas and St. Marc; and that Mirebalais, near Port au Prince, had solicited leave to hoist the British flag, which had been complied with.

The following are the lists of ordnance, stores and ammunition found in St. Marc and Jean de Rabel, transmitted by major Grant.

General State of the Ordnance and Ammunition in the different Forts of the town of St. Marc, transmitted by M. de Chadirac, Commanding officer of Artillery, to the Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in the said town, viz.

I R O N O R D N A N C E.

14 18-pounders; 2 12-pounders; 2 18-pounders; 4 4-pounders.

B R A S S O R D N A N C E.

1 4-pounder; 4 2-pounders.

B A L L S.

80 24-pounders; 1114 18 pounders; 250 12-pounders; 400 8-pounders; 114 4 pounders.

2300 36 pounders, too large for our cannon; 78 chain shot; 463 bombs; two mortars and their beds.

P O W D E R.

147lbs. in filled paper cartridges; 924 in the magazine at the forts; 8175 in the powder magazine; 65 rockets; 19 bundles of cartridges; 145 cases of langridge shot.

Certified according to the exact state of the different forts.—St. Marc, December 20, 1793.

MONTFAYON, Engineer.

DE CHADIRAC, Com. officer of Artillery.

State

State of the Ordnance and Ammunition found in the parish of Jean Rabel, the 20th of December, 1793.

3 24-pounders; 34 12-pounders; 30 quintals filled paper cartridges; 3 barrels of powder; 100 langridge shot, 4-pounders; 150 ditto, 2-ditto; 50 ditto, 12-ditto; 200 balls 2-ditto; 50 ditto, 12-ditto; 4000 musquet cartridges; 1 8-pounder; 1 4-pounder; 1 2-pounder; 3 small iron 2 or 3 pounders.

Certified by us, Major of Artillery, commanding at Jean Rabel, February 22, 1793.

(Signed)

DENUX.

Admiralty-Office, March 15.

The following is an Extract, of a Letter, received on Thursday last, from Commodore Ford, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships at Jamaica, to Mr. Stephens, dated Mole St. Nicholas, the 22d of January, 1794.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the parishes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahaye and Boucassin, on the north, and Leogane on the south side of the bight, are in our possession, by capitulation, and the British flag flying therein; and, as our post at Boucassin is within twelve or fourteen miles of Port-au-Prince, I proceeded, without loss of time, with the Squadron under my command, to the neighbourhood thereof, in order to give countenance and protection, according to the exigency of the case; and finding on my arrival there, that the Spaniards had taken possession of Borgne, Gonahives, Petite Rivierre and Verrette, I proceeded off Port-au-Prince, in order to induce a capitulation to the King my master; and accordingly sent captain Rowley of the Penelope, on the 2d instant, with a flag of truce, to the civil commissary Santhonax; offering the same capitulation which the inhabitants of St. Marc had voluntarily accepted, but which he refused in toto. As I found that intreaty had no effect, I determined to establish a blockade, which has continued ever since, and not a vessel of any description entered.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 18.

Whitehall, March 16.

The following are extracts of a letter from major-general Williamson to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and of one inclosed therein from lieutenant colonel Whitelocke, received this day.

Extract of a Letter, from Major General Adam Williamson to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, dated King's House, Jamaica, Feb. 9, 1794.

I have the honour to send herewith an extract of a letter from colonel Whitelocke, with the particulars of the capture of Cape Tiburon. The business was spirited and well done. This

This post is of the utmost importance; it secures the passage, and with Cape Nichola Mole, commands that fine extensive bay.

It has also drove the brigands as far back as Aux Cayes, which leaves the parishes of the Grand Ance in the most perfect security.

The trade between this island and St. Domingo is already prodigious; and the quantity of produce brought here, will, I hope, on its arrival in Great Britain, add considerably to the revenue.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, of the 13th Regiment, Commanding at Jeremie, to Major-General Williamson, dated Europa, off Tiburon, Feb. 3, 1794.

The commodore and his squadron called at Jeremie on the morning of the 31st ultimo; the troops were immediately embarked, and the whole sailed in the evening.

We did not arrive off Tiburon till the evening of the 2d, when the three frigates anchored near to the shore in the Ance du Mitan.

The enemy were strong, and seemed to wait our landing; but after a few broadsides from the ships the beach appeared to be clear, and just before dark I ordered the flank companies to land, and take possession of a house about 150 paces from the beach, and well situated for defence, and to protect the landing of the whole.

Major Spencer commanded the flank companies, and was not annoyed till the moment the boats grounded, when the brigands appeared in line on the beach, and fired on the troops, who, by the major's orders, were on shore in an instant, charged, and in a minute routed the enemy, and surrounded the post.

I landed at day-light with the 13th and 20th, the marines, and British legion, and found that the brigands had evacuated all the posts, and escaped towards Aux Cayes, by the mountain road, without burning or destroying property of any description.

The numbers of the enemy were about 650 blacks, 200 mulattoes and whites, very strongly posted. About 150 more surrendered themselves, and remain. I understand 50 of them were killed and wounded.

I have only to add on this subject, that the conduct of major Spencer was highly honourable to him; and he was handsomely supported by the officers and men of the flank companies.

I have left lieutenant Baskerfield to command, with 50 men of the 13th, the colonial troops, and Jean Kino's corps from Irois.

The post of Irois being no longer necessary, I have directed it to be dismantled.

The enemy are now shut out of our possessions, there being no post of consequence within 60 miles of Tiburon.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED, AT THE ATTACK OF CAPE
TIBURON, FEB. 3, 1794.

13th reg.—2 privates killed; 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 1 volunteer, and 2 privates wounded.

20th

20th reg.—1 serjeant and 4 privates wounded.

49th Light Infantry.—1 private killed; 1 private wounded.

Total. 3 privates killed; 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 1 volunteer, 1 serjeant and 7 privates wounded.

N. B. Hon. captain Colvill, of the 13th regiment, wounded slightly in the leg; lieut. Dana, of the 13th light infantry, wounded in the hand, but not dangerously; volunteer Dolphina dangerously wounded.

Return of Ordnance taken at Cape Tiburon, Feb. 3, 1794.

18 eighteen-pounders; 4 six or eight-pounders; 1 field piece, four-pounder; 2 field pieces, three-pounders.

The magazine complete with every description of ammunition.

A. WILLIAMSON.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
April 17.

Whitehall, April 16.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, was this day received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from General Sir Charles Grey, K. B., dated from Martinico the 16th of March, 1794.

*Camp before Fort Bourbon, Island in Martinico,
March 16, 1794.*

Sir,

In my dispatch of the 2d ult. I had the honour to acquaint you, that the force destined for the expedition was then embarked, in Carlisle Bay, at Barbadoes; and, having sailed very early in the morning of the 3d, I have now the satisfaction to add, that we are in possession of the whole island of Martinico, excepting Forts Bourbon and Royal, which I hold completely and closely besieged; the latter being, however, entirely in our power to destroy at pleasure.

Having made disposition for three separate landings, distant from each other, not only for the purpose of dividing the enemy's force and attention, but to alarm him in every quarter at the same time, I have the pleasure to say they all succeeded, viz. At La Trinité, by a division under major-general Dundas, and commodore Thompson, on the 5th and 6th of February; at Caise de Navaire, to leeward, by another, under colonel Sir Charles Gordon, assisted by colonel Myers, and captain Rogers, of the navy, on the 8th following; and near Trois Rivières, St. Luce, Cul de Sac Marin, where lieutenant-general Prescott and I were. All these services were executed with great spirit and ability by the officers who severally commanded, and were well supported by the troops.

Major-general Dundas immediately advanced with colonel Campbell of the 9th foot, lieutenant colonel Coote of the 70th, and the 1st battalion.

battalion of light infantry, and carried Morne Le Brun, under a heavy fire of musquetry, on the 6th; and instantly detaching lieutenant-colonel Craddock with the 2d battalion of grenadiers, and major Evatt with three companies of light infantry, to attack Trinité Fort, the enemy fled, and our troops got possession of it, with the cannon, stores, &c. During the same night, Bellegarde, the popular leader of the mulattoes and blacks, evacuated the fort bearing his name, and, leaving his artillery, &c. set fire to the town of Trinité; a great part of which was, however, saved by the activity of captain Salisbury, and the seamen. Proceeding to the Gros Morne, he gained that post by twelve o'clock at night of the 7th, major Skerrett being left to command at Trinité Fort. Pushing forward again, he seized Morne Bruneau at noon of the 9th, the enemy retreating at his approach; and detaching lieutenant-colonel Craddock, with three companies of grenadiers, he took possession of Fort Matilde, which covered a good landing within two miles of his left. The 10th following, he detached colonel Campbell, with five companies of light infantry, who seized Colon during the night. Lieutenant-colonel Craddock being reinforced the same evening at the post of Matilde, with the 33d company of grenadiers, was, however, attacked, and sustained some loss during that night, (among whom was captain Mackewen, of the 38th grenadiers, an officer of much merit) by Bellegarde and a considerable number of the enemy; but, on being charged with bayonets by the grenadiers of the 9th regiment, headed by lieutenant-colonel Craddock, they were totally repulsed. Colonel Campbell being reinforced at Colon on the 11th by lieutenant-colonel Coote, and four companies of light infantry, he took possession of the strong post of Lemaitre, leaving the 65th regiment at Colon, which was three times attacked during that night, and repulsed the enemy with great spirit.

That part of the army which had landed with me near Trois Rivières the 6th of February proceeded the same evening to Rivière Salée, getting the troops under cover in the village of that name at seven o'clock the same evening, having detached brigadier-general Whyte, on this day's march, with the 2d battalion of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Close, and two Amuzettes, to force the batteries of Cape Solomon and Bourges, in order to get possession of Pigeon Islands, as our shipping could not go into the harbour of Port Royal, which was even dangerous for boats in supplying the army at Salée with provisions, until that might be accomplished. The following day, the 7th of February, he took two small pieces of cannon, loaded, at a village in the bay of D'Arlet, 150 mulattoes having fled at his approach; and marching to the attack of the two batteries above-mentioned, they surrendered at discretion, not having the means to escape. In the mean time I had received intelligence of the enemy's landing troops, and taking post on Morne Pied, to cut off the communication between brigadier general Whyte, and head-quarters at Salée, and ordered the 70th regiment, with two howitzers, to march the same night, and dislodge them; which was executed with great spirit, and the post taken possession of early in the morning of the 9th, under

under the good conduct of the adjutant-general, colonel Dundas, the 70th regiment being commanded by lieutenant-col. Johnson, and the enemy completely defeated at the first charge. Brigadier-general Whyte, being reinforced with a detachment of the Royal Artillery, some ordnance, mortars, &c. Colonel Symes, and two companies of the 15th regiment, two hundred seamen, armed with pikes and pistols from the admiral, ascended the heights on the 9th, and, aided by the unequalled exertions of the seamen under lieutenants Rogers and Rutherford, got possession of Mount Matherine, which commands Pigeon Island, at the distance of 400 yards, where he erected batteries, assisted by the zeal and activity of col. Symes. The two $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers, brought by the 70th regiment from head-quarters, being now placed on the battery, so as to take the island in reverse, under the direction of captain de Rouigné of the Royal Artillery, whose conduct was conspicuously meritorious; and colonel Durnford, chief engineer, having also joined with a company of artificers, the batteries were completed during the night of the 10th, and opened in the morning of the 11th, under the conduct of an excellent officer, captain Manley, who kept up so incessant and well-directed a fire, as to force the garrison to strike their colours, and surrender at discretion in little more than two hours, 15 being killed and 25 wounded, and having consisted of 203 when our batteries opened. The highest encomiums are due to all the officers, soldiers, and seamen of this division, particularly to brigadier-general Whyte, and colonel Symes, whose good conduct and exertions could not be excelled.

The 15th regiment, led by major Lyon, and commanded by captain Paumier, surprized several hundred of the enemy, very strongly posted on the heights of Le Grand Bouclain; the 12th following, killed several, and taking all their arms, ammunition, cattle, &c.

I have mentioned before that colonel Sir Charles Gordon, assisted by colonel Myers and captain Rogers of the navy, had landed to leeward, on the side of Caise de Navire, on the 8th. The enemy being master of the great road and the heights above it, he made a movement towards the mountains, and turning them unperceived with part of his force, gained the most commanding point in that part of the country, by day-break of the 9th. Colonel Myers descending the heights took possession of La Chapelle, and a post established by the enemy above it, and returning to the column, it proceeded through the most difficult ground to the heights of Berne, above Ance La Haye, the enemy abandoning the batteries of Cayman, and setting fire to the village, keeping a constant fire on him from the battery of St. Catherine's. He then took a position which gave him an easy communication with the transports, when, on the 12th, he observed the battery and works at St. Catharine's, and the posts which guarded the first ravines, were abandoned by the enemy, of which he took possession; while colonel Myers, with five companies of grenadiers, and the 43d regiment, crossed four ravines higher up, seizing all the batteries that defended them; which movement was completely successful, the enemy flying on every side, and our troops were soon in possession of the five batteries

batteries between Caise de Navire and Fort Royal. He then proceeded, and occupied the posts of Gentilly, La Coste, and L'Archer. The good abilities and conduct of colonel Sir Charles Gordon and colonel Myers, are eminently manifested throughout this difficult service, and all the troops of that division have performed their duty most meritoriously.

As the bay and harbour of Port Royal had been completely opened to our shipping by the capture of Pigeon Island, I moved forward with the troops from Riviere Salée, to the post of Bruneau, and joined lieutenant-general Prescott the 14th; and having previously concerted the attack of the town of St. Pierre with major-general Dundas, he marched the same evening on that enterprize with the 2d battalion of grenadiers, the 33d and 40th light companies, and the 65th regiment, to Gros Morne, from whence he detached colonel Campbell, through the woods by Bois le Buc, with the two light companies, and the 65th regiment, to reach Montigne on the morning of the 16th, proceeding himself towards the heights of Capot and Calebasse: they were evacuated by the enemy, and from the latter, he saw colonel Campbell at Post au Pin, half a mile short of Montigne, attacked in great force, and under a heavy fire, from five or six hundred of the enemy strongly posted; the major-general pushed forward his advanced guard, consisting of 63 men, under command of the hon. captain Ramsay of the Queen's, who gaining the summit by extraordinary exertions, fired on the enemy, who were engaged with colonel Campbell, and silenced their fire; and when joined by the 2d battalion of grenadiers, the detachment of the Queen's took possession of Montigne, where it was reinforced with two companies of grenadiers, taking post himself on Morne Rouge; and then visiting colonel Campbell's column, found he had been attacked at half past nine o'clock in the morning, and the enemy being within twenty yards of the 40th light company, had charged them with bayonets at the head of it, when he was killed; and in him his Majesty's service loses a most excellent officer, and a valuable man, justly lamented by the whole army and navy. Major-general Dundas now observed large bodies of the enemy moving towards his front at Morne Rouge, and forming under a small redoubt near that post, he therefore halted back, and was instantly attacked by five or six hundred men, which lasted about twenty minutes, when the fire ceased, and the enemy abandoned the redoubt in front during the night, leaving two field pieces, &c. At day-break the 17th these two columns advanced, the right to Le Jeune, the left to the colonial redoubt, and on the march he received a letter from the commandant of St. Pierre, to which he returned an answer by a flag, but the commandant was not to be found. In the mean time, colonel Symes had landed, and was already in the town, who, agreeable to the plan I had originally concerted for the co-operations with major-general Dundas, had embarked with three light companies, and major Maitland, with a detachment of the 58th regiment, to land north of the town; five companies of the 1st battalion grenadiers, and five companies of the 3d battalion of light infantry, under colonel Myers, having also marched from Camp La Coste for the same purpose of co-operat-
ing

ing with major-general Dundas; which general's ability, good conduct, and activity, first in penetrating through so difficult a country from La Trinité to Bruneau, and afterwards to the capture of St. Pierre, do him the highest honour, and merit his Majesty's notice in an eminent degree.

At Fort Bourbon, where Rochambeau commands, could not be closely invested, without the possession of these heights of Sourrierie, and this post was full occupied by Bellegarde, with a considerable number of mulattoes and blacks, I had fixed one o'clock in the morning of the 19th of February to force him with the bayonet from my camp at Bruneau; but at noon the preceding day (Feb. 18th), a most fortunate event anticipated my wishes and his ruin. Bellegarde, with part of his troops, descending the heights, attacked my left, towards the landing-place, in a very daring and spirited manner; to which part lieutenant-general Prescott led a reinforcement, with great judgment, and in good time, checking and charging the enemy. Availing myself of this favourable moment, when Bellegarde's camp was weakened, I ordered from my right the 3d battalion of grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and supported by the 1st and 2d battalions of light infantry, under lieutenant-colonels Coote and Blundell, who attacked his camp upon the left, in such a superior style of spirit and impetuosity, as to prove irresistible; and I got possession of it, and his cannon, with inconsiderable loss; which might have proved very different if my attack had not taken place till one o'clock the next morning, as was previously concerted, and if it had been properly defended by him, being there in such force with cannon, and numbers, and the situation so eminently strong and difficult. My admiration of the gallantry of those corps who performed this service, and the officers who commanded them, is inexpressible, and their conduct is above praise; nor did I ever feel more highly satisfied with the success of any enterprize in which I have been concerned.

Immediately after forcing Bellegarde, and getting possession of this post of Sourriere, on the 18th of February, I held Fort Bourbon besieged; but making a new road, getting up cannon, mortars, &c. and making batteries, took up the time till the 7th instant, when the batteries of my first parallel opened.

On the night of the 28th ult. Bellegarde, the great and popular leader of the mulattoes and blacks, with his second, Pelocque, and 300 of their followers, finding their situation too perilous outside of their forts, and exposed to our attacks, surrendered; the two former being sent to Boston, on condition of never carrying arms against his Majesty's forces; and their followers, as prisoners of war, are sent on board his Majesty's ships.

Major-general Prince Edward joined this army the 4th instant, and commands at Camp La Cotte, with great spirit and activity.

I have erected the batteries of my second parallel, at the distance of four and five hundred yards, which I expect will be completed, and ready to open by the 20th instant, although the late rains retard our progress, and are unusual at this time of the year.

It is just five weeks since the last division of this army landed, under colonel Sir Charles Gordon; and I hope it will appear to his Majesty there is no reason to be dissatisfied with the progress we have made, in that short space of time, with inconsiderable loss.

The spirit, unanimity, and perseverance of the navy and army never were more conspicuous, nor has more cordial co-operation ever been manifested between his Majesty's naval and land forces. In a word, the general, and all the field officers, as well as all the commanding officers of corps, have set such an example of zeal, activity, and animation on this service, which has been so laudably imitated by all the officers and soldiers of this little army, that they merit the greatest praise.

Admiral Sir John Jervis's professional knowledge never shone with more lustre, or ever was exceeded; nor can I sufficiently extol the promptness with which he has aided the land forces, on every occasion, and his unremitting exertions to promote the honour of his Majesty's arms, and the interest of his country; in which he has been so eminently supported by the abilities and exertions of all the officers and seamen under his command; to whose services I am indebted for having the siege in such forwardness, having brought the cannon and mortars, &c. for several miles, to these heights, although it appeared almost impossible.

The arrival of the Roebuck Hospital ship, with medicines, &c. for the sick, is a seasonable supply; a number of whom are comfortably accommodated at St. Pierre's, in an excellent hospital.

The Peggy transport being also arrived from Lisbon, with the light companies of the 44th and 55th regiments, without any sick, and in the highest order, is a fortunate reinforcement, although a small one; and the sick left at Barbadoes are recovering.

The troops are in high spirits, and generally in good health.

Enclosed are returns of killed, wounded, and missing, from the time of landing in Martinico to this date. A return of ordnance and stores taken is also enclosed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES GREY.

*Head Quarters, Camp at Sourierre, before
Fort Bourbon, Martinico.*

General return of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Privates, killed, wounded, and missing in the army under the command of his Excellency General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. &c. from the 6th of February to the 15th of March, 1794.

Royal Artillery—10 rank and file killed; 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, and 17 rank and file wounded.

Royal Engineers and Artificers—1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

Light Dragoons—1 rank and file wounded.

1st Battalion of Grenadiers—5 rank and file killed; volunteer Collis, and 12 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

2d Battalion ditto—1 captain, 1 serjeant, and 8 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, and 21 rank and file wounded.

3d Bat-

3d Battalion ditto—1 serjeant, and 16 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, and 38 rank and file wounded.

1st Battalion of Light Infantry—1 serjeant, and 4 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, and 17 rank and file wounded.

2d Battalion ditto—1 serjeant, and 7 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 21 rank and file wounded.

3d Battalion ditto—7 rank and file killed; 21 rank and file wounded.

1st Brigade, 15th regiment—1 serjeant, and 2 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded.

Ditto, 39th regiment—1 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded.

Ditto, 43d regiment—3 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

2d Brigade, 65th regiment—2 rank and file killed; 11 rank and file wounded.

3d Brigade, 6th regiment—1 serjeant killed; 1 serjeant, and 1 rank file wounded.

9th regiment—1 colonel killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

70th regiment—2 rank and file wounded.

Total—71 killed, 193 wounded. 3 missing.

FRA. DUNDAS, Adjutant-General.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

9th regiment—Colonel Campbell killed.

38th ditto—Captain Mackewen killed.

Royal Artillery—Captain Hope wounded; capt. Whitworth wounded; lieutenant Thornhill wounded.

33d regiment—Lieutenant Keating wounded.

44th ditto—Lieutenant Holland wounded.

43d ditto—Lieutenant Graham wounded.

60th ditto—Lieutenant Schneider wounded.

9th ditto—Lieutenant Stopford wounded.

8th ditto—Ensign Toole wounded.

1st battalion grenadiers—Volunteer Collis wounded.

2d battalion ditto—Volunteer Latouche wounded.

1st light infantry—Volunteer Davis wounded.

General Return of Ordnance and Stores taken in the Island of Martinico, between the 5th of February and 16th of March, 1794, on the expedition under the command of Sir Charles Grey, K. B. &c. &c.

PIGEON ISLAND.

36 pounders, guns 10, round shot 1000; 24 pounders, guns 6, case or grape 100; 6 pounders, 1 gun, round shot 300; 4 pounders, guns 4, round shot 250; howitzer, 5 inch 1; mortars, 12 inch 4; shells, 12 inch 1050, 5 inch 80; swivels 7; musquets or carbines 167; swords or cutlasses 10; powder, barrels (200lb. each) 156; 36 pounder cartridges filled 377; ditto empty 400; reed tubes, barrels 3; fuzes, 12 inch 2000; straw match, lb. 2000; rockets 120; portfires 300; musquet balls, barrels 16; quadrants, wooden, 4; portfire mould 1; cartridge paper, quires 30; tin funnels 6; pendulums 3; rocket formers 2; shot guagers, copper 10; ladles ditto, 36 pounder, 13;

ditto, 6 ditto, 4; ditto, 4 ditto, 6; powder horns 13; wadhooks, 36 pounder, 15; sponges, ditto, 14; iron crows 3; gyn 1; furnaces for heating shot 2; pincers for hot shot 5; 12 inch mortar bed 1; cartouches of leather 13; boxes for carrying 5 inch shells 24; sheep skins 2; mallets 4; handspikes 66; prickers 20; cases for grenades 18; can hooks for shells 6; cartouch boxes slung 147; ammunition boxes 3.

FORT BELLE GARDE.

24 pounders, guns 2, round shot 70, case or grape 54; 12 pounders, guns 2, round shot 10; 6 pounders, guns, brads 1, iron 1; 4 pounders, guns, brads 1, iron 4; round shot 402, case or grape 71; 1 pounders, guns 2; mortar 10 inch, brads, 1; shells, 10 inch, 9 powder, small quantity.

FORT TRINITE.

24 pounders, guns 3; 9 pounders, guns 2; 4 pounders, guns 1; 3 pounders, guns 3; powder, barrels (200lb. each) 400.

GROS MORNE.

9 pounders, guns 2; 4 pounders, guns 5; 3 pounders, guns 2; mortar, 10 inch 1.

HEIGHTS OF BRUNE.

4 pounder, gun, brads 1.

HEIGHTS OF SOURRIERRE.

4 pounder, gun, brads 1; 1 pounder, gun, brads 1; musquet balls, barrels 20, boxes 55.

ST. PIERRE, AND DEPENDENCIES.

24 pounders, guns 14, round shot 100; 18 pounders, guns 3, round shot 150; 4 pounders, guns 6, round shot 225; 3 pounders, guns 2, round shot 200; 1 pounders, guns 2, round shot 84; howitzer, 7½ inch 1, 5 inch 2; mortar, 5 inch 1; shells, 7½ inch 37, 5 inch 50; swivels 5; blunderbusses 29; pistols 114; musquets or carbines 1801; swords or cutlasses 309; powder, barrels (200lb. each) 38, kegs 112, small ditto 174; straw match, lb. 25; portfires 22; musquet cartridges, barrels 17; powder horns 8; gyn 1; handspikes 59.

CAISE DE NAVIRE AND DEPENDENCIES.

36 pounders, guns 17, round shot 901, case or grape 53; 24 pounders, guns 14, round shot 903, case or grape 38; 18 pounders, guns 12, round shot 609; 6 pounders, guns 6, round shot 25, case or grape 65; 3 pounders, round shot 24; 1 pounder, gun 1; mortars, 12 inch 2; shells, 12 inch 98, 10 inch 3; powder, barrels (200lb. each) 28; reed tubes, 1 barrel.

GENERAL REMARKS.—The above is the most correct return that can be given at present. There are likewise many guns mounted and dismounted, some spiked, and others unserviceable, not included.

There are many shots and shells in different places, not included, being scattered about the country.

There

There are many guns and stores on the batteries, which were taken possession of by the troops on the south-east part of the island, which are included, the rapid manner in which the troops advanced not affording a sufficient time to take an account of them. There is likewise a considerable quantity of powder and other stores in the magazine at St. Pierre's, which as yet have not been examined or reported to me.

T. PATTERSON,
Lietenant Colonel commanding Royal Artillery,
Windward and Leeward Islands.

*His Excellency Sir Charles Grey, K. B.
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*

Whitehall, April 16, 1794.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, was this day received from Major-General Williamson by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, dated King's House, Jamaica, March 2, 1794.

It being judged that the post of L'Acul, about six miles from Leogane, at the extremity of the plain of Leogane, should be taken, lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke made a very proper disposition of his troops, and on the night of the 18th ult. detached 200 colonial troops, with one field piece, and some of the British artillery: they were embarked on board two transports, and were to land at five o'clock the next morning.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke marched, at four o'clock on the morning of the 19th, with the flank companies, artillery, two howitzers, two field-pieces, and about 50 of the colonial troops of all colours. Captain Vincent, with the flank company of the 49th, and 120 colonial troops, took a mountain road, which led to the opposite flank upon which the detachment of colonial troops was to commence the attack.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke advanced with the main body just within cannon shot of the fort, to co-operate with the detachment, but from the mismanagement of one of the transports, and an unfavourable wind, the troops could not land.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke drew his artillery back a little, which the enemy perceiving, a heavy fire of musquetry commenced from a wood on their right, which was instantly silenced by a corps commanded by major Spencer. All this time four guns fired incessantly from the fort, but fortunately did little execution.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke finding that he could not have any assistance from the troops that were embarked, determined at once to storm the post. He ordered some refreshment for the men, and sent away the howitzers.

About half past four, P. M. major Spencer was ordered, with two flank companies, to join captain Vincent, to advance and fire on the fort,

fort, which he did according to a signal given, and lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke advanced in front, under the fire of two guns loaded with grape, and a heavy fire of musquetry. They ascended the hill, which was rendered as difficult as possible by trees placed in all directions, gallantly pushed on with fixed bayonets, and drove the enemy from their works.

Many of the enemy were killed; and had the colonial corps been landed, not a man would have escaped. The garrison was supposed to consist of about 600 men, commanded by a white man of the name of De Lisle, who had served in the late King's time, and is said to have murdered, or caused to be murdered, near 300 white persons.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke speaks in the highest terms of both officers and men, and particularly of major Spencer, captain Smith of the Royal Artillery, and lieutenant M'Kerras of the Engineers.

I have the honour to send herewith returns of stores, and of the killed and wounded; and I have to lament the death of captain Morshead, who gallantly entered the work, and was blown up by a quantity of combustible matter, which was set fire to by one of the brigands, who also perished in the explosion. Captain Morshead had received a wound in the body before, but that did not prevent his going on.

The attack was so spirited, that the garrison had not time to carry off any thing.

Return of the Killed and Wounded of a Detachment of his Majesty's Forces, and a Corps of Loyalists, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, at the attack on the Post of L'Acul, St. Domingo, February 20, 1794.

Royal Engineers—1 lieutenant wounded.

Light Infantry, 1st Battalion of Royals—1 captain killed; 1 captain, and 3 rank and file wounded.

13th, Flank Companies—1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, and 1 rank and file wounded.

20th, Flank Companies—1 lieutenant, and 10 rank and file wounded.

49th, Flank Companies—1 lieutenant, and 2 rank and file wounded.

Detachment of the 13th Battalion—1 rank and file wounded.

62d Regiment—1 lieutenant wounded.

French Colonial Volunteers and Artillery—3 rank and file killed; 9 rank and file wounded.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Captain Morshead, of the Light Company 1st Battalion of Royals killed.

Captain Hutchinson, 1st Battalion of Royals; lieutenant M'Kerras, of the Engineers; lieutenant Tinlin, of the 20th Grenadiers; lieutenant lord Aylmer, of the 49th Light Infantry; and lieutenant Caulfield, of the 62d Regiment, wounded.

Total—5 killed, 32 wounded.

Return

Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, found in Fort L'Acul, after storming it the evening of the 10th of Febrary, 1794.

BRASS ORDNANCE.

4 pounders, French, on travelling carriages with limbers 3; 2 pounders on travelling carriages without limbers 1.

IRON ORDNANCE.

12 pounders on travelling carriages without limbers 2.

ROUND SHOT.

12 pounders 190; 4 pounders fixed to cartridges with wooden bottoms 20; 2 pounders fixed to ditto with ditto 124.

CASE SHOT.

12 pounders 8; 14 pounders fixed to cartridges with wooden bottoms 117; 2 pounders fixed to ditto with ditto 130.

BAR SHOT.

12 pounders 18; corned powder, in cannon, cartridges, and barrels, lbs. weight 707; musquet cartridges with ball 1803.

N. B. The greatest part of the small stores, such as the arms for the guns, &c. &c. were blown up, by the explosion of one of the enemy's magazines, upon the British entering the fort.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, April 22.

Whitehall, April 21.

Major Gray arrived this morning at the office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with dispatches from Sir Charles Grey, K. B. of which the following is a copy:

Sir,

Port Royal, Martinico, March 25, 1794.

I have the happiness to acquaint you of the complete conquest of this very valuable island, the last and most important fortrefs of Fort Bourbon having surrendered to his Majesty's arms at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d instant; at which time his Royal Highness Prince Edward, major-general of his Majesty's forces, took possession of both gates with the first and third battalions of grenadiers, and the first and third light infantry: And I have the honour to transmit to you the articles of capitulation, together with a list of the killed and wounded, and a return of the ordnance, &c. taken since my dispatch of the 16th instant, in which I communicated the transactions and progress of this army to that period. The return of ordnance taken in Fort Royal is signed by the commanding officer of British artillery; but that of Fort Bourbon is the French account of it, as there is not time to make any exact return at present, which shall be sent by the next opportunity.

Having concerted measures with the admiral for a combined attack

by the naval and land forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal, and the batteries of my second parallel being ready, those on Mome, Tortenson, and Carriere, kept up an incessant fire upon Fort Royal, and all the other batteries on Fort Bourbon, during the day and night of the 19th instant, and on the morning of the 20th following, till the ships destined for this service had taken their stations. The *Asta* of 64 guns, captain Browne, and the *Zebra* sloop of 16 guns, captain Faulknor, with captain Rogers, and a body of seamen in flat boats, the whole under commodore Thompson, composed the naval force; and the land force consisted of the first battalion of grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Stewart, and the third light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Close, from Prince Edward's camp at La Cote, with the third grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and the first light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Coote, from lieutenant-general Prescott's camp at Soururie.

The navy acquitted themselves with their usual gallantry (particularly captain Faulknor, whose conduct justly gained him the admiration of the whole army), carrying the fort by Escalade, about twelve o'clock of the 20th instant, under the able conduct of commodore Thompson, whose judicious disposition of the gun and flat boats, assisted by that spirited and active officer, captain Rogers, contributed materially to our success; at the same time that the land forces, commanded by that excellent officer, colonel Symes, critically advancing with equal ardor, forced and entered the town triumphantly, hoisting the British colours, and changing the name to Fort Edward.

Immediately after this, general Rochambeau, who commanded in Fort Bourbon, sent his aide-de-camp with a flag, offering to surrender on capitulation; and the terms were finally adjusted and agreed to on the 22d instant, by three commissioners on each side, the ratifications thereof being signed by the commanders in chief, on the 23d following; and the garrison, amounting to 900 men, marched out this morning prisoners of war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His Majesty's troops having marched in, struck the French, and hoisted the British colours, changed the name from Bourbon to that of Fort George.

I consider myself under great obligations to lieutenant-general Prescott, for the zeal and ability with which he has assisted me throughout this arduous service, now brought to so fortunate a conclusion, and to all the generals and other officers. Colonel Durnford, with the corps of engineers, and lieutenant-colonels Paterson and Sowerby, and major Manley, with the Royal Artillery, have also a claim to my warmest approbation, for their exertions in placing and constructing of the batteries, and the well-directed fire of the artillery. The bravery, regularity, and good behaviour of the troops, on every occasion, has been most meritorious and exemplary.

Fort Bourbon and Royal have suffered greatly from our fire, during the siege; and we are diligently employed to put them in a proper state of defence, effectually to secure this important acquisition of territory

fitory to the crown of Great Britain. I am restoring order, as fast as possible, from the confusion naturally occasioned by a siege, and have the pleasure to observe that every thing in the forts is as tranquil and well-regulated as could be expected in the time.

I shall not lose a moment in embarking ordnance and ordnance stores, with troops, &c., to prosecute with vigor, the execution of such other objects and services as his Majesty has been pleased to entrust to me; and hope to be enabled to proceed, before much time can elapse, after regulating the garrisons of these forts, and all such other matters as require immediate attention. Major Grey, deputy quarter-master-general, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and communicate any other particulars or information you may wish to have.

I have the honour, &c.

CHARLES GREY.

P. S. At the commencement of the siege, the garrison of Fort Bourbon consisted of about 1250.

I send five stand of colours, laid down by the garrison, together with the two colours of Fort Bourbon, to be presented to his Majesty.

The gallant defence made by general Rochambeau, and his garrison, was strongly manifested on entering Fort Bourbon, as there was scarce an inch of ground untouched by our shot and shells; and it is but justice to say, that it does them the highest honour.

Articles of Capitulation of Fort Bourbon.

On the 21st of March, 1794, by order of their excellencies Sir Charles Grey, K. B. general and commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. commanding his Majesty's fleet, &c. &c. &c. commodore C. Thompson, colonel R. Symes, and captain J. Conyngnam, met at Dillon's house, to receive proposals of capitulation for Fort Bourbon, from colonel D'Aucourt, captain Dupriret, and Gafchet Dumaine, jun. nominated commissioners for that purpose by general Rochambeau.

The following Articles were proposed, discussed, and modified, at a second conference held at Fort Royal, on the 22d of March, 1794.

Art. I. The garrison, composed of the troop of the line, artillery, gunners of the marine, and national guard, shall march out with colours flying, 30 rounds a man, and two field pieces with 12 rounds.

Answer. The colony of Martinique, already reduced by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and the forts and town of St. Pierre and Fort Royal, taken with sword in hand, general Rochambeau can only capitulate for Fort Bourbon, and what it contains.

Granted. But they are to lay down their arms at a place appointed, and not to serve against his Britannic Majesty, or his allies, during the present war.

Art. II. Three months pay to be allowed to the troops of the line.

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Answer.

Answer. No pay will be given. All their effects will be allowed them; and they will be provided with whatever may be necessary for their voyage to France.

Art. III. The 37th regiment, formerly marshall Turenne's, shall keep the colours and arms.

Answer. Refused, being contrary to all customs of war. The officers may keep their swords.

Art. IV. They shall be furnished with ships to carry them to France.

Answer. Granted.

Art. V. The emigrants, who have returned to Martinique, shall not be present where the garrison lay down their arms, or embark.

Answer. Granted.

Art. VI. Such persons of the national guard, who can give proofs of their property, shall be permitted to remain in the island, giving that property as security for their conduct.

Answer. Those of the national guard in Fort Bourbon, who have affairs to settle, and whose sojourn may not be deemed dangerous to the colony, may remain according to the declaration of the general, dated January 1, 1794.

Such as wish to go to France shall be allowed, leaving their agents here.

Answer. Granted.

Art. VII. Persons not included in the above article, who are compelled to return to France, shall be allowed a certain time to settle their affairs.

Answer. A proper time will be allowed: fifteen days at least.

Art. VIII. Persons belonging to the garrison of Fort Convention, possessing no landed property, but who exercised some profession or trade previous to the present capitulation, shall be allowed to continue their trade or calling; nor sent to France, provided their future conduct should not make such a measure necessary.

Answer. They are regarded in the same predicament with those in article VI.

Art. IX. The legal regulations of the constituted authorities shall be confirmed.

Answer. Refused.

Art. X. The code of civil judicature in force through the island shall be continued for the space of two years.

Answer. Granted, till his Britannic Majesty's pleasure be known.

Art. XI. The property of owners and captains of ships shall be secured to them on board and on shore.

Answer. Granted, as to their property in Fort Bourbon.

Art. XII. The inhabitants of St. Pierre, embarked on English ships, shall be set at liberty, and their property, under seal, secured to them.

Answer. This article cannot come within the present capitulation. The claimants may apply to the commanders of the fleet and army.

Art. XIII. The ordonateur and officers of administration shall have

have permission and time to regulate their accounts, and to take with them the papers relative to that end.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XIV. There shall be an entire and absolute oblivion of the past, and an end to all animosities.

Answer. Granted, according to the proclamations.

Art. XV. The rights of free citizens inrolled in the national guard shall be preserved.

Answer. Refused.

Art. XVI. The liberty of individuals composing the companies of l'Enclume, d'Octavius, de la Croire, and de Pontonur, shall be confirmed.

Answer. Refused. The slaves must be restored to their owners.

Art. XVII. A period shall be fixed for the taking possession of the fort, and the necessary time allowed for the garrison to take out their effects.

Answer. The two gates of Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty immediately after the exchange of the present articles. The garrison will march out at the great gate, and be conducted to the place appointed for each corps, by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation, and will lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Three days will be allowed for the evacuation of the fort, and the commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the fort to take inventories of all the magazines.

Art. XVIII. The greatest attention shall be paid to the sick and wounded; and they shall be furnished with ships to carry them to France as they recover.

Answer. Granted; but at the expence of the French government, and to be attended by their own surgeons; if not sufficient for the purpose, surgeons shall be furnished.

Art. XIX. General Rochambeau, immediately upon the surrender of the fort, shall be at liberty to take his measures for his return to France. A frigate to be furnished him, his aides-de-camp, secretaries, and suite.

Answer. A commodious vessel shall be allowed to general Rochambeau, with the necessary passports, for his safe return to France.

Art. XX. The effects, trunks, chests, private papers, and all that general Rochambeau shall declare to belong to himself, and his suite, shall be put under the protection of an English guard, when the troops of that nation shall have taken possession of Fort Convention, and shall be embarked with him.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XXI. The civil ordonateur, or intendant of the colony, shall have liberty also, with the officers of administration, comptroller, and treasurer, with those employed in the public offices at St. Pierre and Fort Royal, to return to France.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XXII. The same demands made by general Rochambeau in Article XX. shall be granted to the intendant and those under him.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XXIII. All papers of accounts in the forts or town shall be carefully collected by the principals of each department to which they belong, and embarked in the same ship with the ordonateur.

Answer. All papers, not essential to be left in the colony, shall be given, and free access to take authentic copies of such as it may be thought necessary to retain.

Art. XXIV. Captains and officers of merchant ships, who have not settled their affairs, shall be allowed time to do so. The former the space of four months, the latter of two months, under the protection of the commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces, that they may recover their debts; after which they will procure the readiest passage to whatever place may be expedient for their affairs, with passports from the English commanders.

Answer. Granted.

Additional Article. Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty, in its present state, with no deterioration of its batteries, mines, magazines of artillery, or provisions, and every thing it contains, which is not the private property of the garrison.

Fort Royal, March 22, 1794.

(Signed)

D'AUCOURT.
GASCHET, *fts.*
DUPRIRET.

C. THOMPSON.
RICH. SYMES.
JOHN CONYNGHAM.

Approved by me,
D. ROCHAMBEAU,
Commander in Chief of the
French West India Islands.

Approved by us,
CHARLES GREY.
JOHN JERVIS.

GENERAL RETURN OF OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, DRUMMERS, AND PRIVATES, KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING IN THE ARMY COMMANDED BY HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL SIR CHARLES GREY, K. B. &c. &c. FROM THE 16th TO THE 21st OF MARCH, 1794, INCLUSIVE.

Royal Artillery—3 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

1st Battalion Grenadiers—2 rank and file wounded.

1st Battalion Light Infantry—1 rank and file wounded.

15th Regiment—5 rank and file wounded.

Total—3 rank and file killed; 11 rank and file wounded.

Captain Weatherall (aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, major-general), wounded, not included in the above return.

(Signed)

FRA. DUNDAS, Adjutant-General.

State of Ordnance and Stores as near as can be ascertained, found in the Arsenal at Fort Royal, Martinico, March 21, 1794.

Guns, brass, twenty-four-pounder, English 1; ditto, eighteen-pounder, French 2; ditto, six-pounder, English 1; ditto, four-pounder, French 9; ditto, four-pounder. German 2; ditto, one-pounder, French 1; guns,

1; guns, iron, nine-pounder, French 1; ditto, four-pounder, French 6; iron guns of different calibres, totally unserviceable 5; mortars, brass, eight-inch, English 2; ditto, six-inch, French 1; howitzers, brass, eight-inch, French 2; ditto, six-inch, French 2; ditto, five-and-half-inch, English 1; empty shells, twelve-inch 540; ditto, eight-inch, 100; carronades 11; sponges, rammers, ladles, &c. great quantities; wood for making gun carriages, great quantities; large and commodious work-shops for all trades, with a great variety of tools.

Along side the Canal.—Loose shot and shells of different natures, a great quantity.

J. PATTERSON, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding Royal Artillery, Windward and Leeward Islands.

State of the Ordnance and Stores, as near as can be ascertained, found in Fort Louis, Martinico, on March 21, 1794.

Guns, iron, thirty-six pounder, French 10; ditto, twenty-four pounder 29; ditto, eighteen pounder 4; ditto, eight pounder 1; ditto, six pounder 3; ditto, four pounder 1; guns, brass, four pounder (1 unserviceable) 6; ditto, two-pounder 1; mortars, iron, twelve-inch 4; ditto, brass, twelve inch (2 unserviceable) 4; howitzers, brass, five and half-inch (English) 1; round shot, thirty-six-pounder 19,939; ditto, twenty-four-pounder (including 11,101 English shot) 31,033; ditto, eighteen-pounder 11,771; ditto, twelve-pounder (including 4,386 English shot) 10,346; ditto, nine-pounder 200; ditto, six-pounder (including 1664 English shot) 5904; ditto, four pounder 11,722; ditto, loose shot of different natures, about 500; double-headed shot, an immense quantity; round-shot six and four-pounders, fixed to wooden bottoms, about 1500; hand grenades, empty 800; empty shells, twelve inch 1570; ditto, ten-inch (English) 240; ditto, eight-inch 2346; fixed shells, thirteen-inch 10; ditto, five and half-inch 60; carcasses, round 50; ditto, oblong 30; ditto, a small quantity unserviceable; small arms, &c. wall pieces 8; ditto, blunderbusses 15; ditto, musquets (mostly unserviceable) 4050; ditto, bayonets, boxes 3; cannon locks 250; cartridges, thirty-six-pounders, filled 120; ditto, different natures, ditto, about 200; ditto, parchment cartridges, empty, for 36, 24, 18 and 12 pounders, bundles, about 700; ditto, parchment skins for making cartridges 1500; ditto, musquet ball 79,650; ditto, musquet ball, 19 boxes, quantity unknown; musquet ball, casks 20; ditto, boxes 20; ditto, kegs 25; cartridge paper, reams 10; kersey for making cannon cartridges, pieces, damaged 80; musquet flints, tasks 9; lead ball for amuzettes, boxes 25; powder, double barrels 468; ditto, single barrels 97; ditto, single barrels (damaged) 48; ditto, small kegs, number not ascertained; chests, containing cartridges of different natures, 2 damaged; musquet ball cartridges, barrels (damaged) 130; port fires and fuzes of different natures, a considerable quantity; slow match, a considerable quantity; engines for drawing fuzes, 2; fire balls, and composition for fire ships; carriages

riages for thirty-six-pounders 2 ; naval stores, unserviceable, grape shot, &c. a vast quantity ; a quantity of loose cartridges, formers, mallets, &c. &c. pigs of lead 280 ; entrenching tools of different sorts, a great quantity ; blocks of wood for musquet stocks ; turpentine, barrels 4 ; in the armourer's shops, six vices, and a quantity of other tools.

(Signed)

J. PATERSON,
Lieutenant-colonel commanding
Royal Artillery, Windward
and Leeward Islands.

*General Return of the Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, found in
Fort Bourbon, Martinico, March 24, 1794.*

Guns, brass, 24 pounders, 10; ditto, 16 pounders, 6; ditto, 6 pounders, 1; ditto, 4 pounders, field, 5; guns, iron, 24 pounders, 26; ditto, 18 pounders, 7; ditto, 12 pounders, 11; ditto, 8 pounders, 1; ditto, 6 pounders, 2; ditto, 4 pounders, 16. Howitzers, brass, 8 inch, 8; ditto, 7 inches 9-10ths, 2; ditto, 6 inches, 4. Mortars, brass, 12 inch 7; ditto, 10 inch, 1; ditto, 9 inch, 6; ditto, 8 inch, 3; ditto, 7 inches 8-10ths, 2. Mortars, iron, 12 inch, 3; gun carriages, 24 pounders, 27; ditto, 18 pounders, 3; ditto, 12 pounders, 6; ditto, 8 pounders, 3; ditto, 6 pounders, 2; ditto, 16 pounders, 5; ditto, 4 pounders, 8; ditto, 4 pounders, field, 5. Howitzer carriages, 8 inch, 9; ditto, 6 inch, 2; mortar beds, 12 inch, iron, 4; ditto, 10 inch ditto, 1; ditto, 12 inch wood, 5; ditto, 9 inch ditto, with bolster, 1; ditto, 9 inch ditto, without bolster, 2; ditto, 8 inch ditto, iron, 3. Round shot, 24 pounders, 6095; ditto, 18 pounders, 1530; ditto, 12 pounders, 1680; ditto, 8 pounders, 1800; ditto, 6 pounders, 1038; ditto, 4 pounders, 800. Grape and case shot of different calibres, unserviceable, 1000. Shells, 12 inch, 679; ditto, 9 inch, 41; ditto, 8 inch, 569; ditto, 6 inch, 180. Sponges, 24 pounders, 40; ditto, 18 pounders, 34; ditto, 16 pounders, 7; ditto, 12 pounders, 27; ditto, 8 pounders, 3; ditto, 6 pounders, 7; ditto, 4 pounders, 8; ditto, 4 pounders, field, 5. Rammers, 24 pounders, 25; ditto, 18 pounders, 12; ditto, 16 pounders, 8; ditto, 12 pounders, 17; ditto, 8 pounders, 8; ditto, 6 pounders, 5; ditto, 4 pounders, 8. Ladles, 24 pounders, 15; ditto, 18 pounders, 2; ditto, 12 pounders, 2; ditto, 8 pounders, 1; ditto, 6 pounders, 4. Wadhooks, 24 pounders, 6; ditto, 18 pounders, 2; ditto, 12 pounders, 2; ditto, 8 pounders, 1; ditto, 6 pounders, 2; ditto, 4 pounders, 2. Sponges and rammers for different calibres for mortars and howitzers, 6. Handspikes, common, 150; ditto, travelling, 15. Carcasses, 12 inch, 98; ditto, 10 inch, 34. Cartridges, parchment, 24 pounders, 4680; ditto, 18 pounders, 4302; ditto, 12 pounders, 2375; ditto, 8 pounders, 2415; ditto, 6 pounders, 1000; ditto, 4 pounders, 2024; ditto, paper, 16 pounders, 100. Reams of paper for gun cartridges, 24. Miners tools of different natures, 317. Camp forge and box with smiths tools, 1. Cop-
per

per scales and weights, set, 1. Beam and wooden scales, 1. Weights of 50lb. for ditto, 6. Fire engine, 1. Leather buckets for ditto, 30. Cartridges for shots, from 24 to 4 pounders, 6. Boxes filled with 4 pounder round and case, 6. Jacks, 2. Rampart musquets, 800. Ropes of various sizes, coils, 5. Fuzes for shells, 12 inch, 933; ditto, 10 inch, 500; ditto, 9 inch, 644; ditto, 8 inch, 200; ditto, 6 inch, 1098. Fuzes for hand grenades, 630. Signal rockets, 30. Slow match, 2000lbs. Gunpowder in barrels, supposed to make 111,918 French lbs. computed to be equal to 1300 barrels English. Musquet ball cartridges, 14 to the pound, 54,145. Ditto, 18 to the pound, 55,336. Musquet flints, barrels, 2. Tubes, 1500. Port fires, 50.

The above is a copy of the return given in to me by the officer commanding the French artillery in Fort Bourbon, which upon inspection and observation of captain De Ruvynes, and Mr. Sowerby, the commissary of artillery, they believe to be nearly correct.

J. PATERSON, Lieut. col. commanding Royal Artillery, Windward and Leeward Islands.

An Account of the Engineers Stores taken at Fort Louis, the Great Arsenal, and other Storehouses, at Fort Royal, Martinique, March 24, 1794.

M I N E R ' S T O O L S .

Pickaxes 1063, picks 3147, spades 1637, shovels 1684, scudders 1100, twy-bills 1505, borers, sets 11, wedges 420, and needles 24.

S M I T H S .

Forges 14; bellows, pairs 17; anvils 19; bick irons 9; vices 44; sledge hammers 126; tongs, pairs 52; squares of iron 18; compasses, pairs 16; sheers, pairs 5; screw block 1; ditto plates 17; files 1000; rubbers 50; braces for drills 90.

C A R P E N T E R S .

Benches 17; augers 356; adzes 294; drawing-knives 60; gouges 543; holdfasts 60; chissels 184; rasps 356; side planes 200; ploughs 30; bench planes 110; hand saws 40; cross-cut saws 150; pit saws 40; plane irons 410.

T U R N E R S .

Lathes, large 1; lathes, small 2; chissels 150.

Earth rammers 6; jack screws, ps. 13; masons hammers 216; felling axes 1,200; hand bills 1,350; large claw hammers 100; crows of iron 35; tomahawks 100; coopers planes 10; mill kegs and barrels 6; large hinges for gates 107; large iron scale beams 4; scales and beams, complete

complete 2; stock locks 18; folder, cwt. 3; rosin, lbs. 30; sand bags 300; canvas bolts 3; wheelbarrows 18; grindstones 43; petard 1; iron hooks, small 200; tent poles 200; ladders 12; ditto, scaling 12; scoops for trenches, wood 165; iron bolts 60; pikes for chevaux de frize 50.

8 P I K E S.

Twelve inch 300; 8 inch 1650; 7 inch 1250; 6 inch 1470.

N A I L S.

4s.	cwt.	3 2 0	6d. rose,	Ton 1	16 0 0
30d.		3 0 0	4d.		1 0 0
1d.	Ton 1	1 0 0			
Lead	cwt.	3 0 0	Steel		cwt. 8 0 0

I R O N B A R S.

Square	510	Belt Stuffs	600
Flat	1898	Old	Ton 1 15 0 0
Iron pipes for conveying of water			1230

F I R T I M B E R.

12 inch squ. 34 feet	68	7 inch, 20 feet	42
10 inch, 30 feet	95	Scantling, 22 feet	500
8 inch, 30 feet	30		

D E A L S.

$\frac{3}{4}$ inch, 16 feet	500	$\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 14 feet	100
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C E D A R T I M B E R.

10 inch, 16 feet	20	4 inch plank, 12 feet	333
Scantling, 12 feet	30	Ends, 6 feet	90

S T O N E.

Portland	feet 4,000	Flag	feet 2,100
Parbeck	feet 2,000		

S H O T.

Marble	feet 1,500	Tiles	40,000
Bricks	30,000		

MARK WARCUP,

Commissary of Stores to the Royal Engineer.

The foregoing list of stores hath been taken with as much care as possible, but the shortness of time hath not permitted those in Fort Bourbon to be taken by the commissary.

ELIAS DURNFORD,

Colonel and Chief Royal Engineer,
West Indies

Admiralty

Admiralty Office, April 21, 1794.

Captain Henry Powlet arrived this morning with Dispatches from Vice-admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are Extracts and Copy.

Boyne, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique,

Sir,

March 25, 1794.

My letter to you of the 16th, by the Roebuck packet, a duplicate of which is enclosed, has made the lords commissioners of the Admiralty acquainted with the operations of the siege until that date; I have the pleasure to communicate, for their lordships further information, that the battery on Point Carriere, which forms the east side of the entrance of the Carcenage, opened at day-light on the 17th, and with the gun boats kept an incessant fire on Fort St. Louis, while the gun and mortar batteries on the heights played on Fort Bourbon; lieutenant Bowen of the Boyne, who had commanded the night-guard and gun-boats for a considerable time, perceiving a favourable moment, pushed into the carenage with the rowing boats of the guard, boarded the Bien Venu French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant, and about twenty men who were on board her, under a smart fire of grape shot and musquetry from the ramparts and parapet of the fort. The success of this gallant action determined the general and me to attempt the fort and town of Fort Royal by assault, and I directed forty scaling ladders to be made of bamboo, and small stretched cordage, from twenty to thirty-six feet long, and ordered the Asia and Zebra to be held in readiness to enter the carenage, in order to batter the fort, and to cover the flat boats, barges, and pinnaces, under the command of commodore Thompson, supported by captains Nugent and Rion, while the grenadiers and light infantry from the camp at Soururie advanced with field pieces along the side of the hill under Fort Bourbon, towards the bridge, over the canal, at the back of Port Royal. This combination succeeded in every part, except the entrance of the Asia, which failed for the want of precision in the ancient lieutenant of the port Monsieur de Tourelles, who had undertaken to pilot the Asia. Captain Faulknor observing that ship baffled in her attempts, and the Zebra having been under a shower of grape shot for a great length of time (which he, his officers and sloop's company, stood with a firmness not to be described), he determined to undertake the service alone, and he executed it with matchless intrepidity and conduct, running the Zebra close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard, at the head of his sloop's company, assailed and took this important post before the boats could get on shore, although they rowed with all the force and animation which characterizes English seamen in the face of an enemy. No language of mine can express the merit of captain Faulknor upon this occasion; but as every

officer and man in the army and squadron bears testimony to it, this incomparable action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of history. The grenadiers and light infantry made good use of their field pieces and musquets; and, soon after the surrender of the fort, took possession of the town, by the bridge over the canal at the back of it, while a strong detachment from the naval battalions at Point Negro, under the command of captains Rogers, Scott, and Bayntun, in flat boats, barges, and pinnaces, approached the beach in front. Mons. Rochambeau did not lose a moment in requesting that commissioners might be appointed to consider of terms of surrender; and the general and I named commodore Thompson, colonel Symes, and captain Conyngham, to meet three persons named by him at Dillon's plantation, at nine o'clock on the 21st, and on the 22d the terms were concluded. The rapid success of his Majesty's arms has been produced by the high courage and perseverance of his officers, soldiers, and seamen in the most difficult and toilsome labours, which nothing short of the perfect unanimity and affection between them and their chiefs could have surmounted.

Commodore Thompson conducted the enterprize on the side of La Trinite like an able and judicious officer. Captain Henry carried on the business at Ance d'Arlet with great energy, and has been indefatigable in forwarding all the operations he has had a share in. To captains Brown, Nugent, Harvey, Markham, Faulknor, Sawyer, Carpenter, and Scott, I am greatly indebted for the manner in which they conducted the attack against St. Pierre. Captains Harvey, Kelly, Rogers, Salisbury, Incledon, Riou, lord Garlies, Carpenter, Scott, and Bayntun, have gained great reputation in the army by the conduct of the naval battalions, and working parties under their command. Captain Berkeley (since the arrival of the Assurance) has furnished a powerful reinforcement of men from that ship. Captain Pierrepont has been very active in the services allotted to the Seaflower. In captain Grey I have found the experience of age, joined to the vigour of youth. The captains of the 44 gun ships armed en flute, of the store-ship and hospital ship, have done well.

For other particulars I beg leave to refer their lordships to captain Powlet, who carries this dispatch, and to captain Markham of the Blonde, who conveys him. They served with commodore Thompson at La Trinite, and arrived on the south side of the island in time to have a share in most of the transactions there.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With great consideration,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

J. JERVIS.

P. S. Inclosed also is a list of the killed and wounded belonging to the squadron under my command, also a letter I received from commodore Thompson.

An Account of the Number of Officers and Seamen, killed and wounded.

Boyne. 1 lieutenant and 5 foremast-men wounded.
 Vengeance. 2 foremast-men killed; 2 ditto wounded.
 Irresistible. 1 foremast-man killed; 5 ditto wounded.
 Asia. 3 foremast-men killed; 5 ditto wounded.
 Veteran. 1 foremast-man killed; 1 lieutenant and 3 foremast-men wounded.
 Winchelsea. 1 foremast-man killed.
 Quebec. 1 foremast-man killed; 1 surgeon and 2 foremast-men wounded.
 Dromedary. 2 foremast-men killed; 1 captain and 1 foremast-man wounded.
 Nautilus. 2 foremast-men killed.
 Avenger Sloop. 1 captain killed.
 Zebra Sloop. 1 foremast-man wounded.

Name of the Officer killed.

Captain James Milne, of the Avenger.

Names of the Officers wounded.

Captain Sandford Tatham, of the Dromedary.
 Lieutenant Thomas Henry Wilson, of the Boyne.
 Lieutenant Thomas Clark, of the Veteran.
 Mr. Robert Lindsay, surgeon of the Quebec.

Sir,

Fort Royal, March 20, 1794.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the only loss we have sustained in the capture of Fort Royal is the pilot of the Zebra killed, and four seamen belonging to the same ship wounded. So soon as I perceived she could fetch in, I gave orders to captains Nugent and Riou, who commanded the flat boats, which, with the men embarked in them, were laying upon their oars, to push in, and mount the walls; when every exertion was made, and the boats seemed to fly towards the fort. Captain Faulknor, in the mean time, in a most spirited and gallant manner, entered the harbour through the fire of all their batteries, and laid his sloop along-side the walls, there being deep water close to; when the enemy, terrified at his audacity, the flat boats full of seamen pulling towards them, and the appearance of the troops from all quarters, struck their colours to the Zebra. A well directed and steady fire from the gun boats under lieutenant Bowen, as also from our batteries, was of great service. The alacrity and steadiness of the officers and seamen in general under my command was such, that I had not the least doubt of success against the whole force of the enemy, had they disputed our entrance.

The fort is full of ammunition and stores of all sorts, but the buildings are in a miserable condition from the effects of our bombs, the gun-boats, and batteries.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

C. THOMPSON.

Vice admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B.

commander in chief, &c. &c. &c.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Friday, May 16,
1794.

Whitehall, May 16.

A dispatch, dated St. Lucia, April 4, 1794, of which the following is an Extract, was this day received from General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

In my dispatch of the 25th ultimo I had the happiness to acquaint you of the surrender of fort Bourbon (now fort George) and the island of Martinico, on that day; and that I would not lose time to embark troops, ordinance, &c. to prosecute vigorously such other objects and services as his Majesty had been pleased to entrust me with the execution of.

I have now the honour to acquaint you with the further success of his Majesty's arms, in the conquest of this fine island; the French garrison, under the command of general Richard, in the works on Mome Fortunée, having marched out, and laid down their arms this morning by nine o'clock; at which time his Royal Highness Prince Edward, with his brigade of grenadiers, and major-general Dundas, with his brigade of light infantry, marched in, and took possession. On the 30th ultimo the brigade of grenadiers commanded by his Royal Highness Prince Edward; the brigade of light infantry, by major-general Dundas; and the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments, by colonel Sir Charles Gordon, with engineers, &c. under colonel Durnford, and a detachment of the royal artillery, with some light ordinance, under lieutenant-colonel Paterson, embarked on board his Majesty's ships in the bay of Fort Royal, having left the transports and heavy artillery at Martinico; and also left there the 15th, 39th, 56th, 58th, 64th, and 70th regiments, artillery, &c. as a garrison, under lieutenant-general Prescott, brigadier-general Whyte, and colonel Myers; but that day proving very rainy, hazy, and calm, we did not sail till the 31st, and reached St. Lucia the 1st instant. Every necessary matter being previously concerted and arraigned with the admiral, we proceeded, and effected three different landings, with little resistance, and no loss, viz. Major-general Dundas's division, consisting of the 3d battalion of light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Close, and conducted by captain Kelly, and lord Garlies of the navy, at Ance du Cap; and the 2d light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Blundell, conducted by commodore Thompson, at Ance du Choc, who were ordered to join, taking the enemy's,

enemy's batteries in reverse, and to occupy a near position for the purpose of investing the works of Morne Fortunée, on the side of the carenage, which was executed with the usual spirit and ability of that major-general, and the flank battalions. His Royal Highness Prince Edward's division the 1st and 3d grenadiers, disembarked at Marigot des Roseaux immediately under the admiral's own direction, assisted by captain Hervey, and immediately proceeded to co-operate with major-general Dundas, to invest Morne Fortunée. Lieutenant-colonel Coote, with the 1st battalion of light infantry, did not disembark till seven o'clock the same evening from the Boyne, and landed at Ance de la Tocque, proceeded to and took the four-gun battery of Cicéron, investing Morne Fortunée on that side, at the same time covering Cul de Sac, or Barrington-bay, for our shipping, which anchored there next morning, the 2d instant. The 2d grenadiers, and colonel Sir Charles Gordon's brigade (the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments), were kept in reserve on board ship. About seven o'clock in the evening of the 2d instant, lieutenant-colonel Coote, with four light companies, stormed a redoubt and two batteries by my order, close to the enemy's principal works on the Morne, killed two officers and near thirty men, made one prisoner, and released one British sailor from captivity, spiking six pieces of cannon. The ability and meritorious conduct of that excellent officer, colonel Coote, on this enterprise, are such as do him the highest honor, and cannot be surpassed, in which he was so well supported by the whole detachment; particularly by major Evatt, captains Buchanan, Crossie, Welch, J. Grey, aid-du-camp to the commander in chief, and Stobin; and by major of brigade Visscher, with lieutenant Drozier, and the detachment of royal artillery, who spiked the guns.

The exemplary good conduct of the brigade of grenadiers under the immediate command of his Royal Highness Prince Edward, and of the brigade of light infantry, under major-general Dundas, and indeed, of all the troops, affords me the highest satisfaction.

When his Royal Highness Prince Edward had hoisted the British colours on Morne Fortunée, the name of it was changed to fort Charlotte; and the entire conquest of this island has been effected without the loss of a man, although there has been a good deal of cannonading from the enemy's batteries and works.

I transmit the colours, to be presented to his Majesty. Captain Finch Mason, one of my aides-de-camp, will have the honour of presenting this dispatch, being an officer well qualified to give any further information that you may desire to receive.

I transmit herewith a general return of ordnance and stores found in the fort of Morne Fortunée, and also a general return of the batteries on the coast of St. Lucia.

St. Lucia, April 4, 1794.

General Return of the Ordnance and Stores found in the Fort and detached Works of Morne Fortunée.

Iron Guns, 36 pounders 3—18 pounders, (1 spiked, 1 dismounted)

15—12 pounders 5—8 pounders, (1 spiked) 9—4 pounders, (2 spiked)
 4. Brass guns, 4 pounders 2—2 pounders 2. Iron Mortars, 12 inch
 (dismounted) 1. Brass Mortars, 12 inch, (unserviceable) 1—9 inch
 1. Brass Howitzers, 8 inch 1—6 inch 1.—Perrier, 2 pounder 1.
 Shells, 12 inch 20—9 inch 100—8 inch 20. Shot, 36, 24, 18, 12,
 8 and 4 pounders; in all about 1080. Powder, large barrels of 200lb.
 107—small barrels of 160lb. 29. Parchment cartridges, filled, of
 different calibres 1554. Empty ditto 625. Musquet ball cartridges
 18340. Musquets, large 100—ordinary 150.

J. PATENSON, Lt. Col. commanding the
 Artillery, Windward and Leeward Islands.

*General Return of the Ordnance on the Batteries on the Coast of the
 Island of St. Lucia, April 4, 1794.*

Gros Islet—4 twenty-four pounders, 4 eighteen ditto—2 four ditto
 —2 twelve-inch mortars—6 howitzers on swivels.

Battery St. Nicholas. 3 twelve-pounders.

Battery Trouillac. 6 thirty six-pounders.

Battery l'Esperance. 1 twelve pounder, 1 six ditto.

Battery Fort des Francais. 3 eighteen pounders.

Redoubt de Choc. 3 eighteen pounders (spiked).

Vielle, Ville, et Vigie, 4 batteries. 3 nine pounders.

Third battery. 2 twelve-inch mortars.

Battery du Tapon. 3 eighteen pounders.

Battery de la Claire. 2 eighteen pounders, 3 twelve ditto.

Battery de la Bathe. 3 eighteen pounders.

Battery du Morne Fortunée. Vide above return.

Battery du Ciceron. 4 twenty-four pounders.

Battery Bounetaire. 2 twelve-inch mortars.

Battery Petit. 4 twelve pounders.

Battery Debzin. 5 twelve pounders.

Battery d'Egalite. 1 twelve pounder.

Battery de la Convention. 2 twenty-four pounders, 1 twelve ditto.

Battery de Tricolor. 2 twelve pounders.

Battery le Patriote, }
 Battery de la Loi, } Number of guns not mentioned.

Battery de l'Union. 2 four pounders.

Battery la Constitution. 2 six pounders.

Battery du Republicain. 2 six pounders.

Total of each nature.—6 thirty-six pounders, 10 twenty-four ditto,
 18 eighteen ditto, 20 twelve ditto, 3 nine ditto, 5 six ditto, 4 four
 ditto, 6 twelve-inch mortars, 6 howitzers on swivels.

GENERAL REMARK.

The above is taken from the French officer's return, who has omit-
 ted mentioning the nature of the ordnance on several of the batteries.

There is a proportion of shot, shells, and small stores of every kind
 on the different batteries, which are not included in this return.

J. PATENSON, Lieut. Col. commanding Royal Art.
 From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 17.

Admiralty-Office, May 16, 1794.

Captain Parker, late of his Majesty's ship Blanche, arrived this morning with dispatches from Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, dated Barrington bay (late Grand Cul de Sac), St. Lucia, April 4, 1794, of which the following is an extract.

“ On the 29th and 30th of March I directed such troops and artillery as the general thought necessary for the reduction of St. Lucia to be embarked on board the ships of war and copper-sheathed transports; and on the 31st at noon I sailed with the Squadron of his Majesty's ships under my command, and the day following landed the light infantry and grenadiers, in the following order: Major-general Dundas, with a part of his corps, embarked on board the Solebay, Winchelsea, and London transport, about three o'clock, at Ance de Becune, a little within Point du Cap, and one mile and a quarter distant from Gros Illet.

“ This service was performed with neatness and precision under the direction of Lord Viscount Garlies, captain Kelly being ill of a fever. The other part of major-general Dundas's corps embarked on board the Vengeance, Irresistable, and Rattlesnake; were landed in Choc bay, by signal from the Boyne, at five o'clock; and the corps of grenadiers under the command of his Royal Highness Prince Edward, (embarked in the Santa Margaritta, Rose and Woolwich) were landed under the judicious direction of captain Harvey, at Marigot des Roseaux, before sun-set; as were the corps of light infantry embarked in the Boyne and Veteran, under the command of colonel Coote, near the Grand Cul de Sac, after the close of the day.

“ In ranging the coast to these different points of debarkation the ships were obliged to hug the shore, and received many shot in their hulls, yards, sails and rigging, from the numerous batteries along the coast, but happily, though the ships were so much crowded with men, not a drop of blood was spilt.

“ The grenadiers and light infantry having carried all the outposts and batteries the night before last, with some loss on the part of the enemy, the general and myself thought proper to summons the Morne Fortunée to surrender yesterday morning, to which an equivocal answer being returned, a disposition was made for landing the battalions of seamen from the different ships, and the terms of surrender were instantly dispatched, to which the garrison has acceded, and marched out at nine o'clock this morning, grounding their arms at a place appointed for that purpose.

“ The same spirit of enterprise, which inspired every breast in the reduction of Martinique, has shone in full lustre here.

“ I am much obliged to captain Salisbury for serving a volunteer
on

on board the *Boyne* upon this service, whose critical pilot knowledge has been very useful.

“ To captain Parker, the bearer of this dispatch (who commanded in these seas with great reputation previous to my arrival), I beg leave to refer the lords commissioners of the admiralty for further particulars.”

The LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Tuesday,
May 20, 1794.

Whitehall, May 19.

A dispatch, dated Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadaloupe, April 12, 1794, of which the following is an Extract, was this day received from General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

“ In my dispatch of the 4th inst. I had the honour to acquaint you with the success of his Majesty's arms in the conquest of the island of St. Lucia.

“ Having left colonel Sir Charles Gordon to command in that island, I re-embarked the same day, and returned to Martinico the 5th inst. where we shift the troops from the King's ships back to the transports, took on board during the 6th and 7th, the heavy ordnance and stores, provisions, &c. and sailed again in the morning of the 8th following: the admiral detaching captain Rogers with the *Quebec*, captain Faulknor with the *Blanche*, captain Ingleton with the *Ceres*, and captain Scott with the *Rose*, to attack the small islands called the Saints, which they executed with infinite gallantry and good conduct, having landed part of their seamen and marines, and carried them early in the morning without loss. The *Boyne*, in which I sailed with the admiral, and the *Veteran*, anchored off this place about noon the 10th inst. and some more of the fleet in the course of that afternoon; but a fresh wind and lee current prevented most of the transports from getting in till yesterday, and some of them until this day

Without waiting, however, for the arrival of all the troops, I made a landing at Gosier bay, at one o'clock in the morning of the 11th inst. under the fire of fort Gosier and fort Fleur d'Epee, with part of the 1st and 2d battalions of grenadiers, one company of the 43d regiment, and 500 seamen and marines, detached by the admiral, under the command of captain George Grey, of the *Boyne*; the whole under the conduct and command of that able and vigilant officer, colonel Symes, who had infinite merit in the execution of it; and the landing was covered by lord Garlies, in the *Winchelsea*, his lordship having, with infinite judgment and intrepidity, placed his ship so well, and laid it so close to their batteries, that they could not stand to their guns, which were soon silenced.

“ In effecting this essential service lord Garlies was slightly wounded,

ed, and we did not suffer materially in any other respect. Some more of the troops being arrived, and perceiving the enemy in considerable force and number at the strong situation of fort Fleur d'Epee, I determined that no time should be lost in attacking them, and carried those posts by storm at five o'clock this morning, under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, although they were found infinitely strong, and changed the name of fort d'Epee to that of fort Prince of Wales; our troops being ordered, which was strictly obeyed, not to fire, but to execute every thing with the bayonet, having previously made the following disposition: the first division, under the command of his Royal Highness Prince Edward, consisting of the 1st and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and 100 of the naval battalion, to attack the post on Morne Marcot. The second, commanded by major-general Dundas, consisting of the 1st and 2d battalions of light infantry, and 100 of the naval battalion, to attack the fort of Fleur d'Epee in the rear, and to cut off its communication with fort Louis and Pointe-a-Petre. The third commanded by colonel Symes, consisting of the 3d battalion of grenadiers, and the 3d battalion of light infantry, and the remainder of the naval battalion, to proceed by the road on the sea-side, to co-operate with major-general Dundas. The detachments of the naval battalion, who were of most essential service in those brilliant actions, were very ably commanded by captain Nugent and capt. Faulknor. The signal given for the whole to commence the attack, was a gun from the Boyne by the admiral, at five o'clock this morning. The several divisions having marched earlier, according to the distance they had to go, to be ready to combine and commence the attack at the same instant; and this service was performed with such exactitude, superior ability, spirit, and good conduct by the officers who severally command those divisions, and every officer and soldier under them, as do them more honour than I can find words to convey an adequate idea of, or to express the high sense I entertain of their extraordinary merit on the occasion. The success we have already had, puts us in possession of Grand Terre, and we shall use our utmost exertions to get in possession of Basse Terre also, with all possible expedition, to complete the conquest of this island. The returns of killed and wounded, and also a return of the killed, wounded, and prisoners taken of the enemy, are transmitted herewith. The commanding officer of artillery has not brought the return of ordnance and ordnance stores taken; but they shall be transmitted by the next opportunity."

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING IN THE ARMY.
 COMMANDED BY HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL SIR CHARLES GREY,
 K. B. &c. &c. GUADALOUPE, APRIL 22, 1794.

1st Battalion of Grenadiers.—1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

1st Battalion of Light Infantry. 2 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 15 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing

VOL. II.

S

3d Battallio

The British troops are to take possession of the gates of Fort St. Charles to night.

Mariegalante, Desirada, and all the dependencies of this government, are to be included in the present capitulation.

Given at Guadaloupe, April 20, 1794.

Par leurs Excellences,

G. FISHER.

GEORGE PURVIS.

V. COLLOT.

CHARLES GREY.

J. JERVIS.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING IN THE ARMY
COMMANDED BY HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL SIR CHARLES
GREY, K. B. IN THE ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF FORT ST.
CHARLES, THE BATTERIES AND TOWN OF BASSETERRE.

1st Battalion of Grenadiers—3 rank and file missing.

1st Battalion of Light Infantry—2 rank and file killed; 2 rank and
file wounded.

2d ditto—1 rank and file wounded.

3d ditto—1 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

Total—2 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and
file missing.

(Signed)

FRA DUNDAS, Adj. Gen.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE FOUND IN FORT MATILDA, AND THE
DIFFERENT BATTERIES IN BASSETERRE, GUADALOUPE,
TAKEN THE 22d OF APRIL, 1794

For Defence of the Coast.

Fort Matilda—3 thirty-six pounders, 27 twenty-four ditto, 10 eighteen
ditto, 9 twelve ditto, 12 eight ditto, 3 four ditto; 6 twelve-inch
mortars, 2 twelve-inch brass ditto. Battery Pilate—4 twelve-
pounders. St. Nicholas—6 twenty-four pounders; 2 twelve-inch
mortars. Grisel—2 twelve-inch mortars. Les Caimes—4 twenty-
four pounders. Ravine a Billot—6 twenty-pounders. La Royal—
6 twenty-four pounders; 2 twelve-inch mortars. Des Trois—5
eighteen pounders. St. Dominique—2 eighteen pounders. La Ma-
delaine—3 eight pounders. St. George—1 four pounder, 1 three
ditto.

For Defence of the Line on the Right.

Cholet—3 thirty-six pounders. Bologne—3 eight pounders. Bou-
ille—3 eighteen pounders. Duchamois—4 eighteen pounders.
Moustier—3 four pounders, Le Parc—4 three pounders.

On the Heights of Palmistree.

Morne Howell—3 eighteen pounders. Croquet—3 twenty-four
pounders, 2 eighteen ditto. Marzial—3 eighteen pounders, 2
twelve ditto. Boudet—3 twenty-four pounders, 2 six ditto. Parize—
3 twenty-four pounders, 1 six ditto. Langlaize—3 eight pounders.
Walkenar—2 six pounders, 1 four ditto, 1 one ditto.

For

For Defence of the Line on the Left.

Lagarde—2 eight pounders. Boucanier—2 four pounders, 1 brass ditto. Howel Mounts—3 eighteen pounders; 3 ten-inch brass mortar. Dispersed in the Country—4 brass four pounders, 4 ditto, one pounders. Total—6 thirty-six pounders, 58 twenty-four ditto, 35 eighteen ditto, 15 twelve ditto, 23 eight ditto, 5 six ditto, 10 four ditto, 5 three ditto, 1 one ditto, 5 brass four ditto, 4 brass one ditto; 12 twelve-inch mortars, 2 brass twelve-inch ditto. 1 brass ten-inch ditto.

J. PATERSON, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding
Royal Artillery, Windward and Leeward Islands.

Admiralty Office, May 21.

Captain Nugent arrived yesterday with a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, dated Boyne, Basseterre, Gaudaloupe, April 23, 1794, addressed to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is an extract.

On the 14th instant the Quebec, Winchelsea, Blanche, Experiment, Woolwich, and three gun-boats, with two divisions of the army under the command of Prince Edward and colonel Symes, in transports, were ordered to anchor under Islet haut de Fregatte, and the troops were landed that night, and the following morning at Petit Bourg. On the same day the Irresistible, Veteran, Assurance, Santa Margarita, and two gun-boats, were detached with a corps under the command of major-general Dundas, and an army hospital ship and victuallers, to the Road of Bailiff, near the town of Basseterre; and the day afterwards I followed in the Boyne, accompanied by the Inspector and Bull Dog sloops, some army victuallers, and two hospital ships, and was joined by the Terpsichore and Zebra sloop, and two gun-boats, off les Isles des Saintes in the afternoon; when perceiving that the troops had not reached Trois Rivières, I stood off and on between that anchorage and the Saints during the night; and on the morning of the 17th, being joined by the Winchelsea and an ordnance store ship, I ordered captain lord Garlies to take under his command the above-mentioned sloops of war, gun-boats, the victuallers, hospital ships, and ordnance storeships, and to anchor at Trois Rivières, which he performed with his usual promptitude; and I then proceeded in the Boyne to the Road of Bailiff, where I anchored before sun-set, and received a very satisfactory report from captain Henry of the debarkation and progress of major-general Dundas's corps. Perceiving, as I passed Basseterre, some movements amongst the shipping that indicated a design to escape in the night, and a few people busy in the batteries between that town and the Road of Bailiff, I sent captain Grey, with a detachment of marines, to disable the guns in the batteries, and the boats of the other ships to intercept any thing attempting to go out. Soon after sun-set some incendiaries, who had plundered the town,

town, set it on fire, and got off in an armed schooner. Most of the other vessels were brought into the Road of Bailiff by the boats; among them the Guadaloupe republican sloop of war.

I have now the greatest satisfaction in informing you of the entire reduction of the French islands in these seas; the post of the Palmiste was carried by the divisions of Prince Edward and colonel Symes, under the command of general Sir Charles Grey; and that of Morne Howel by the corps of major-general Dundas, was carried before day-break on the 20th, when general Collot immediately surrendered Fort Charles, upon terms of honour to himself and garrison. Lord Garlies, in the Winchelsea, with three flank companies of the 39th regiment, will proceed this evening to Mariegalante, to receive the submission of that island, as commanded by general Collot; from thence he will go with a small detachment to Desirada for the like purpose.

The unabated exertions of the officers and seamen under my command will never be surpassed; they kept constant pace with the efforts of the troops, and thus united, no difficulty or danger arrested their career of glory for an instant. From the general and other officers of the army, with whom I had frequent occasions to transact business, I never experienced an unpleasant item; and I found in colonel Symes, the quarter-master-general, resources, zeal, and ability superior to every obstacle which presented.

Captain Nugent, who carries this dispatch, will recite many parts of the detail, which, in the various operations I had to concert, have escaped my memory. He served with the naval battalions at Martinique, St. Lucia, and in this island, and was present at many of the most important strokes.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 16.

Whitehall, July 16.

This morning Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke arrived from Port-au-Prince, in the Island of St. Domingo, with a Dispatch from Brigadier General Whyte to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy.

Sir,

Port-au-Prince, June 8, 1794.

In the letter which I had the honour of writing to you from the Mole, by the last packet, I acquainted you of the very critical situation in which I had found this country, and of the numberless detachments that were obliged to march for the defence of the different posts: That the neighbouring parishes of Bombarde, &c. to the Mole, had deserted our cause; and that, with the small body of troops within, the garrison, though strong to a degree in the sea front, was totally defenceless to the land. Having obviated this defect, by a chain of redoubts and flèches, which defended each other, and seeing that two frigates, with a garrison sufficient for the security of the Mole, was all that was wanted there, I determined on bold and decided measures

to save the country ; and, with the concurrence of commodore Ford and lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, who had commanded here with so much credit, I resolved to attack Port-au-Prince, the residence of the commissioners, and the capital of this side of the island ; and proceeded with the three regiments, viz. the 22d, 23d, and 41st (except their flank companies, which had been left at Martinique), in their transports, with a detachment from the flank companies of the regiments here, in all one thousand four hundred and sixty five rank and file fit for duty, escorted by one 74, two 64, one 50, three frigates, and three sloops, I left the Mole for that purpose. The commodore was unfortunately seized with a fever soon after our sailing. We picked up what small craft we could along shore, and arrived in the Bay of Port-au-Prince on the 31st of May, where, seeing the situation favourable to our plan of attack (which was on both flanks and centre at the same time, as near as circumstances would admit), the militia cavalry of Leogane was ordered to move from their quarters, and to advance on the Bizotton road, where the right attack was to be made ; the L'Arcabaye cavalry by the left, to the Salines, where the enemy was posted, and entrenched with cannon. This disposition having been made, I ordered major Spencer, with three hundred British, and some of the colonial troops, to land within one mile of Fort Bizotton, covered by two sloops of war. As soon as the two line of battle ships, and a frigate, ordered against this, had silenced the fire, which they effected in four hours, the troops landed, and advanced, through a different road, towards the fort, with little opposition. On their arrival within a small distance of the spot, a violent thunder storm took place, and, taking advantage of the lucky minute afforded to them by so favourable a circumstance, the advanced troops rushed forward with their bayonets, and carried the place by assault. Unfortunately we lost a gallant young man, captain Wallace, of the 22d ; and captain Daniel, of the 41st, was wounded.

This great point being carried, I repaired (with lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, whom I ordered to take the command of the centre) to the opposite side of the Bay ; and, having landed major Handfield with two hundred British troops, to support the attack on the post of Salines (the frigates scouring the beach, and enfilading the entrenchments), he attacked and carried the post without loss ; and, continuing his march, the next day he turned the batteries which defended the landings near to, and on the left of Port-au-Prince. The enemy being thus hemmed in on all sides, excepting in the rear, and perceiving numbers moving out by the road called the Charbonnier, we determined on a general assault, and the fleet and army advanced ; when the enemy perceiving our motions, struck their flags, and abandoned the place, having previously spiked their cannon on the land defences ; and the two commissioners from France, Polverele and Santhonax, with the black general Monbrun (who was wounded with a bayonet at Bizotton), escaped, and I have not since been able to learn any certain accounts of them ; but being informed that a body of the enemy had assembled near to this place, with nine pieces of cannon, I gave orders to attack them,

which was accordingly done ; they were soon dispersed with the loss of their guns. Another party at the Coix de Bouquet, on the further side of the plain, and bordering on the Spanish territories, was also dispersed. The inhabitants of this part of the island insisting on the British colours being erected, 'twas accordingly done.

The importance of this conquest to Great Britain you, Sir, must know : there is more sugar now nearly ready to cut than in all Jamaica.

I was sent here with discretionary orders by Sir Charles Grey, and desired to communicate with major-general Williamson. The orders of the fleet were to assemble at Tiburoone Bay, and if no orders had been arrived from Jamaica, they were to proceed there : but comparing the different reports received from the Mole, as well as what I saw of their danger at Tiburoone, I called upon the commanding officer of the fleet, and requested he would immediately sail for the Mole : from the reasons I stated to him, he most readily acquiesced, and we were welcomed on our arrival there by all as their deliverers. I hope, Sir, my conduct may meet with my sovereign's approbation.

Allow me, Sir, to express how sensible I am of the zeal and activity which the navy and army have shewn on this interesting occasion, and how uniform their unanimity has been on every occasion.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and there is none can give more real information of this country : he has commanded here with infinite merit, and acquitted himself on many arduous and trying occasions in a manner which has contributed to the good of the King's service, and to his own honour. He has done the duty of quarter-master general during the expedition, and for colonial reasons I gave him the rank of colonel. I have also given to major Spencer the rank of lieutenant-colonel, meaning to appoint him deputy quarter-master general. He is an officer of great merit, and has distinguished himself on many occasions ; but as it belongs not to me to give rank, I hope their merits may be considered by his Majesty.

Enclosed are statements of the killed and wounded, and of the stores taken belonging to the several departments, &c.

Having taken this place on his Majesty's birth-day, I honoured the fort with the name of George ; the port remains as before.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WHYTE,
Brig. Gen. Commanding St. Domingo.

Lieutenant-colonel Lenox is just arrived with eight flank companies from Martinique.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded of the British and Colonial Troops
at the attack of Fort Bizotton, June 4, 1794.*

22d Regiment—1 captain, 2 rank and file killed ; 1 rank and file wounded.

41st Re-

41st Regiment—4 rank and file killed; 1 captain wounded.

Colonial—2 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

Total—1 captain, 8 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 2 rank and file wounded.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Captain Wallace, 22d regiment, killed.

Captain Daniel, 41st ditto, wounded.

J. GRANT,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

*John Whyte, Brigadier-General,
Commanding St. Domingo.*

*Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores taken at Port-au-Prince,
in the Arsenal, and in the different Forts and Batteries, and Forts
in the vicinity of the City, on the 4th of June, 1794.*

NATURE OF ORDNANCE.

B R A S S.

4 twenty-four pounders; 1 twelve ditto; 1 eight ditto; 4 four ditto.

I R O N.

2 thirty-six pounders; 23 twenty-four ditto; 17 eighteen ditto;
6 twelve ditto; 27 eight ditto; 24 four ditto; 8 three ditto; 3 two
ditto.

MORTARS AND HOWITZERS.

B R A S S.

2 thirteen-inch mortars; 2 eight ditto howitzers.

I R O N.

6 thirteen-inch mortars; 1 four-inch two-fifths ditto howitzers,—
Total pieces of ordnance, 131.

S H E L L S.

625 thirteen-inch; 276 eight ditto.

ROUND SHOT.

3217 thirty-six pounders; 6185 twenty-four ditto; 5223 eighteen
ditto; 1776 twelve ditto; 9237 eight ditto; 2380 four ditto; 200
three ditto; 548 two ditto; 3560 ditto of lead.

DOUBLE-HEADED SHOT.

191 thirty-six pounders; 872 twenty-four ditto; 1183 eighteen
ditto; 1620 twelve ditto; 820 eight ditto; 8000 langridge in bags
of different natures.

CASE SHOT FIXED.

325 eight pounders; 1957 four ditto; 2549 two ditto; 500 one ditto; 105,800 pounds weight of corned powder, in barrels and cannon cartridges; 140,000 musquet and carbine cartridges; 90,000 musquet flints.

TRAVELLING CARRIAGES.

3 twenty-pounders; 23 eight ditto; 6 four ditto; 4 two ditto.

GARRISON CARRIAGES.

6 thirty-six pounders; 37 twenty-four ditto; 19 eighteen ditto; 2 twelve ditto; 6 eight ditto; 19 four ditto; 22 three ditto; 11 covered waggon for ammunition; 6 carts for carrying stores; 2 devil carriages; 5418 pounds weight of slow matches; 217 dozen of port-fires; 4594 tubes; 2180 fuses for shells; 514 sponges of different natures; 490 ladles, ditto; 236 wadhooks, ditto; 656 handspikes.

N. B. A very large proportion of laboratory and other ordnance stores for service of the above-mentioned ordnance; but no returns being found, and from information received of ammunition, &c. concealed in different parts of the town, the quantity of each species cannot be ascertained, till the time will allow for a regular survey being made.

W. P. SMITH,

Capt. commanding the Royal Artillery.

W. M'KERRAS,

Capt. commanding Royal Engineers.

Intrenching and other Tools found in the Arsenal.

4776 lb. nails. 36 adzes. 81 carpenters ditto. 3618 hoes. 369 shovels. 1396 spades. 656 pick-axes. 1396 axes (assorted). 1 dozen latches and catches. 558 holdfasts 34 masons' hammers. 83 sledge ditto. 2 clod ditto 48 miners' ditto. 2 bill-hooks. 7700 hinges, hooks, and locks. 49 saws (assorted). 213 iron crows. 444 iron bolts. 4 iron wrenches. 320 augurs (assorted). 15 bench-hooks. 314 grinding-stones. 80 gouges. 5 blacksmiths' beats. 126 iron bars (assorted). 87 mortice chisels (assorted). 1 box fountain lids. 230 miners' tools. 700 stock locks. A large quantity of steel. 4 grinding irons. 2 trunks of locks and keys. 1 small trunk of padlocks. 1 box of cutlers tools. 12 parcels of wire. 2 boxes of varnish. 20 carpenters planes. 4 casks of screws and nuts. 24 casks of coals. 2000 shingles. 1612 polished marble flags. 11 brass one-foot rules. 1 winch. 29 pitch-forks. 18 carpenters files. 20 compasses (assorted). 8 coopers spoke staves. 3 scrapers. 1 turning lathe and tools complete. 2 large ladders. 6 door-hooks. A considerable quantity of old iron. A considerable quantity of lumber, not to be ascertained at present. A large quantity of water pipes.

W. P. SMITH,

Captain Royal Artillery.

WM. M'KERRAS,

Captain commanding Royal Engineers.

Admiralty.

Admiralty Office, July 16.

A Letter from Rear-Admiral Ford to Mr. Stephens, dated in Port-au-Prince Road, the 9th of last month, of which the following is an Extract, was received at this Office last night by Captain Rowley, of his Majesty's ship Penelope.

In my letter of the 22d ult. per Cumberland Packet, I acquainted you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that brigadier-general Whyte, with 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments (flank companies excepted), had arrived at the Mole, with the Irresistible, Belliqueux, and Fly sloop; and that notwithstanding the difficulties we had to surmount (the rainy season being set in, the ships and troops sickly, &c.), it was the intention of the general, and myself, to proceed immediately against Port-au-Prince, and every exertion was used accordingly. It was thought expedient for the ships of war and transports to rendezvous in L'Arcahaye road, on the north shore of Port-au-Prince, where they arrived on the 25th, in order to collect and prepare the small craft and boats necessary to land the troops, and to get the colonial troops, both on the side of Leogane and L'Arcahaye, in readiness to co-operate with the army; which being completed by the 30th, the Squadron sailed at noon on that day, and I proceeded in the Europa, with the Irresistible, Belliqueux, Sceptre, and Fly sloop, with a detachment of the British and colonial troops, of the advanced post of Bizotton, on the south side; while captain Hills, with the Hermione, Iphigenia, Swan, and Marie Antoinette, schooner, went on, with the transports, and the grand body of the troops, to Point Saline, where they anchored the same evening. The whole force being thus collected, and the operations ready to commence, a flag of truce was sent, on the following morning, to demand the surrender of the place; but on approaching the harbour, the officer, charged with the dispatch, was informed that no flag of truce would be admitted, and the letter was, consequently, returned unopened.

As the general concurred with me in opinion that the possession of Fort Bizotton was an object of the first consideration, the Belliqueux and Sceptre were ordered to attack the sea front; the Penelope, at the same time, to anchor close to the shore, to flank a ravine to the eastward, on the back of the fort, while a party of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Spencer, of the 13th regiment, were to be landed just out of gun-shot, to the westward, in order to act, on the moment, according to the exigency of service: and at half past eleven o'clock, A. M. on the 1st inst. the sea-breeze setting in, captains Brine and Decres, the commanders of the two first mentioned ships, weighed, per signal, and placed themselves with the utmost precision against the fort, and immediately commenced a very brisk and well-directed fire against it, and Penelope, in the same manner, upon the Ravine. The Europa and Irresistible also weighed, and kept under sail, to throw in a broadside when opportunity required, as well to keep off a body of the enemy's horse, and some brigands, who appeared disposed to annoy
the

the landing of the troops. At five o'clock the detachment was wholly disembarked, under the direction of captain Affleck, of the Fly sloop; and, although the fort returned the fire of the ships but slowly after they were placed, and sometimes appeared quite silenced, yet the colours were still flying, and a shot now and then fired till six o'clock, P. M. when a most tremendous thunder storm and deluge of rain put an end to all firing; and, about half past eight o'clock, the fort was stormed, and carried by captain Daniel, of the 41st regiment, with 60 men, who was soon after joined by lieutenant-colonel Spencer and his detachment; and in the morning the British colours were hoisted.

On the evening of the 2d, a party of 200 British, under the command of colonel Hampfield, were landed at Point Saline; and early next morning the Hermione and Iphigenia were, under sail, firing on an advanced post of the enemy, named Bernadon, in order to divert their attention from colonel Hampfield's detachment, while he effected a junction with a body of colonial cavalry commanded by lieutenant-colonel la Pointe, as well as to prepare for the landing of the grand body of the troops with which the general intended to disembark, and possess himself of the heights above Fort Robin, and, after securing the advanced posts of Fosse and Dimanche, to attack that fort, while the ships were to engage the sea-batteries; and lieutenant-colonel Spencer was to make a diversion from Bizotton assisted by a body of colonial cavalry: but the weather proving bad in the evening, the troops on the north side could not be disembarked, though the enemy shewed every appearance of fear and confusion; and during the night I received information, by some deserters from the town to the Europa, that the commissaries, with the principal part of their force, had made their escape towards Aux Cayes before they were surrounded by our troops, by which means the town and shipping were saved, as they had fitted several merchants ships with combustibles, moored expressly for the purpose of setting fire to the whole.

As soon as the sea breeze set in on the 4th inst. the ships of war got under sail, and hoisted the British colours on the sea batteries, while the general landed at the north part of the town, and lieutenant-colonel Spencer marched in on the south at the same time, and took possession of the principal posts, without much opposition or loss: upon which I ordered a royal salute to be fired, in honour of the day, and of the important advantage gained over the enemy: I have the most heartfelt satisfaction in assuring their lordships, that a cordial and distinguished zeal prevailed between the army and navy; and that the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, under my command, conducted themselves in a manner truly spirited, active, and commendable, and deserving the name of True Britons.

Inclosed are returns of the loss sustained by his Majesty's ships, and of the ships found in the harbour upon possession being taken.

Return

*Return of the loss sustained by his Majesty's Ships in the attack of
Port-au-Prince.*

Bellicieux—10 seamen and marines wounded.

Hermione—5 seamen killed, 6 wounded.

*Return of Ships and Vessels found in the Harbour of Port-au-Prince,
the 4th day of June, 1794.*

Ship la Clementine, 550 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship la Sufette, 300 tons, laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo.

Ship la Lydia, 250 tons, laden with sugar and indigo.

Ship la Fidele, 500 tons, laden with sugar and indigo.

Ship l'Ocean, 340 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig la Manon, 260 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship la Momus, 300 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship l'Aimable Petite Sufette, 270 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship le Casimir, 400 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig le Charles Honore, 280 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship le Courier, 500 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig la Margareta, 200 tons, laden with indigo, sugar, and coffee.

Ship le Bon Accord, 350 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig, name unknown, 300 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig, name unknown, 150 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig, name unknown, 200 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig la Catherine, 160 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship la Rosalie, 260 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig, name unknown, 200 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship le Metier, 350 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

Brig, name unknown, laden with sugar and coffee.

Ship la Petite Riviere, 500 tons, laden with sugar and coffee.

ALL IN BALLAST.

Ship le Du Guesclin, 400 tons.

Ship la Henriette, 600 tons.

Ship le Bien Aime, 600 tons.

Ship le Courier du Cap, 400 tons.

Ship l'Esperance, 400 tons.

Sloop, name unknown, 60 tons.

Sloop, name unknown, 40 tons.

Ship le Sage, 700 tons.

Polacre Theodore Josephine, 200 tons.

Brig le Charles 350 tons.

Brig les Deux Cousins, 250 tons.

Ship l'Espoir, 400 tons.

Ship le Forbe, 350 tons.

Snow le Jeune Defire, 300 tons.

Brig, name unknown, 250 tons.

Sloop, name unknown, 40 tons.

OLD VESSELS IN THE CAREENING HARBOUR.

Ship le Custard, 550 tons.

Ship l'Amphitrite, 550 tons.

Ship Lempriere, 300 tons.

Brig le Charlotte Desire, 220 tons.

Brig la Jennings, 90 tons.

Brig la Ville, 200 tons.

Ship le Manuel, 550 tons.

For the Proclamation in this Gazette, see the PROCLAMATIONS and MANIFESTOES.

Admiralty-Office, August 9.

The Letters of which the following are Extracts, from Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, were received at this Office the 5th instant.

Boyne, off Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadaloupe, June 13, 1794.

At four o'clock, the morning of the 5th instant, a schooner brought an account from captain Ross, commanding his Majesty's ship the *Resource*, that a French squadron had appeared off Pointe-a-Pitre, on the 3d instant, with a body of troops which were landed and marching to attack the fort of La Fleur d'Eprée. I did not lose a moment to order the *Vengeance* to get under sail; and being joined by the *Winchelsea* and *Nautilus* sloop, I pushed, with a press of sail, for Basse Terre, Guadaloupe, and arrived off that place at two o'clock, P. M. on the 7th, and was joined by the *Resource*; and having put general Grey, his suit and baggage on board that ship, and the *Winchelsea*, to be landed at Basse Terre, and ordered captain Bayntun of the *Nautilus* to proceed to Martinique, with orders from the general for a reinforcement from thence, I made sail for this road, and perceived commodore Thompson, with the squadron from Martinique, coming round the point of Vieux Fort: on their joining, I ordered the *Solebay* and *Avenger* into Basse Terre road, to carry the general's farther orders into execution touching reinforcements from the different islands. I then proceeded hither with the remainder of the squadron, and anchored at noon the following day, with the *Vanguard* and *Vengeance*, having given orders to the *Veteran* to cruize between *Mariegalante* and *Desirada*, in order to apprize me of any reinforcement of the enemy which might appear in that quarter; and for the *Inspector* and *Bull Dog* to cruize to windward of the squadron at anchor, within reach of signals. I perceived two French frigates, a corvette, two large ships appearing to be armed en flute, with two other ships, which, being within the land, we could not ascertain, but took to be transports, at anchor in the carenage of Pointe-a-Pitre, and that they were in possession of la Fleur d'Eprée, consequently

Grand

Grand Terre; of which I immediately sent intelligence to the general by different routes. In the evening of the 9th, the general returned on board the Boyne, and expressed a desire that the flank companies from St. Vincent's and St. Lucia might be sent for. On the 10th I dispatched a schooner, with orders to the Veteran to perform that service; the Winchelsea arrived the same day, with the flank companies of the 21st regiment, from Antigua, and on the 11th the Solebay arrived from Martinique, with brigadier general Symes, and the flank companies of the 64th regiment, as did the Nautilus, with the two flank companies of the 15th regiment, and the Assurance from Grenada, St. Vincent's, and St. Lucia.

The same unanimity, ardour, and enterprize, which carried the troops and squadron through the former part of this campaign, still pervades every department; and I have no doubt of a glorious termination of it.

Boyne, off Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadaloupe, June 14, 1794.

In my dispatches of last night, I omitted to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that, on notice of a body of troops having landed at Grande Terre, Guadaloupe, the legislature of the island of St. Christopher's, under the direction of governor Stanley, and the legislature of Antigua, under that of Mr. President Byam, had distinguished their loyalty in a very superior manner, by instantly raising a considerable body of volunteers for the expedition, and sent them hither in schooners at their own expence.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 12, 1794.

Horse Guards, Whitehall, August 12.

The Dispatches, of which the following are Extracts, have been received from Sir Charles Grey, K. B. by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Guadaloupe, June 11, 1794.

We received an express at St. Christopher on the 4th instant, with the unwelcome news of the decease of major-general Dundas, who died of a fever at Gaudaloupe, after a few days illness; and in him his Majesty and his country lose one of their bravest and best officers, and a worthy man. I, too, feel severely the loss of so able an assistant on this arduous service, and a valuable friend ever to be lamented. Before day of the 5th another express arrived at St. Christopher's from Guadaloupe, with intelligence that several sail of French line of battle ships, with frigates, transports, and 2000 land forces on board, had appeared off Pointe-a-Petre, Grand Terre, on the 3d instant.

The admiral made immediate sail for Guadaloupe, and we reached Bassé Terre in the afternoon of the 7th instant, receiving further intelligence that the enemy had landed, forced Fort Fleur d'Epee before day of the 6th instant, and were actually in possession of it, with Fort

Louis, Fort Government, the town of Pointe-a-Petre, &c. and their shipping anchored in the harbour. I landed immediately at Basse Terre, and the admiral proceeded, with the ships of war, to Pointe-a-Petre, where he anchored at noon of the 8th instant, during which I continued visiting the posts, and giving the necessary orders at Basse Terre: and in the evening of the 9th following I returned to the Boyne, to concert measures with the admiral for regaining Pointe-a-Petre and Grand Terre. We have sent to the different islands to collect all the force that can be spared, in particular the flank companies, part of whom are already arrived; and as every effort shall be made on our part, at the same time that we can thoroughly depend on the bravery and exertions of our troops and seamen, I hope soon to render a good account of this second expedition, having their ships completely blocked up within the inner harbour, which are now found to consist of two frigates, one corvette, two large ships, appearing to be armed en flute, and two other ships within land, so that it cannot be exactly discovered what they are. Their troops consist of about 1500 men, joined by some mulattoes and negroes, since landing, of course. I transmit herewith the report and returns of lieutenant-colonel Drummond, of the 43d regiment, who commanded at Fort Fleur d'Epee and Pointe-a-Petre, at the time of its being retaken by the French: which armament that retook it sailed from Rochefort about the 25th of April last, having had a passage of 41 days.

Sir,

Basse Terre, June 9, 1794.

I embrace the earliest opportunity to inform you of the arrival of a squadron of French men of war at the island of Guadaloupe, and of the loss of Fort Fleur d'Epee, which was taken by storm, on Friday the 6th instant.

On Tuesday the 3d instant I received intelligence from captain M'Dowall, of the 43d regiment, at St. Ann's, that nine ships bearing the national colours of France, were then off the town St. Francois, and seemed to be sailing along the coast towards Pointe-a-Petre. This report was confirmed soon afterwards by the arrival of other expresses from different parts of the colonies; and at half past four o'clock the French squadron, consisting, as I am informed, of two ships of fifty guns, one of forty guns, armed en flute, one frigate with five transports, came to anchor about a mile and a half beyond the village of Gozier, and immediately began to disembark their troops.

On the receipt of captain M'Dowall's letter, I enclosed a copy of it to major-general Dundas, and on the arrival of the French fleet I sent a second express to Basse Terre, explaining the nature of my situation, and requesting a reinforcement, as it was generally supposed the enemy meant to attack us in the evening of the 4th instant; and as I had received no answer to my letter to major-general Dundas, I sent to captain Buchanan, of the 39th regiment, who I was informed was then at Marygat with seventy men, to desire he would march with all possible expedition to our assistance, but the answer I received to those applica-

applications was one letter from major Maitland, saying major-general Dundas was dead, and that he had communicated my dispatches to lieutenant-colonel Blundell, with a second from the lieutenant-colonel, expressing a doubt whether it would be prudent in him to afford me any assistance or no. The communications were seconded by the two inclosed letters, which were put into my hands a few hours before the enemy attacked the fort. On the evening of the 3d instant I took every precaution to strengthen the post of Fort Fleur d'Épee, and to make the best possible defence in case of an attack, that the nature of our situation would allow. All the detached companies of the 43d regiment were ordered in; the inhabitants were assembled, and arrived in their several parishes, as well as all the English merchants and sailors at Pointe-a-Petre; and at six o'clock on Wednesday morning I was happy to find I had a body of near three hundred men at the fort, which I was in hopes would have proved formidable enough to counteract any offensive operations of the enemy, till I could procure a military reinforcement from Basse Terre.

During the whole of Wednesday, the 4th, and Thursday, the 5th instant, the enemy contented themselves with plundering and burning the houses and estates of some gentlemen in the vicinity of Gozier.

I had every reason to believe, from the information of the parties sent out to reconnoitre the enemy on the 4th instant, that the whole of their force did not amount to more than three hundred men, and that they were not only worn out by the length of their voyage, but fatigued also with the excess they had committed from the moment of their landing. Impressed with this idea, the royalists in the fort were anxious to march out, and, if possible, surprize the enemy at their post, by which means we might have cut off their communication with any disaffected people in the colony, and probably have forced them back again to their ships.

I was persuaded such an attempt might be of service, if effected with resolution, and at the repeated solicitations of the Royalists, I permitted them to assemble one hundred and eighty volunteers, and put them under the command of captain M'Dowall, of the 43d regiment, who offered to direct their operations. The party marched from the fort about eight o'clock in the evening; but, I am sorry to say, my hopes of the benefit we might have derived from the success of this attempt were entirely defeated, by their want of steadiness and discipline.

In marching along the road leading to Gozier, a few shot were fired, probably by a picquet of the enemy's, from the bushes at the side of the road: the most shameful panick instantly prevailed throughout the whole party: a general discharge of musquetry commenced; many of them threw away their arms, and deserted to the town; some few returned to Fleur d'Épee, and it was with the greatest difficulty captain M'Dowall could collect about thirty of them together, whom he marched some minutes after into the fort. I am sorry to add, that the next morning were found three of the Royalists dead, and four wounded.

On the morning of Thursday, the 5th instant, the enemy landed thirteen boats crowded with sailors, and, from the information of a prisoner brought into the fort, I learnt it was their intention to attack us that night, and that their numbers amounted to from twelve to fifteen hundred men. As I saw, from the conduct of the Royalists on the preceding night, that I had very little to hope from their steadiness and resolution, I took the precaution to defend the gate, and line the weakest part of the work, with the soldiers of the 43d regiment, keeping a small body as a corps de reserve, to act on the approach of the enemy.

At eleven o'clock a party of horse, that had been sent out to reconnoitre, returned, and informed me the enemy were on their march, and in possession of the village of Gozier. At one o'clock on Friday morning the advanced picquet came into the fort, and we then distinctly heard the approach of the enemy along the road leading from the village. We instantly commenced a fire of grape shot from one twenty-four pounder and two field pieces, which threw them into great confusion, and must have been attended with considerable effect. The enemy halted for two or three minutes, and then, at the persuasion of their officers, marched on to the foot of the hill, and began to storm the work.

We kept up a very heavy fire of musquetry for about fifteen minutes: the enemy were evidently repulsed, and I am persuaded, that had the Royalists acted with resolution at that moment, we might have maintained our ground; but, on the fire ceasing, numbers of them concluded the place lost, and, abandoning their posts, ran in crowds towards the gate. It was in vain for the soldiers of the 43d regiment to oppose their progress: the gates were laid open, and nearly one half of the whole body deserted to the town.

The gates were again closed as soon as possible, and the small body of the 43d regiment, which I had kept in reserve, moved on to the attack. They opposed the entrance of the enemy for some time, but one side of the work having been abandoned, and left entirely defenceless, we found ourselves nearly surrounded, and I then ordered the soldiers I had with me to charge their bayonets, and retire a few paces to a spot where we might be better able to defend ourselves. Here we halted, and received a volley of musquetry from a number of the enemy that had formed themselves in a body in our front.

The crowd of people that now came rushing from every quarter towards the gate rendered every effort of the soldiers ineffectual: overpowered as they were, they found themselves dispersed, and obliged to retire. I consulted with two or three officers, that continued at my side, upon the possibility of rallying once more, and still defending the place; but it was their general opinion that the fort was no longer tenable, and that we ought to retire; I therefore permitted the gate to be opened, and ordered a retreat to Fort Louis.

On my arrival at Fort Louis I assembled the soldiers, with a resolution to defend the post; but finding that I had not quite forty men, and that it would be impossible to hold out against the enemy, I thought it

it more prudent to retire, and save the remains of the regiment, than to surrender them prisoners of war.

I, in consequence, ordered the men to march; and collecting the detachment at Fort Government, with the soldiers that had escaped singly from Fleur d'Epee; I proceeded to Petit Canal; and, having embarked in two boats, set sail from Basse Terre, where we arrived at eleven o'clock yesterday morning.

Inclosed I have the honour to transmit to your excellency a return of the present state of the 43d regiment, but it is not in my power to determine the number of our killed and wounded; neither can I form any opinion of the loss sustained by the Royalists at Fleur d'Epee; but I am apprehensive it must have been very considerable. I am sorry to add, that captain Suckling, of the British artillery, was wounded with a bayonet in the breast, and left at Pointe-a-Petre.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my approbation of the conduct of the officers and soldiers under my command; their intrepidity in meeting any danger, and their exertions in rallying our force, were conspicuous in the extreme, and such as will ever claim my warmest acknowledgements.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient

Very humble servant.

(Signed)

JAMES DRUMMOND.

Lieut. Col. 43d Reg.

(COPY.)

Sir,

Basse Terre, June 14, 1794.

I have had the honour of receiving your two expresses, and have forwarded them to his excellency Sir Charles Grey, in hopes they may find him at Antigua, or St. Kitt's.

I am sorry to inform you we buried major-general Dundas this morning.

I have the honour to be

Your very obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

BRYAN BLUNDELL,

Lieut. Col. Com.

Lieut. Col. Drummond.

(COPY.)

Sir,

St. Marie, June 5, One o'Clock.

In consequence of your letter to captain Buchanan, which colonel Blundell has just seen, the colonel has ordered about 80 men of the 39th regiment, now assembled at Marygat, under the command of captain Bell and captain Buchanan, together with about twenty inhabitants of this district, as well as some from Capesterre, to move this evening, with the utmost dispatch, to your relief; as they will, if possible, be all mounted, I expect they will be with you to-morrow morning.

This

This force will be supported by three companies of light infantry, likewise mounted, who will march from Trois Rivieres this evening at five o'clock, and will not be long after the first reinforcement.

A quantity of ammunition went through this place an hour ago for you. I expect more will soon follow. The colonel is sorry he had no intimation from you of your situation, as if he had, he might have taken measures for your relief.

I have the honour of being,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) R. S. DONKEN, Acting Major of Brigade.
Lieutenant-colonel Drummond.

*Return of the 43d Regiment, at Fort Fleur d'Epee, &c. &c.
June 3, 1794.*

Fort Fleur d'Epee. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 9 serjeants, 9 drummers, 96 rank and file.

Fort St. Louis. 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file.

Fort Government. 2 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 29 rank and file.

Total. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 7 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 14 serjeants, 10 drummers, 150 rank and file.

Missing. 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 3 drummers, 45 rank and file.

Officers missing.

Lieutenant Crofton, and ensign Holwell.

N. B. Left sick at Pointe-a-Petre, 1 captain, 1 ensign, 7 serjeants, 2 drummers, 92 rank and file.

(Signed) JAMES DRUMMOND, Lieut. col. 43d Reg.

Return of the Royal Irish Artillery at Fleur d'Epee, June 5, 1794.

1 officer, 1 serjeant, 2 bombardiers, 3 gunners.

Missing, 1 serjeant, 1 gunner.

Present with the 43d Regiment. 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 2 bombardiers, 2 gunners.

(Signed) J. GEORGE, First Lieut. Royal Irish Artillery.

Pointe-a-Petre, Guadaloupe, June 13, 1794.

I have some force already at the town and battery of Petit Bourgh, and shall make a landing on the side of Fort Fleur d'Epee and Pointe-a-Petre in a day or two; and I hope to regain our conquest before any length of time can elapse, as every effort will be made to accomplish it speedily.

Pointe.

Pointe-a-Petre, Guadaloupe, June 14, 1794.

The enemy having crossed the mouth of the harbour from the town of Pointe-a-Petre, and encamped at the post St. Jean or Gabaree, the opposite point, I judged it a favourable opportunity of attacking them, which was done accordingly at eleven o'clock last night, under the command of brigadier-general Dundas, who executed this service with such spirit and good conduct as to kill a considerable number of them, and the others fled in the utmost consternation, took to the water to swim across the harbour, in which situation they were fired on, and many more killed. Brevet-major Ross, of the 31st regiment, who was with the light infantry, behaved with great gallantry and good conduct on this occasion, as he has done on every other. The enemy's camp, colours, baggage, &c. with one piece of cannon, fell into our hands, but no prisoners that I have yet heard of; a party was however in pursuit of those who had not thrown themselves into the water, and fled with equal precipitation by land. A serjeant, corporal, and eight privates of our light infantry are wounded, but not one killed. This report is just brought to me by captain Ogle, one of my aide-de-camps, who was present.

In justice to the legislature of St. Christopher's, with president Stanley at their head, and that of Antigua, with president Byam at their head, I have to report the most laudable exertions in them to raise seamen for the navy on this service, nor have they been unsuccessful.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 19.

Horse-Guards, Whitehall, August 19.

A dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was yesterday received from General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Berville Camp, opposite Pointe-a-Petre, Guadaloupe, July 8, 1794.

Sir,

In my dispatch of the 13th ult. I had the honour to acquaint you of my intention to land on the side of fort Fleur d'Epee, and try to regain Grand Terre, so soon as what force could be drawn from the other islands should be collected; accordingly, having been joined by most part of it, I ordered brigadier-general Symes to make a landing, with the grenadiers under the command of lieutenant-colonel Fisher, and the light infantry under the command of lieutenant-colonel Gomo, which was effected, without loss or opposition, early in the morning of the 19th ult. at Ance Canot, under cover of two frigates, the Solebay, captain Kelly, and the Winchelsea, captain lord Garlies, the enemy retiring; and the same troops moved on to Gozier, and took possession of it in the afternoon, which the enemy abandoned;
burning

burning some houses. As the enemy had possession of a situation that commanded the road to fort Fleur d'Epee, I detached three companies of grenadiers, and three companies of light infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Fisher, who marched, at twelve o'clock in the night between the 25th and 26th ult. by a circuitous and most difficult path, coming on the back of the enemy at six o'clock the next morning, who fled. One of their sentries fell into his hands, and he took possession of that and two other commanding heights. Having sent two Amuzettes to that detachment the same day, the enemy made an attack upon the escort when mounting the hill on which lieutenant-colonel Fisher's detachment was posted, who attacked and repulsed them.

The enemy continuing in possession of a chain of high and woody grounds, with difficult passes between our post and Morne Mascot, the remainder of the grenadiers and light infantry, with captain Robertson's battalion of seamen, were pushed forward to the same post, and on the 27th ult. the enemy were attacked on all sides by brigadier-general Symes, with the grenadiers and light infantry, completely routed, driven down to Morne Mascot, where they again made resistance, but being charged with bayonets they fled into fort Fleur d'Epee. Having collected considerable force from the town of Pointe-a-Petre, and the neighbourhood, arming blacks, mulattoes, and all colours, they advanced in great numbers the same afternoon, under cover of their guns from fort Fleur d'Epee, which so completely raked the top of the hill, that the grenadiers could hardly appear on it, until the enemy were also there, and attacked that part of Morne Mascot where lieutenant-colonel Fisher was posted with the grenadiers, when an obstinate engagement took place, which lasted for some time, the front being within a few yards of each other, and the enemy's number very superior; but the grenadiers forced them down the hill again with great slaughter. The 29th following, the enemy having collected a still greater force, cloathing mulattoes and blacks in the national uniform, to the amount of 1500 men, again attacked the same post; and at this time they had a field-piece on the right, which enfiladed the grenadiers in addition to their guns in front, which fired round and grape from the fort. Having observed the enemy making a movement towards the rear of the grenadiers, to take possession of a house and strong ground, which the 2d battalion of light infantry, under major Ross, was then ordered to occupy, but having some distance to go, four companies of grenadiers were detached under major Irving from the post on Mascot, before the engagement commenced, who seized the post in the rear, lest the enemy might get there before our light infantry, which had, however, reduced our force on Mascot at the time of its being attacked; but major Ross, with the 2d light infantry, reaching the post in the rear soon after major Irving, the latter instantly returned to Mascot with the four companies of grenadiers, and having rejoined when the engagement had lasted for some time, the enemy were charged with bayonets, and driven from the height with still greater slaughter than on their former attack, During.

During the first day's engagement lieutenant-colonel Fisher was struck with grape shot, occasioning contusions only, and on the last his horse was killed under him. During this major Ross, with the 2d light infantry, was also engaged with the enemy, and repulsed them with loss on their side. The rainy season being already set in, and this being the last month for acting before the hurricane season, at the same time that the troops were exposed alternately to heavy rains and a vertical sun, together with the circumstances of the great slaughter recently suffered by the enemy in the two attacks they made on Morne Mascot, determined me to make an effort for finishing the campaign at once; and I concerted measures accordingly, ordering brigadier-general Symes to march in the evening of the 1st instant from Morne Mascot, with the 1st battalion of grenadiers, the 1st and 2d battalions of light infantry, and the 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by captain Robertson, who attacked the town of Pointe-a-Petre before day the 2d instant; but being misled by our guides, the troops entered the town at the part where they were most exposed to the enemy's cannon and small arms, and where it was not possible to scale the walls of the fort; in consequence of which they suffered considerably from round and grape shot, together with small arms fired from the houses, &c. and a retreat became unavoidable, the more so, as the troops are entirely worn out by fatigue and the climate, so as to be quite exhausted, and totally incapable of further exertion at present. It gives me great concern to add, that brigadier-general Symes was wounded; lieutenant-colonel Gomm (an excellent officer) and some other meritorious officers, were killed on this attack, as was also captain Robertson of the navy, a valuable officer, and a great loss to the service. Enclosed is brigadier-general Symes's report, accounting for the failure of that enterprize. I had every thing in readiness at the post of Morne Mascot, for an attack upon fort Fleur d'Epee, by storm, with the 2d battalion of grenadiers, 65th regiment, six companies of Grand Terre, and the 2d battalion of seamen, commanded by captain Sawyer; waiting, as concerted, until I should hear whether brigadier-general Symes, with his division, succeeded, or had taken post near the town of Pointe-a-Petre; but his failure obliged me to relinquish the meditated attack upon fort Fleur d'Epee, by laying me under the necessity of detaching the 2d battalion of grenadiers, to cover the retreat of brigadier-general Symes's division.

The season for action in the field being past, and the troops debilitated by the fatigue of a long campaign and the climate, so as to become unable for further contest, without shelter from the scorching heat of a vertical sun, or the heavy rains now so frequent, there remained no choice but to retreat, and I brought the troops, with every thing we had at Morne Mascot, back to Gozier, on the night of the 2d instant, detaching the 2d battalion of light infantry and loyalists, by Petit Bourge, to Berville, &c. on the 3d following, to secure Basse Terre; and embarking the remainder of the troops during the ensuing night.

I have now occupied the ground with my whole force between St.

John's Pointe and bay Mahault, having erected batteries with twenty-four pounders, and mortar batteries, at Pointe Saron and ~~Pointe~~ St. John, opposite to the town of Pointe-a-Petre, and the shipping, both of which I shall endeavour to destroy; and which situation gives perfect security to Basse Terre.

As the harbour is also perfectly blocked up by the admiral, the enemy must suffer every distress.

I transmit a return of our killed and wounded.

I have appointed colonel Colin Graham, of the 21st regiment, brigadier-general, and to command the troops in Basse Terre, Guadeloupe, of which I hope his Majesty will approve.

When the intelligence was received that Grand Terre had been retaken by the French, lieutenant-col. Coote and Craddock were both at St. Christopher's, so far on their way to England, for the recovery of their health, having had my leave of absence after the close of our first campaign; and although they were most dangerously ill of a fever, from which they were then only recovering, they rejoined me, and have been very essentially useful and serviceable on this occasion, when officers were so much wanted, and especially officers of their merit and ability.

Lieutenant-colonel Coote will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, an officer of infinite merit, who returns home for the re-establishment of his health; and he is well qualified to give you any further information that may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES GREY.

P. S. I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the great assistance I have received from every officer and seaman in the navy. The unanimity which has prevailed between them and the army upon this, as upon every other occasion during the course of the campaign, could not be exceeded; nor can I omit once more to express my warmest approbation of the gallant zeal and good conduct of every officer and soldier of this brave army, who have, through a campaign in the worst of climates, endured hardships unparalleled.

C. G.

Return of Killed, Wounded and Missing in the army commanded by his Excellency General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. &c. &c. from June 10 to July 3, 1794, Grande Terre, Guadeloupe.

Royal Artillery.—1 serjeant, 2 rank and file killed; 10 rank and file wounded.

1st Battalion of Grenadiers.—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 35 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 90 rank and file wounded; 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file missing.

2d Battalion of Grenadiers.—1 drummer, 3 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 drummer, 15 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

1st Battalion

1st Battalion of Light Infantry.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 4 drummers, 94 rank and file wounded; 1 drummer, 27 rank and file missing.

2d Battalion of Light Infantry.—2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 30 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 89 rank and file wounded; 1 drummer, 3 rank and file missing.

65th Regiment.—1 lieutenant killed.

Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 7 serjeants, 2 drummers, 91 rank and file killed; 1 major, 3 captains, 7 lieutenants, 13 serjeants, 8 drummers, 298 rank and file wounded; 1 serjeant, 3 drummers, 52 rank and file missing.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED.

Lieutenant-colonel Gomm, 55th Regiment—Capt. Armstrong, 8th ditto—Captain Combe, 15th ditto—Captain Groves, 35th ditto—Captain Morrison, 58th ditto—Lieut. Booth, 8th ditto—Lieutenant Lyfter, 12th ditto—Lieutenant Crocker, 15th ditto—Lieutenant Morrison, 46th ditto—Lieutenant Toosey, 65th ditto.

NAMES OF OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Major Ross, 31st regiment—Captain Tweedie, 12th ditto—Captain Foster, 60th ditto—Captain Slater, 60th ditto—Lieutenant Ekins, 6th ditto—Lieutenant Auchmuty, 17th ditto—Lieutenant Price, 21st ditto—Lieutenant Knolles, 21st ditto—Lieutenant Colepeper, 21st ditto—Lieutenant Hennis, 58th ditto—Lieutenant Conway, 60th ditto—Lieutenant Cudmore, 64th ditto—Lieutenant Mercer, (marines.)

Brigadier-general Symes wounded, not included in the above return.

(Signed)

FRA. DUNDAS, Adj. Gen.

Sir,

Gozier, July 2, 1794.

In obedience to your commands, I marched at eight o'clock yesterday evening, from the heights of Mascot, with the 1st battalion of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gomm, the 2d commanded by major Ross, the battalion of grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fisher, and the 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by captain Robertson of the Veteran, to attack the enemy at Pointe-a-Petre; and if we could approach it undiscovered to possess ourselves of the Morne du Gouvernement, which commands the town, and which they had taken much pains to strengthen; or, if that was not found practicable, to destroy the provisions which had been landed from the ships, and deposited there.

The troops marched with the utmost silence through deep ravines, in hopes of reaching the enemy undiscovered; but our guides, whether from ignorance, or the darkness of the night, led us in front to those posts of the enemy, which it had been proposed to pass by, and which they assured was practicable: To effect our purpose by surprise became therefore impossible.

At four o'clock in the morning we approached the out-posts of the enemy, which were attacked and driven in by major Ross, and the 2d battalion of light infantry, with that gallantry and good conduct, which, in the course of the campaign, has so often distinguished that officer and corps, which entered the town under a heavy fire from *Morne du Gouvernement*, and cleared the streets with their bayonets.

The *Morne du Gouvernement* was to have been attacked by this battalion; but the noise of our approach had permitted them so strongly to reinforce it, joined with the extreme difficulty of access, which admits only two to approach in front, rendered the success of attacking it highly impossible.

To destroy the stores, in which the provisions were lodged, we were then to direct our efforts, which I have no doubt would have been attended with the most complete success, the town being at this time in our possession, and lieutenant-colonel Gomm, captain Robertson of the *Veteran*, and captain Burnet, assistant quarter-master-general, being charged with the execution of it; when, by a fatality as unforeseen as impossible to guard against, we were prevented from completing, what carried so fair an appearance of success.

Our troops, to whom you have so strictly enjoined, in night attacks, never to fire, who have uniformly succeeded so often by a strict observance of that rule, and who, till this moment, had not in the course of the night fired a shot, most unfortunately began to load and fire upon each other, nor could all the efforts of their officers put a stop to it.

I was at this time disabled by a severe wound in the right arm, and much bruised by my horse, killed at the same time, and falling upon me. Finding it impossible, under these circumstances, to complete the destruction of the enemy's stores, which we had begun to effect, the troops were ordered to leave the town, and form on the heights at the post of *Caille*; from whence, in approaching, we had driven the enemy, and taken two pieces of cannon: at this post, while the troops advanced into the town, a reserve of four companies of grenadiers, with eighty seamen, had been placed.

As the enemy made every effort to harass us in our return, it became necessary to occupy with care the ground by which it could be most effectually prevented: In this disposition of the troops, I received the most essential and judicious assistance from lieutenant-colonel Fisher, and major Ross, who, though wounded, continued with the troops, and rendered the most essential services. The zeal and gallantry shown by all the officers who composed the corps could not have been exceeded.

It is with extreme concern I inform you, that our loss has been considerable; and with infinite regret I find, that lieutenant-colonel Gomm, and captain Robertson, of the *Veteran*, both eminently distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct, are unfortunately of that number.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed)

RICHARD SYMES,
Brigadier General.

Admiralty.

Admiralty-Office, Aug. 19, 1794.

Extract of Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. to Mr. Stephens, dated off Pointe-a-Petre, Guadaloupe, July 6, 1794.

Since my letter of the 13th ultimo, by the Dashwood packet, every effort has been made to collect a body of troops from the different islands, to enable the general to make a descent on Grande Terre.— The Veteran arrived on the 17th of June with two flank companies from St. Vincent's, and four from St. Lucia, and two battalions of seamen, under the command of captain Lewis Robertson, of the Veteran, and captain Charles Sawyer, of the Vanguard, were attached to the army. These two ships, with the Solebay and Winchelsea, were ordered up to l'Ance a Canot, between this road and St. Ann's, under the command of rear-admiral Thompson, that bay being judged a more safe place to debark at (both on account of the surf and the face of the country which surrounds it) than the Bay of Gosier, and the event justified the measure; for, by the able conduct of the rear-admiral, the captains and officers under his command, the whole corps was landed early on the morning of the 19th, without the loss of a man, and took post at Gosier the same evening, where the Solebay, Winchelsea, and Assurance, were placed to furnish water, and other supplies to the camp. The Redbridge returned from St. Christopher's, with the two companies of the 22d; and, on the 26th, having received intelligence that a French frigate, with three transports, had been seen off Francois, in Grande Terre, I detached the Solebay and Winchelsea in quest of them; and, if the intelligence should prove unfounded, to cruize off Port Louis, and endeavour to intercept a parizan of the name of Paschall, who, I had reason to believe, was fitting out vessels at St. Bartholemew to bring over a number of desperate brigands, who had fled from this island on our taking possession of it. On the same day a schooner I had sent up to Martinique arrived with two companies of grenadiers from Martin Bay, and was followed, the next day, by a third company in a small sloop. From the day of debarkation, the boats of the squadron were constantly employed in landing artillery and stores, and supplying the troops with provisions and water during the day, and rowing guard at night.— Three more gun-boats had arrived from Martinique, and were incessantly employed in battering the forts at Pointe-a-Petre, and the fort of La Fleur d'Epee. The unsuccessful attempt on the town, on the 2d instant, will be described by the general. I have only to observe that every possible exertion was made, by the army and navy, that the debilitated state of the officers and men would admit of. It is but justice to them to declare, that they were quite exhausted by the unparalleled services of fatigue and fire they had gone through, for such a length of time, in the worst climate. Upon the 3d, the general having communicated to me the propriety of withdrawing the artillery, stores, and troops from Grande Terre, and reinforcing the posts in Basse Terre, dispositions were immediately made, and,

and, on the night of the 5th, the embarkation was completed, without the loss of a man, under the direction of rear-admiral Thompson. The fate of captain Lewis Robertson, who had distinguished himself highly, fills my mind with the deepest regret; He had long been a child of misfortune, although he possessed talents to merit every success and prosperity; and, as I am informed, he has left a widow and infant family unprovided for, I beg leave to recommend them to the protection and good offices of their lordships to obtain a suitable provision, which will be a great encouragement to officers in similar circumstances to emulate so great an example.

Enclosed is an account of the killed and wounded in the naval battalion, since their landing on Grande Terre.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING.

Boyne—1 seaman killed; 1 lieutenant, 12 seamen wounded; 6 seamen missing.

Vanguard—1 seaman wounded,

Veteran—1 captain, 1 seaman killed; 9 seamen wounded; 7 seamen missing.

Vengeance—2 seamen killed; 2 seamen wounded; 3 seamen missing,

Assurance—2 marines killed; 1 lieutenant of marines, 3 marines wounded.

Total—7 killed, 29 wounded, 16 missing.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Lieutenant Isaac Wooley, of the Boyne, wounded.

Captain Lewis Robertson, of the Veteran, killed.

1st Lieutenant of Marines, John Mercer, of the Assurance, wounded.

J. JERVIS.

Hisse Guards, Nov. 8.

By a dispatch which has been received from major-general Williamson, dated Jamaica, the 1st of September, 1794, it appears, that the persons to whom the defence of the post of Petite Riviere, in the island of St. Domingo, had been entrusted by general La Vaux, commander in chief of the troops of the Convention in that island, made an offer to lieutenant-colonel Brisbane, commanding his Majesty's forces at St. Marc, to place the post of the Petite Riviere, with the parish of that name, and the adjacent plain of Artinobite, under his Majesty's authority. This offer was accepted by lieutenant-colonel Brisbane, and a capitulation to this effect was signed on the 19th of August, 1794. The terms of this capitulation, and the means by which it was effectuated, were concerted with M. de Villanuova, commanding the forces of his Catholic Majesty in that part of the island, who appears on this occasion, and in the execution of some military operations which had previously taken place, to have co-operated in the most cordial and friendly manner with his Majesty's forces.

Hisse

Horſe Guards. Dec. 13.

By diſpatches received from general Sir Charles Grey, K. B. dated Martinique, the 16th, 19th, and 24th of October, it appears, that the enemy from Pointe-a-Petre, in the iſland of Guadaloupe, made a landing at Goyave and Lamentin, on the ſame iſland, on the 27th of September, and proceeded to attack the camp of Berville, under the command of brigadier-general Graham, who defended this poſition, with the utmoſt gallantry and ſpirit, until the 6th of October, when, finding his proviſions nearly exhausted, and that he was cut off from all communication with the ſhipping, and without hopes of relief, he was obliged to ſurrender, his force being reduced to 125 rank and file fit for duty.

By this unfortunate event, the whole of the iſland of Guadaloupe, except Fort Matilda, where lieutenant-general Preſcott commands, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The following are the terms of capitulation granted by the enemy to brigadier-general Graham.

Articles of Capitulation for the Poſt of Berville, and its Dependencies.

Art. I. That, in conſideration of the gallant defence the garrison has made, they ſhall be allowed the honours of war.

Answer. Granted.

Art. II. That the inhabitants of the iſland now co-operating with the army, whether white or free people of colour, being Britiſh ſubjects, having taken the oaths of allegiance to his Britanniſh Majeſty, ſhall be conſidered and treated as ſuch.

Answer. Not admiſſible : but a covered boat ſhall be allowed to the general, which ſhall be held ſacred.

Art. III. That the troops, and ſuch of the inhabitants as do not wiſh to become ſubjects of the French Republic, ſhall be ſent to Great Britain, as ſoon as transports can be provided for that purpoſe.

Answer. The troops ſhall be ſent to England, as ſoon as transports are ready : But as to the inhabitants, it is answered in Article II.

Art. IV. That the baggage of the officers and inhabitants in camp ſhall be allowed to them.

Answer. The troops ſhall be allowed their baggage.

Art. V. That the ſick and wounded, who cannot be ſent on board transports, ſhall be allowed Britiſh ſurgeons to attend them.

Answer. Agreed to.

Art. VI. That the ordnance and ſtores of every denomination ſhall be given up in their preſent ſtate,

Answer. Agreed to.

Art VII. If any difficulties in ſettling the above ſhall happen hereafter, they ſhall be amicably adjusted by the reſpective commanders.

Answer. Admitted.

(Signed)

COLIN GRAHAM, Br. Gen.
VICTOR NUGUES.

Berville, Oct. 6, 1794.

The

The British forces, which were taken at Berville camp, consist of the flank companies from Ireland, and the 39th, 43d, and 65th Regiments. Their loss in the different actions between the 27th of September and 6th of October, as nearly as can be ascertained, amounts to 2 officers killed, 5 wounded; 25 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 51 ditto wounded.

OFFICERS KILLED.

Major Forbes; lieutenant Cochran, of the 39th.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Captain Hutton, of the Artillery.

Captain Cameron, of the 43d.

Lieutenant Keating, of the 33d.

Ensign Paris, of the 65th.

Quarter-Master Clements, of the 39th.

Horse Guards, Dec. 13,

By dispatches received from lieutenant-colonel James Grant, commanding officer at Cape Nicolas Mole, in the island of St. Domingo, dated the 21st of October, it appears, that the town and post of Leogane, in the same island, had fallen into the hands of the forces of the Convention, aided by a numerous corps of revolted negroes.

E A S T I N D I E S.

No mention of any Proceedings during the year 1794 in the East Indies is made in the London Gazette, excepting the Article which is inserted, under the title of "Naval Events."

THE FOLLOWING RETURNS OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED
IN THE LAST CAMPAIGN, WERE LAID BEFORE PARLIA-
MENT, EARLY IN 1795.

An Account of the Men killed, wounded, missing, and Prisoners of the British Troops, serving on the Continent, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, since the Commencement of the last Campaign, distinguishing each Corps and Service, as far as the same can be made out from the Accounts received at the Secretary of State's Office.

Date.	Service.	Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.
1794.						
April 17	Action near Landrecies	Not mentioned	3	6		
24	Battle at the village of Villers on Caucher		36	2	7	
			1st Dragoons	1	2	
		11th Light ditto	1			
		15th ditto	16	11		
26	Action on the mts. above Cateau	Roy. H. Guards	15	16		
		King's D. ditto	6	13	1	
		3d Drag. ditto	14	6		
		5th ditto	9	8	4	
		1st Dragoons	6	11		
		7th Light Drag.	1	19		
		16th ditto	1	14		
May 17 and 18	Gen. action near Tournay	7th Light Drag.		6	15	
		1st ditto	1	1		
		15th ditto	5	14	2	
		16th ditto	1	2	5	
		Royal Artillery	4	17	26	
		Artificers			5	
		Flank Batt. of Guards	17	54	25	
		1st Guards	5	5	20	
		Coldstream		6	9	
		3d Guards	1	8	32	
		14th Foot	8	22	68	
	The missing in this engagement are hourly coming in	37th ditto	11	34	140	
		53d ditto		14	191	
		Carried over	162	293	550	

Date.	Service.	Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.
		Brought over	162	293	550	
1794						
May 22	Second action near Tournay	Artillery		2		
		14th Foot	4	28	5	
		37th ditto	1	24	2	
		53d ditto	6	23	12	
June 13	Action at Ghits	38th Foot	1	2	4	
		55th ditto	4	29	9	
July 6	Action at Alost	8th Light Drag.	2	9	4	
		14th ditto	1	2		
		27th ditto		1		
		42d ditto		1		
		54th ditto		4	3	
		57th ditto			1	
		59th ditto		7		
		87th ditto		1		
Sept. 15	Action near Grave	King's D. Guards		1		
		8th Light Drag.			1	
		14th ditto		2	1	
		12th Foot	1	1	44	
		3d ditto				
		44th ditto			1	
		Gran. Guards		5	4	
		Light Inf. ditto		2		
		1st Guards	5	1	14	
Oct. 19	Affair of out posts at Nimeguen, no re- turn received, but the loss in pri- soners stated to be very considerable.					
Nov. 4	Sortie from Ni- meguen	15th Light Drag.	1	5		
		8th Foot	2	9	1	
		27th ditto	3	10		
		28th ditto		5	1	
		55th ditto		11	3	
		63d ditto		63	7	
		78th ditto	8	46	7	
Dec. 11	Attack of Posts at Fort St. An- drew, &c.	No return rec.				
30	Action at Juyt, under the com- mand of Major Gen. Dundas	19th Foot	1	4		
		33d ditto	2			
		Carried over	200	589	673	

Date

Date.	Service.	Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Missing.	Prisoners.
1794		Brought over	200	589	673	
Dec. 30	Action at Juyt, under the command of Major Gen. Dundas.	42d Foot 78th ditto 80th ditto	1 1	6 4 3		
1795						
Jan. 4	Affair of out posts on the Waal. No return received, but stated to be trifling.					
5	Action at Geldermalsen	Artillery 11th Light Drag. 33d Foot 42d ditto 78th ditto	1 1 1	11 1 6 7 24	2 4	
8	Action under the command of Lord Cathcart	14th ditto 27th ditto 28th ditto Royal Artillery Picquet of the 3d Brigade	6 3 1	20 16 65 2	6 1	
	By General Harcourt's last dispatch, it appears that about 300 of the side have been left behind; those, it is probable, will fall into the hands of the enemy					300
			215	760	686	300

An Account of the Men killed, wounded, missing, and Prisoners of the British Troops serving on the Island of Corsica, since their first landing on that Island, distinguishing each Corps and Service, as far as the same can be made out from the Accounts received at the Secretary of State's Office.

Date.	Service.	Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.
Since land- ing at Pi- etra Nira till April, 1794		Royal Artillery		3		
		11th Foot	1			
		25th ditto	1			
		30th ditto		3		
		69th ditto		2		
		Marines		4		
From Ap. 4, till May 21		Artillery		4		
		11th Foot	1	3		
		25th ditto	1	2		
		30th ditto	1	1		
		69th ditto	1	3		
		Marines	1	3		
	Previous to the at- tack of Fort Mosellæ	Royal Artill. } & additional } Gunnars }	2	6		
		Grenad. (reserve)		1		
		Light Inf. ditto	1	5		
		2d Batt. R. ditto		2		
		R. Reg. of Ireland	1			
		50th Foot	1	1		
		51st ditto	1	1		
	Attack of Fort Mosellæ	Grenad. (reserve)	5	9		
		Light Inf. ditto		3		
		2d Batt. R. ditto		1		
		R. Reg. of Ireland	4	7		
		50th Foot		1		
		51st ditto		1		
From July 19, till August 10		Royal Artillery	1			
		Grenad. (reserve)	1			
			24	66		

An Account of Men killed, wounded, missing, and Prisoners, of the British Troops, since the last Campaign, serving in the West Indies, under the command of General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. as far as the same can be made out from the Returns received at the Secretary of State's Office.

Date.	Service.	Regiment or Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.	Total.
1794. From Feb. 6 to Mar. 24.	Reduction of Marti- nique.	Royal Artillery	13	20			33
		R. Engineers, and Artillery	1	3			4
		Light Dragoons		1			1
		1st Batt. Grenadiers	5	14	2		21
		2d ditto	8	21			29
		3d ditto	16	38			54
		1st Batt. Light Infantry	4	18			22
		2d ditto	7	21			28
		3rd ditto	7	21			28
		15th Regiment	2	9			11
		39th ditto	1	4			5
		43d ditto		3	1		4
		65th ditto	2	11			13
		6th ditto		1			1
		9th ditto		1			1
		70th ditto		2			2
April 12 and 21	Reduction of Guada- daloupe	1st Batt. Grenadiers	1	1	3		5
		1st Batt. Light Infantry	4	17	2		23
		2d ditto		1			1
		3d ditto	12	22	2		36
June 6	Defence of Fort Huer d'Espee	43d Regiment		2			2
		Royal Irish Artillery			1		1
June 13	Attack of the post of St. Jean, or Gabare in Guada- daloupe	43d Regiment			45		45
		Light Infantry		8			8
Carried over			83	239	56		378

Date

Date.	Service.	Regiment or Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.	Total.		
From June 13 to July 3	Attempts to regain Grand- Terre	Brought over	83	239	56		378		
		Royal Artillery	2	10			12		
		1st Batt Grenadiers	35	90	21		146		
		2d ditto	3	15	1		19		
		1st Batt. Light Infantry	21	94	27		142		
		2d Batt. ditto	30	89	3		122		
		Oct. 6	Surren. of Berville Camp, Guada- loupe	Det. L. Dragoons					
				10th Flank Com.					
				39th Regiment					
				43d ditto					
	No particular Returns have been received from the feve- ral Corps above mentioned, the loss <i>stated</i> amounts to about	56th 3 Compan.							
		65th ditto							
			22	49		1200	1271		
Total.			196	586	108	1200	2090		

An Account of Men killed, wounded, missing, and Prisoners of the British Troops, since the last Campaign, in the Island of Domingo, under the Command of Major General Williamson, as far as the same can be made out from the Returns received at the Secretary of State's Office.

Date.	Service.	Regiment or Corps.	Killed.	Wounded	Missing.	Prisoners.	Total.
1794. Feb. 3.	Attack of Cape Tiberoon in St. Domingo	3th Regiment	2	2			4
		20th ditto		4			4
		49th ditto	1	1			2
Feb. 20	Attack of l'Acul in St. Domingo	1st Batt. Royals		3			3
		13th Regiment	1	1			2
		20th ditto		10			10
		49th ditto		2			2
		Detachment of 13th Batt.		1			1
June 4	Attack of Fort Bizotton, St. Domingo	22d Regiment	2	1			3
		41st ditto	4				4
		Total.	10	25			35

RECAPITULATION.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.
Men killed, wounded, missing, and Prisoners of the British Troops serving on the Continent last Campaign	217	756	686	300
Ditto in Corsica	24	66	1	
Ditto in the West Indies, under the Command of General Sir Charles Grey, K. B.	196	586	108	1200
Ditto in St. Domingo, under the Com- mand of Major General William- son	10	25		
	447	1433	795	1500

I N D E X.

As the Accounts of the War published in the London Gazette, and now re-published in the Appendix to this Volume, are classed under different Titles, and arranged by their Dates, it is thought superfluous to refer to them in the Index, which, therefore, is a Guide to the State Papers only. To facilitate References, it has also been thought expedient to give all the Papers of any one Nation under the Name of that Nation, placing these principal Heads, and the inferior Articles which come under them, in Alphabetical Order.

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